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# **The London Theatre Business in the late Sixteenth Century**

**Volume One of Two**

**by**

**Michael Derrick Holden**

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for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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School of Theatre & Performance Studies  
and Cultural & Media Policy Studies

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I am deeply grateful to the discussions, ideas, and friendship, of Andrew and Libby Gurr over more than three decades since we first met at the Globe reconstruction project. Our dinner-table discussions have maintained an interest over the many intervening years, refreshed with insights generously and openly given to prompt me to further thought. In a different field, I have enjoyed the company of Julian Bowsher over a similar period and have drawn enormously on the clarity of his interpretation of the archaeological discoveries and the sequential development of the theatre buildings he suggests. He, together with the staff of the Museum of London Archaeology, have unfailingly responded to my frequent interruptions of their work and given clear and helpful responses to my questions and requests for data.

No thesis can be created without the generous help of numerous archivists and librarians, too many to mention here by name. I would, though, like to thank the archivists of the University of Utrecht and of Worcester College, Oxford, who have given me high quality images from their collections and allowed detailed examination of the originals. Any study of the London theatre depends on the knowledge and skills of the staff of the London Metropolitan Archive and the Guildhall Library, I have received great help in accessing maps and parish records with their good offices.

Lastly, I must acknowledge with the deepest gratitude the support of my wife Jean, and my family, through the whole saga. Their patience, and forgiveness on the black days and their continuing patience, too, in coping with the flying enthusiasm of the good days, has helped to keep a steady compass on the voyage.

**Declaration**

I, Michael Derrick Holden, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own.

Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that it has been indicated and credited in the thesis.

***Michael Derrick Holden***

## **Abstract**

This thesis explores the nature of the businesses that created the professional London theatre managements in the latter part of the sixteenth century. It explores the cultural, social and economic circumstances of London that encouraged the formation of the new theatre buildings and businesses and the range of managements and methodologies in their different enterprises. It follows the development of four managements until they become firmly established, or failed. The thesis considers both indoor and outdoor theatres until 1600, when the building of the first Fortune theatre and the Globe brought the development of the outdoor playhouse to its apogee and the indoor theatres began to develop in scale to accommodate the men's companies and their repertoires.

In this much explored area of research a re-evaluation of well-established evidence is offered from the standpoint of the author, who has considerable practical experience in twentieth-century theatre design and management, the most relevant being the creation and management of the Globe reconstruction in Southwark, London. A number of common assumptions are re-examined and alternative explanations proposed in the expectation of giving a soundly based commercial understanding of the nascent theatre industry. The thesis adds an understanding of the nature of a theatre management and acting companies to the literature that so often considers textual analysis alone, perhaps unaware of the natural tensions and fluidity of performing companies in practice. There is a necessary separation in approach between the management of a building, and an acting company and its programme, too often ignored in studies of theatre enterprises.

The thesis examines the management and physical circumstances of the small indoor theatres of the Children of St Paul's Cathedral and the Children of the Chapels Royal and the larger outdoor theatres owned and operated by Henslowe and the Burbage family for men's companies. The study stops in 1600 in anticipation of companion works on the changes in management style and audience composition in the early seventeenth century together with a study of the theatre buildings of the period as interpreted by a practising Theatre Consultant.

Observations are made on the similarity of many aspects of the theatre audience, and management patterns, established early, and still to be found, in modern theatre practice.

**Abbreviations**

- DNB* *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed on-line, with the date of access.
- EPT* Glynne Wickham, Herbert Berry and William Ingram (eds), *English Professional Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). I regret (with Glynne Wickham) that the publisher's insistence on a single volume publication meant that so much has to be in extract form.
- ES* E. K. Chambers, *The English Stage*, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923).
- Foakes Illus.* R. A. Foakes, *Illustrations of the English Stage 1580–1642* (London: Scolar Press, 1985).
- Henslowe* *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. by R. A. Foakes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, second edition, 2002).
- MOLA* Museum of London Archaeology Department publications (London). Individual monographs identified in each footnote.
- REED* Records of Early English Drama (Toronto), accessed online or in book form, individually noted in each footnote.

## **Conventions**

As I have sought to try to understand the business life of the period, I have found it more appropriate to use the annual calendar with which those I am studying worked. Thus, all dates are given in the Julian calendar in which the year ended on 24 March and the following year began on 25 March. This makes for greater coherence with the pattern of the year as experienced at the time, than the (possibly less ambiguous but cumbersome) note of both Julian and Gregorian calendar years as in 1567/8. Whilst in 1600 the Scots adopted the Gregorian year (starting on 1 January) it was not formally adopted in England. Henslowe in his *Diary* toyed with the new Gregorian year date for a few weeks each year but soon reverted to the Julian. Henslowe is generally cavalier with year dates, often continuing the previous year number well into April before correcting his entries, though in some cases I think this may represent his accounting year for the Rose. I find the convention of the March 25 start for the year particularly useful in maintaining a recognition that the year began with planting, emphasising the close ties found in the economy of the time to the land and to food production. I acknowledge however that many readers will find it difficult to assimilate a year in which the February follows Christmas. The March year end coincides with the Royal Court year end, though accounts were often recorded in six-monthly periods so that Michaelmas Day 29 September is also a frequently used administrative date for the re-start of theatre playing after a period of restriction due to plague or feared civil unrest. The modern United Kingdom Fiscal Year maintains these beginning and ending dates, just as the modern quarter days for rentals follow the Saints days on which payments were made in the sixteenth century.

The second convention I have adopted is to modernise silently all spelling and punctuation. When one is not studying a particular text or hand, I find it interrupts the flow of thought if one has to constantly interpret spellings, abbreviations and symbols used in the original text. Where there may be doubt as to the meaning the original form is reprinted but I have sought to make the reading as easy as possible. Very occasionally I have retained older spelling to give a flavour to a quotation.

Lastly I note the huge range of spellings used for individuals' names. There are autograph signatures for many of the people discussed in this thesis, often with different spellings. As an example the *Henslowe Diary* contains radically different spellings of Henslowe through Hynsley and Henslo to Hinchlowe; some of these names were, I suspect, written in the *Diary* by playwrights making fun of their banker as they borrowed

from him. Official records are not noticeably more consistent, thus, the All Hallows, Coleman Street, parish register spells Burbidge, Burbage and Burbadge. There is a common presumption that two similar names in a parish register (and sometimes in completely separate documents) refer to the same person for the purposes of forming a continuous history. In fact, there were relatively few given names and many surnames developed from common previous employment or place of residence, and worse, almost no middle names are given. The range of given names is particularly restricted: one despairs of the multiple Elizabeths and Jameses recorded, moreover it was usual to name a first son after the father and, with the high childhood mortality of the period, to name subsequent sons with the same name to replace the deceased. Daughters, too, were named after mothers or grandmothers. Assumptions about a certain name therefore identifying a particular individual are easily made but, unless there is other direct linking evidence, can be prone to distortion of fact. I have used generally accepted spellings rather than the original one.

To avoid overlong footnote numbers each chapter is separately footnoted, each beginning with footnote 1.

## **Introduction**

This thesis sets out to explore the practical methodology and economics of the developing theatre building business in the late sixteenth century. It does not consider the theatre companies or their repertoires for in many ways these are unimportant to the theatre buildings and their managements. Success in audience attraction is a theatre owner's concern and, whilst this is contiguous with the needs of the acting company, for the theatre manager one company is as good as any other if they fulfil the essential task of drawing an audience. Of course, friendships and developed loyalties are important in making the parallel operations compatible. It is significant that where this bond was not established with a sympathetic understanding of the acting company's needs and susceptibilities the managements failed. Though not discussed in depth here, Francis Langley's Swan Theatre and Henry Evans's second Blackfriars enterprise are examples that stand in strong contrast to the highly successful managements of Sebastian Westcote at St. Paul's, the Philip Henslowe and Edward Alleyn operation of the Rose and Fortune and the Burbage family management of the Theatre, Globe and Blackfriars theatres.

I am indebted to Richard Dutton for his exposition of the various approaches employed by scholars in the field.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps it is my age, or the fact that I was first trained in scientific method, that I find myself aligned with the early twentieth century writers Chambers and Greg rather than the narrative importance of say a William Ingram essay. I note Dutton's comment on the style of Chambers's *The Elizabethan Stage*

where method [...] meant getting as far away from the literary as possible.

Anyone who has read Chambers knows that he has succeeded.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Richard Dutton, 'Introduction: Early Modern Theatre History: Where We Are Now, How We Got Here, Where We Go Next', *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011).

<sup>2</sup> Dutton, 2011, p.4.

I hope that I have found in this thesis a conversational rather than literary form to convey what I intend to be a narration rather than narrative history of the development of playhouse management from a manager's point of view. Some readers will find the emphasis on accounting as a way of showing good and bad years, from a theatre management point of view, less easy to assimilate, but the commentary on each year will, I hope, make amends.

The early modern commercial theatre management can be traced in the boy companies from about 1560 when, I suggest, Sebastian Westcote began public presentation using an adapted schoolroom in the Almonry House at St. Paul's. The professional theatre in a purpose designed building can be more certainly dated from 1567, being the year of the first known purpose-built early modern theatre in London, the Red Lion, south-east of Whitechapel. Generally, studies of the theatre begin in 1576 with the first independent theatres for the Royal Chapel Children, in the first Blackfriars, and the men's companies at the Theatre, and cease at 1642 with a somewhat arbitrary assumption of the 'closure' of London theatres by the Order of 2 September in that year.<sup>3</sup> In fact, several theatres continued occasional performances and two further Ordinances of the Commonwealth seek to find more effective ways of preventing theatre performances as late as 1647.<sup>4</sup> Nonetheless, it is undoubtedly true that the popular professional theatre in London suffered a mortal blow in 1642 and the risk of presenting theatre, and therefore ticket price levels, changed markedly as a result. Many of the professional actors retired

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<sup>3</sup> 2 September 1642, 'Order for Stage-plays to cease', in *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642–1660*, ed by C. H. Firth and R.S. Rait (London: HMSO, 1911), pp. 26-7. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/acts-ordinances-interregnum/> [accessed 17 August 2016].

<sup>4</sup> 22 October 1647, 'An Ordinance for the Lord Mayor and City of London, and the Justices of the Peace to suppress Stage-plays and Interludes', in *Actes and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642–1660*, ed. by C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait (London: HMSO, 1911), p. 1027 and 12 February 1647/8, 'An ordinance for the utter suppression and abolishing of Stage-plays and Interludes within the Penalties to be inflicted on the Actors and Spectators therein expressed', *Ibid.* pp. 1070-72, at <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/acts-ordinances-interregnum/> [accessed on 31.1.2019].

to Oxford with the Court, and the established companies 'broke' and disbanded. On the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, only indoor theatres (almost immediately with moving scenery) were built, leaving little but the memory of the previous popular public work in the open-air amphitheatres. The reconstruction of the Globe in Southwark now shows us that something important was lost in that change of direction.

My own (unpublished) MA thesis explored the buildings built or used as theatres in the period 1576–1642, I shall amplify that work in a future publication.<sup>5</sup> The present thesis is constrained by space from exploring the period beyond 1600, when theatres increasingly moved indoors, and their audience numbers necessarily grew smaller. The change in scale resulted in increased ticket prices and, as prices increased, the audiences for these theatres tended to become a more middle-class and a more educated one. Reports of the audience at the second Blackfriars speak more of lords and ladies whilst the gentlemen of the Inns of Court also appear to favour the indoor theatres.<sup>6</sup> The popular outdoor theatre was however maintained with enthusiasm. The Globe was rebuilt in 1614, after a fire destroyed the original as was the Fortune theatre in 1623. The Red Bull opened by 1608 but may subsequently have been roofed about 1620. The Hope of 1613 may have been an opportunistic attempt to supplant the Globe but planned an animal baiting use in a mixed theatre programme. The odours of the baiting made the Hope less than desirable as a theatre! I anticipate that the post 1600 period will be the subject of my further work, together with a revision of my work on the theatre buildings, much needed as more information has come to light in archaeological discoveries.

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<sup>5</sup> Michael Holden, 'London Stages 1567–1666' (unpublished MA thesis, Department of Theatre, Performance and Cultural Policy Studies, University of Warwick, 2012).

<sup>6</sup> John R. Elliott, 'Four Caroline Playgoers' in *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 6 (1993), 179-93.

There is a huge body of printed material in the very large and much researched subject of Elizabethan and Jacobean theatre. From Edward Malone at the end of the eighteenth century to Sir Edmund Chambers in the first part of the twentieth a huge range of official records were transcribed. Since then the flow of new material discovery has slowed considerably, though vignettes do appear thanks to current scholars. A notable exception is the Toronto University organisation of the massive research project of London and regional performance records being published under the series title *Records of Early English Drama*.<sup>7</sup> This work has the advantage of being available online and has facilitated studies of individual acting companies within the huge body of work on play texts and repertoires.

Much of the work of the last hundred years has concentrated on interpretation and thematic analysis of this established body of transcribed material, checked and organised in clearly defined interpretations: Foakes's edition of *Henslowe's Diary*, and his collection of the images of theatres, scenery and costume, *Illustrations of the English Stage 1580–1642*, are examples.<sup>8</sup> A number of scholars are working in depth in closely defined areas, for example David Kathman on the apprenticeships of the livery companies that relate to the supply of boys to the acting companies.<sup>9</sup> The touring of particular companies and explorations of the peripheral, but essential, support for theatres, such as Tiffany Stern's *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England*, have added to the larger picture.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Records of Early English Drama, online, [www.reed.library.utoronto.ca/](http://www.reed.library.utoronto.ca/)

<sup>8</sup> *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. by R. A. Foakes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, second edition, 2002) and R. A. Foakes, *Illustrations of the English Stage 1580–1642* (London: Scolar Press, 1985).

<sup>9</sup> David Kathman, 'Grocers, Goldsmiths, and Drapers: Freemen and Apprentices in the Elizabethan Theater', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 55 (1) (2004), 1–49.

<sup>10</sup> Tiffany Stern, *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, paperback 2012).

Most of the work of the last fifty years has been in drawing a wider picture of the core transcribed material through additional specifically targeted research and the publication of very readable books. Andrew Gurr's examination of the social world of theatre in *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London* gave context to the factual information and his examinations of the Lord Chamberlain's Men and the Admiral's Men draw together information on those major companies and the political context in which they worked.<sup>11</sup> The, so far, less well defined pattern of touring that the London based companies undertook in times of plague, and that many lesser companies had to undertake throughout their working lives, is addressed in Siobhan Keenan's *Travelling Players in Shakespeare's England* amongst others.<sup>12</sup> This work also addresses the dependence on the hospitality of the larger private houses in sheltering and feeding companies, as they toured, essential to their economic survival. Suzanne Westfall has looked at the genesis of the playing company in household accounts and the work of women in the creative team. Specific companies have been studied, such as Scott McMillin and Sally-Beth MacLean's work in *The Queen's Men and their plays*.<sup>13</sup> More recently Lawrence Manley and Sally-Beth MacLean have published a study of Lord Strange's Men.<sup>14</sup> Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight have drawn together wider cultural pictures in *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court* and *The Progresses, Pageants and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*.<sup>15</sup> Ronnie Mulryne and Margaret

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<sup>11</sup> Andrew Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, third edn 2004, reprinted 2005), *The Shakespeare Company 1594–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, paperback 2011), *Shakespeare's Opposites: The Admiral's Company 1594–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, paperback 2012).

<sup>12</sup> Siobhan Keenan, *Travelling Players in Shakespeare's England* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002). See also Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearian playing companies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

<sup>13</sup> Scott McMillin and Sally-Beth MacLean, *The Queen's Men and their Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, paperback 2006).

<sup>14</sup> Lawrence Manley and Sally-Beth MacLean, *Lord Strange's Men and Their Plays* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2014).

<sup>15</sup> Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight (eds), *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011, paperback 2013), and

Shewing have performed a similar role in drawing together studies of the physical theatres and how they work spatially and emotionally in the actor audience relationship in *Making Space for Theatre*.<sup>16</sup> Their several publications on the developing design of the Shakespeare's Globe reconstruction are a valuable record of why and how that project came to be in existence as an example of the Elizabethan outdoor playhouse. Several works have sought to create a compendium of the documentary evidence, notably Glynne Wickham's *English Professional Theatre 1530–1660* in collaboration with Herbert Berry and William Ingram.<sup>17</sup>

Relatively little has been published that addresses the business of theatre operation (as opposed to acting company or contemporary business as described in plays). William Ingram has published studies of entrepreneurs in the theatre in *The Business of Playing* and *A London Life in the Brazen Age*,<sup>18</sup> as well as his contributions to *English Professional Theatre 1530–1660*. More directly allied to my own approach is that of Melissa Aaron whose *Global Economics*, examines, in a practical business form the operations of the Chamberlain's Men.<sup>19</sup>

I concentrate on the information that has been found and transcribed, often by Chambers and Wickham, who in turn drew from Malone, C. W. Wallace, A. Feuillerat and W. W. Gregg, amongst many others, in order to form my theatre businessman's view of the development of professional playing in the London purpose-built theatres. I bring

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*The Progresses, Pageants & Entertainment of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, paperback 2013).

<sup>16</sup> Ronnie Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (eds), *Making Space for Theatre: British Architecture and Theatre since 1958* (Stratford-upon-Avon: Mulryne and Shewring, 1995).

<sup>17</sup> Glynne Wickham, Herbert Berry and William Ingram (eds), *English Professional Theatre, 1530–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

<sup>18</sup> William Ingram, *The Business of Playing: The Beginnings of the Adult Professional Theater in Elizabethan London* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1992) and *A London Life in the Brazen Age: Francis Langley, 1548–1602* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1990).

<sup>19</sup> Melissa D. Aaron, *Global Economics: A History of the Theater Business, the Chamberlain's/King's Men and Their Plays, 1599–1642* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005).

to this study some 50 years of experience as stage manager, producer and designer of theatre buildings and in the business planning of theatres today. My interest in the early modern open-air amphitheatres, and the vast amount of scholarship that they and their playwrights have attracted, began in 1971 when I first became the theatre consultant to Sam Wanamaker's Shakespeare's Globe project. Over the next twenty-two years I worked with the architect Theo Crosby and Sam Wanamaker to form the brief for the Shakespeare's Globe project and prepared its business plans. Following Sam Wanamaker's death in December 1993, I took on the role of Chief Executive of the enterprise, seeing it through the building of the theatre and its opening seasons. The long gestation period of the Globe was illuminated by the annual academic conferences at which many of the leading scholars presented papers, notably under the chairmanship of Glynne Wickham and Andrew Gurr. It was these conferences that initiated my academic interest in the study of early modern theatres. I learnt at these conferences that, despite almost two centuries of research, mostly directed at finding references to Shakespeare, we still knew little about the buildings and the businesses that they served. It is this gap in our understanding of the businesses that I have attempted to fill in this thesis.

I was lucky enough to be at the archaeological excavations of the Rose Theatre (1989) and the Globe remains the following year. Later, at the Theatre excavations in Shoreditch, there was some confirmation of the shape and size of these theatres. Yet still we built the Globe 'reconstruction' larger, discounting all evidence that did not confirm that Shakespeare's theatre must have been larger and more impressive than those we had excavated. It is a potential bias that was, until recently, a factor in much of the most respected work of researchers and transcribers on the subject.

When it opened in 1997, the reconstructed Shakespeare's Globe proved a vocal challenge to the actors but, despite its size, it welded the audience into a reactive body of

human emotion like no other theatre I had ever experienced. The audience reacted vocally and physically to the performance, more committed and involved in the ‘reality’ of the play than in other theatres. Some, overcome by their emotions, fainted and had to be helped from the arena. This was theatre of a power that I had never known. In the years since I have tried to explore this polygonal playhouse phenomenon further with a putative experiment begun at the Rose Theatre in Kingston-on-Thames, unfortunately never developed under later leadership of that theatre.

This thesis is the marriage of my experience in theatre building and management to the scholarship that has given us primary evidence on the activities, and occasionally, the finances of these early London theatres. It sets out to understand how the first businesses in professional public theatre were formed and prospered in the Elizabethan period. I hope to have brought some reality to a number of the statements casually made, so often that they have become accepted fact, despite direct evidence to the contrary: ‘The theatres held three-thousand people’: they didn’t, the archaeology and my own analysis of *Henslowe’s Diary* shows that the capacity was far lower. ‘They were huge and magnificent buildings’: in fact they were built using the timber framing to be found in hundreds of London houses of the time, though their decoration was grander. That the evidence in legal cases that form so much of the written material we have, are a fair and representative reflection of the facts and the characters of these first entrepreneurs, despite the obvious implication that the parties involved would overstate their case or distort the truth, in their bid for a successful outcome to their litigation. All these offer distorted images and we must consider this in drawing characterisations and conclusions.

In this thesis I have sought to understand and illustrate the financing of four managements and their purpose designed theatre buildings about which we have some direct evidence, through leases, court cases and through *Henslowe’s Diary*. There are

other enterprises about which we have too little evidence to form any picture of the business and these can only be used to support of my primary subjects. The work does not set out to put questions or find answers but to follow the natural path of the process by which the entrepreneurs of the industry found the means and opportunity to establish their enterprise. Even for the few examples selected the information lacks the completeness one would wish, and, against all my instincts, I have found it necessary to extrapolate to give a coherent picture. I believe that the resulting picture is accurate in substance and gives a different assessment of these early theatres to those that have gone before.

As the subject is potentially wide ranging I have had to limit the possibility of much new research for this thesis to some London parish records and maps at the London Metropolitan Archive, and to the records of the Grocers' Company, held at the Guildhall Library, in the City of London. I have also explored at first hand the plans and images of theatres held in the John Webb Collection at Worcester College, Oxford, the van Buchell drawing of the Swan Theatre and the prospect of the London from the north, held at the University of Utrecht, as well as of the Cockpit-at-Court, held at the Soane Museum. I have reviewed and extended my previous work on the plans of theatres of the period in the light of more recent archaeological interpretations, to give me the most likely configurations of the theatres, including a departure from the generally accepted form of the second Blackfriars theatre and the stage of the Fortune Theatre.

My approach in this thesis has been to bring to the subject a deep knowledge of theatre, its capitalisation and operation, achieved over fifty years in the creation and management of theatres as stage manager, impresario, and theatre consultant. In this I am encouraged by the work of C. Walter Hodges, always a still small voice at the back of the room in the Globe's Academic Conferences, but who, through his own practical

experience as theatre designer, and his instinctive understanding of the Globe and Rose theatres, turned out to be far more prescient (as proven by later archaeological discoveries), than the more buoyant and forceful arguments of his academic colleagues. It was Walter Hodges's work that inspired me to reconsider the physical forms of the main London theatres of the period in my MA thesis at Warwick University and it is that sense of the practically experienced observer seeing the larger pattern that has encouraged me to undertake this thesis.

### **Structure of the Thesis**

The work is divided into five chapters with sub-headings to help the reader negotiate their content. Two appendices transcribe the *Henslowe Diary* in different forms to illustrate the financial and programming patterns of the Rose theatre. A third reviews the relative performance of individual plays. A fourth appendix consolidates the speculative accounts of the Burbage enterprises.

The first chapter, 'Scene Setting', is designed to recount briefly the circumstances that, in combination, allowed the creation of a purpose designed building-based theatre business in London by 1560. Of necessity this chapter is a very simplified overview of a vast subject; I set it out so that readers may understand what I believe are the important precursors to the creation of permanent public theatres. They are not presented as studies in their own right but as *aide memoires* to readers before addressing the main topics. Businesses arise from opportunities and circumstances, thus context is important to understanding their arrival and changes over time.

Chapter Two considers the creation of the public theatres of the Children of St. Paul's and the Children of the Chapels Royal. The cathedral and the Court, from which they derived, provided financial support for the training of boys in music, especially

singing, in skilled acting, and in the dances of the time. They began as performers of domestic entertainment and grew into significant theatre organisations. For both companies of children I shall show that financial necessity drove them to perform in public to secure additional revenue when their parent organisations reduced the level of their core funding. Both created public performance spaces by conversion of existing buildings. Both suffered severe set-backs when their original leaderships died. I suggest that it was the loss of leadership with a sensibility to public taste that led eventually to their collapse. A cause of difficulty in these later operations was that political satire and religious contention, from the mouths of apparently innocent boys, could be amusing and intriguing to the popular audience that was not the object of the commentary, but could be unacceptable to an authority that was the target. A sensitive balance in business is essential for success.

The boy companies could present the female character in a performance where 'male' and 'female' were (because of age) less distant in voice and form, the adult companies also used boys to present the female characters. Recently there has been intense debate on gender issues and the disorientation of gender involved in boys playing women configures neatly to these debates. In that debate contrast is made between the 'reality' in performance that we anticipate in our cinematic and video world, and reflected too in modern, very small, theatres where the audience observes the performance within touching distance. I wonder if the original boy company work would be 'realistic' enough for modern audiences. The present-day Globe audiences certainly accept the cross gender playing, even when placed at the extremity of age and vocal character. I suspect a distancing artificiality prevailed in the sixteenth century and the concentration was on the poetry and the music rather than personification so that the gender issues would be far less significant to Elizabethan audiences than to current ones.

The actual public performances of French and Italian women were not received well at the time because they gainsaid the English convention of a women's role in society. It is surely impossible today, to properly understand that assumption of 'normality' in understanding the boy companies and the boy players in the adult companies in the way they were understood in the sixteenth century.

Chapter Three takes the detailed (if incomplete) information set out in the *Henslowe Diary* to examine the capitalisation and operation of the Rose theatre of 1587 and 1592. This chapter may seem out of sequence as chronologically it should follow the discussion of the earlier 1576 Theatre of Burbage; it is here because in order to interpret the Burbage operation we need to understand the financial detail that Henslowe gives us in his *Diary*. This chapter uses the play titles and returns recorded by Henslowe from 1591 until 1597 to test the capacity of the Rose and sheds new light on the reasons why Henslowe, a dyer, and John Cholmley, a grocer, came together to create the Rose and the means of capitalisation they used. The chapter is supported by the appendices, the first of which sets out an extrapolation of the Henslowe records to give approximations of both the acting company income and the number of people in the audience in the theatre for each performance. From this, weekly and annual incomes are developed. In the second appendix the Henslowe record is set out in a form to show the repertoire and the frequency of playing of each play and the period until, if at all, the play returns to the repertoire. From this second appendix a third appendix is derived, identifying the relative success of the plays for both Henslowe and the acting company.

For the Rose theatre, the competition of Francis Langley's newly built Swan theatre is clearly evident in the *Henslowe Diary* records of daily returns. These are identified and the geographical advantage or disadvantage enjoyed by the Swan's location compared to that of the Rose is discussed. In considering the alterations made to

the Rose and the design of the Fortune Theatre an argument is made that the thrust of the development was towards increasing the capacity of the yard whilst leaving the seated audience capacity the same. It might seem that Edward Alleyn as leading actor and partner to Henslowe was determined to have more groundlings to play to. The Fortune Theatre extends the yard capacity even further.

Chapter Four uses some of the information learnt from examination of the Henslowe records to go back to the creation by James Burbage and John Brayne of the Theatre in the grounds of Holywell Priory in 1576. I have combined the achieved returns from Henslowe's Rose with supplementary information derived from a number of cases at law between Burbage and his partner's widow Margaret Brayne and her champion and creditor Robert Miles. Transcribed by Charles Wallace and checked and amplified in further transcriptions by Herbert Berry these court cases have direct evidence from carpenters, from John Hyde, the mortgager of the Theatre, from notaries and witnesses to agreements, and of course the direct evidence and claims of the principals. The chapter develops an approximation of the annual returns that the Theatre generated between 1576 and 1587 when the Rose in Southwark was feared to be going to draw an audience to the south, away from the Theatre. Of necessity the assessments of annual income and expenses, together with the return of capital, are speculative. They cannot be directly evidenced for there is no such information, but they give a coherent picture of how the Theatre might well have begun as an undercapitalised enterprise growing only very slowly to flourish as a theatre business. The extrapolations meet all the known factual evidence at the appropriate points in the narration. The chapter concludes with the joint management arrangement with the nearby Curtain theatre (for a shared return by the managements of the two theatres' profits must imply some form of joint management) to

ensure income from the northern audience will be sufficient to sustain a business upon the advent of the Rose theatre in the south.

Chapter Five follows the Burbage family enterprise from 1587 up to the creation of the second Blackfriars theatre and the first Globe theatre of 1599, though it draws on later evidence (the sharer's papers of 1635) to create a financial assessment of this developing business. A brief investigation is made of the capacity, both numerical and financial, of the second Blackfriars to complete the picture of the Burbage family enterprise. In particular this uses the information from the so called 'Sharers' Papers' to identify the likely income and therefore capacity of the second Blackfriars as a rather smaller theatre than has generally been assumed.

The thesis draws to a close with a review of the conclusions that I believe can be drawn from the study. These are greater certainty of the financing and cost of the theatres, the sharper definition of audience sizes and theatre capacities, greater understanding of the nature of the competition for audiences and geographical location of theatres in the late sixteenth century. The companies of children in the late sixteenth century are shown to be more divorced in operation from those of the adult companies than is usually assumed from the later (seventeenth century) work of these companies when they appear to be very different in character to the earlier, domestically engendered, ones. When Rosencrantz speaks of the boy players he speaks of the fact that they are 'in fashion' but the reference is surely to the Jacobean boy company under the patronage of the Queen rather than to the earlier companies of St. Paul's and the Royal Chapels.<sup>20</sup> This is confirmed by his reference in line 1400 to 'the Controversy' that might relate to the 1590s Marprelate exchanges or the 1608 satire on some leading courtiers. In the early

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<sup>20</sup> *Hamlet, First Folio*, line 1389 (London: Paul Hamlyn, New York W.W. Norton & Co., 1968), pp.770-1.

years of Elizabeth's reign the boy companies were the normal entertainment at Court, where reputations were made. Only in the penultimate decade of the sixteenth century when John Lyly's plays attract attention at Court can they be said to return, briefly, to 'fashion' and this is surely too early for Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. The boy companies of the seventeenth century are outside the scope of this thesis but my reading is that Hamlet's jibe is aimed at the Children of the Queen's Revels.

The Rose theatre, involving as it did a journey by water or across a crowded London Bridge, may have been more prone to variations in audience size. Certainly after the Swan theatre opened with its popular audience route across the Thames from Westminster and the Inns of Court to the Paris Garden steps, where there was a good landing place, the Rose suffered financially. Generally commentators assume the audience comes to the Rose and the Globe via London Bridge but the financial returns suggest that water was at least as popular as a route and fixed in people's mind by the long established bear and bull baiting arenas, closer to Paris Garden than to London Bridge. I have found no reason to assume that Henslowe played a major role in the management of the Rose theatre's playing companies, though he undoubtedly used his embarrassment of cash to finance the company, just as he made investments in property. His later years with a more direct hand in management of the company follow a trend to be found in other theatre managements of the time, but these are not within the time limits of this thesis and will be discussed in a further paper.

The building of the Theatre and the early years of the Burbage enterprise are, I believe, made clearer and simpler than the convolutions drawn from court cases many years later that form the subject of much writing on the subject. The capacity of the Theatre and thus, likely capacity of the Globe are formed from a re-assessment of the

physical theatre rather than exaggerated reports of visitors, anxious to report of wondrous sights in London rather than reasoned reporting.

## **Chapter One**

### **Scene Setting**

Whilst drama developed in England throughout the sixteenth century and playing expanded with many touring companies, purpose made theatre buildings for the presentation of drama only began to appear in Queen Elizabeth's reign. The commercial impetus of the entrepreneurs who built them inevitably required a number of social and economic circumstances to be in place in order to justify their enterprise. Amongst them were: dramas of sufficient quality, playing companies of sufficient experience and ability to attract frequent and regular attenders, a population of sufficient size and wealth to patronize theatres, a stable money supply within which to finance theatre construction, and perhaps above all, an adventurous society in which innovation was looked for and applauded.

This chapter is a brief review of these circumstances which were sufficiently developed by the first decade of Elizabeth's reign for purpose-built theatres to appear. It does not seek to be a detailed history of the growth of these circumstances, rather it is an appraisal of the significant 'stepping stones' along the way that triggered the enterprise of the early theatre builders with which this thesis is centrally concerned; Samuel Westcote of St. Paul's, Richard Farrant of the Royal Chapel, James Burbage and John Brayne of the Theatre, Globe and Blackfriars, Philip Henslowe and Edward Alleyn of the Rose and Fortune theatres.

## English Language and the development of play texts

The development of the English language was led by, and best illustrated in, the development of the so-called Wycliffe (manuscript) Bibles from the 1380s to the first printed English language Bible of 1526 by Tyndale and onwards to the *Great Bible* of 1539, which was to be placed in every church in a convenient place ‘to be read by all’.<sup>1</sup> Bibles require expressive words and phrases that communicate and elevate emotions. The development of the English biblical texts must have been a major factor in developing the flexibility in language that Shakespeare had available by the end of the century. David Daniell in his preface to W.R. Cooper’s edition of *The New Testament: Translated by William Tyndale*, the first printed in English, emphasises the huge importance of Tyndale’s Bible in the development of English. He suggests that only a few legal documents, such as wills, were written in English by 1526 (the year of its publication), and that the written English language was:

uncertain in its direction, being made up of elements from Norman French, from older Saxon, and from Latin [...] Yet William Tyndale made for The New Testament an English of great clarity, economy and power. It is worth remembering that he had no models for this [...] Tyndale chose a register of slightly heightened common English speech, with a simple Saxon syntax of subject-verb-object, avoiding grammatical dependencies, and a Saxon vocabulary.<sup>2</sup>

Tyndale’s Bible was widely circulated, despite attempts to suppress it by Henry VIII. The development of the language progressed through Coverdale’s extension of Tyndale’s work published in 1535 (with a permitted printing of 1,500 copies and with parts of the Old Testament incorporated) and on through the (authorised) *Great*

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<sup>1</sup> In 1538, Thomas Cromwell instructed the clergy ‘to provide one great book of the Bible of the largest volume in English and the same to be set-up in some convenient place within the said church that you have care of, whereas your parishioners may most commodiously resort to the same and read it’. The following year the *Great Bible* became the authorised English edition. ‘Second Injunction 1538’, viewed online 28.3.2019, [www.henryviiihereign.co.uk](http://www.henryviiihereign.co.uk)

<sup>2</sup> David Daniell, ‘Preface’, in W.R. Cooper (ed.), *The New Testament: Translated by William Tyndale* (London: British Library, 2000), p. vi.

*Bible* of 1539. These works showed the importance of words, chosen carefully to reflect the religious understanding of an England now free from Rome and able to chart a separate course. This new confidence in English must have been empowering to a burgeoning middle class, working in their day-to-day lives in English. It would not be going too far to suggest that the statutory enforcement of the use of the English Bible, by Henry VIII (for political reasons) in 1538, gave a new regard for the English language and, with it, an authority in expression for those who spoke English. It is a measure of Tyndale's genius that so much of his text appears in the King James Bible of 1611.

The printing of the *Geneva Bible* of 1560, the first version of the English Bible that was divided into verses, gave the language a shorter structure with more emphasis on the phrase or sentence. E.K. Chambers suggests that this may have inspired the first known English play in blank verse *Gorboduc*, performed at the Inner Temple and at Court in 1561.<sup>3</sup> Chamber notes that one of its authors, Thomas Norton, was a Calvinist, whose first wife, Margaret, was the daughter of Thomas Cranmer and his second wife, Alice, was Cranmer's niece.<sup>4</sup> Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote *The Book of Common Prayer* to confirm an Anglican litany using very carefully chosen words and phrases of some beauty.

Thomas Wyatt established the sonnet form in the English pattern (three quatrains and a couplet), books of his poetry were published in 1549 and 1557, though they were in manuscript circulation rather earlier.<sup>5</sup> Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, published his translation of Virgil's *Aeneid* in blank verse in 1554–1557 and

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<sup>3</sup> J. E. Leubering, 'Gorboduc', Britannica on line, [www.britannica.com/topic/gorboduc](http://www.britannica.com/topic/gorboduc) [accessed 29.3.2019].

<sup>4</sup> *ES*, vol. III, pp. 456-57.

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.Britannica.com/Sir-Thomas-Wyatt>, Kathleen Kuiper (ed.) accessed online 1.9.19.

this might be a more likely inspiration for *Gorboduc* as an Inns of Court play.

English sonnets were to reach their apogee in Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, first printed in full in 1609 but written as much as a decade earlier. C. Knox Pooler in his edition of these poems notes that the form was 'first used by Wyatt and afterwards more freely by Surrey' and that the form was very popular by 1597 when he cites several works in English sonnet form.<sup>6</sup>

It may be seen that by 1560 the English language had developed the structural range and vocabulary to express complex and difficult subjects. Shakespeare moves from blank verse to prose and to rhymed verse with great dexterity in his plays as the character and scene demands. *Loves Labour's Lost*, Act IV, scene iii, gives a demonstration, varying the speed of the scene and character by the form of the language.<sup>7</sup> Here the variety in the lovers' sonnets, in Italian and English form, and a rhymed couplet poem, contrast with Berowne's cynical commentary in prose. Note Berowne's change to blank verse to pick up the speed of the play again at the end of the scene. These are demonstrations of a technical mastery of a, now, very flexible language.

In the same period the religious debates over the nature of the mass and transubstantiation inevitably raised the issue of belief and the willing suspension of disbelief. Luther in the 1520s said the objective reality of the bread and the wine persisted but one could believe Christ to be present because of his words.<sup>8</sup> Henry VIII's Six Articles of 1539 insisted on the reality of the transubstantiation of the

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<sup>6</sup> C. Knox Pooler (ed.), *The Works of Shakespeare: Sonnets* (London: Methuen, 1918, third edn, revised, 1945), p. xxxvii.

<sup>7</sup> Shakespeare, *Loves Labour's Lost*, Folio, pp. 132-34 (facsimile pp.150-52).

<sup>8</sup> Thomas J. Davis, 'The Truth of the Devine Words: Luther's Sermons on the Eucharist 1521-1528 and the Structure of Eucharistic Meaning', in *The Sixteenth Century Journal* Vol. 30, No. 2 (Summer 1999), pp. 323-42.

bread and the wine into Christ's body and blood.<sup>9</sup> Elizabeth's thirty-nine articles of 1563 outlawed the mass and insisted that transubstantiation did not take place.<sup>10</sup> The debate proposed that words could be imputed with an imagined reality, one that could be accepted for the fulfilment of a ceremony or event whilst objective reality was set aside. This parallel understanding of realities is the essence of theatre where we willingly suspend our disbelief and enter into the 'reality' of the play whilst remaining conscious of the reality of our surroundings.

Thus, by the early years of Elizabeth's reign both language and an imagined reality, necessary for a full involvement in the drama, were established in English language and thought. The authority of the English crown in religious affairs and politics was now independent of Rome and Spain and a new sense of freedom and opportunity must have been apparent. Those of us who experienced a similar wave of expectation in 1952, when a second Elizabeth came to the throne, have some experience of the self-confidence it imbued in the whole population.

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<sup>9</sup> David Crowther '6 Articles Act', online at <https://thehistoryofengland.co.uk/resource/the-six-articles-1539/>, revised 1.2.2018.

<sup>10</sup> Edgar C.S. Gibson, *The Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England* (London, Methuen, 1896), pp. 33-34.

### **Paid entry to performances**

The first reference to paying for entry to a theatre performance is to be found in William Lambarde's *A Perambulation of Kent*. In the 1576 edition he uses the several payments for entry at Paris Garden (baiting arena) or the Bell Savage Inn (theatre), in penny increments, each to a further and better place to see the performance, as a simile for the stages of access to the shrine of St. Rumwald at Boxley Abbey:

No more than such as go to Paris Garden, the Bell Savage, or some such common place, to behold Bear Baiting, Interludes, or Fence plays, can account of any pleasant spectacle unless they first pay one penny at the gate, another at the entry of the scaffold, and a third for a quiet standing.<sup>11</sup>

Oscar Brownstein takes us further into the beginnings of paid entry to performance in his analysis of *The Register of the Masters of Defence*.<sup>12</sup> This register (Sloane MS 2530) records the prizes fought for the award of Masters Degrees by the Brotherhood of Masters of the Noble Science of Defence. Brownstein analyses the records (see Table 1) of those fencing shows in which awards were made but there must have been many more fencing bouts for commercial gain of which we have no record. This list gives us a changing picture of the developing ability to make a theatre building-based business. Until 1559 the locations used would appear to be open spaces, streets and public courtyards, where the bout must have been rewarded by money thrown to the players, or perhaps a collection taken as at other street entertainments, since no control over entry was possible. As time went on, the opportunity grew to attract greater audiences to purely commercial bouts in places

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<sup>11</sup> William Lambarde, *A Perambulation of Kent* (London: imprinted for Ralphe Newberrie, 1576), pp. 187-88.

<sup>12</sup> O. L. Brownstein, 'A Record of London Inn-Playhouses from c.1565-1590', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 22 (1) (1971), 17-24.

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where the amount of money collected could be controlled at a gate. Anyone who has operated both ‘collection’ and ‘ticketed’ performances knows the financial reward for a paid entry is considerably higher. Though we have no information on the sixteenth century the differences in financial returns must have been similar.

<b>c. 1540–58</b>		<b>1559–78</b>		<b>1579–90</b>	
<i>place</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>place</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>place</i>	<i>No.</i>
Leadenhall	12	Leadenhall	1		
Greyfriars	2	Greyfriars	1		
Tower	1	Tower	1		
Ely Place	1	Ely Place	1		
Sessions Hall	2	Castle in Holborn	1		
St. Martins	1	Bridewell	1		
Clink	1	Rochester House	1		
Salisbury Court	1	Bull	10	Bull	11
Total	21	Bell Savage	7	Bell Savage	4
		The Theatre	1	The Theatre	5
		Total	25	The Curtain	7
				Dukes Place	1
				Artillery Gardens	1
				Total	29

*Table 1. Fencing prizes fought for degrees in the Brotherhood of the Noble Science of Defence.<sup>13</sup>*

The table gives a picture of the changing commercial nature of the enterprise. The list shows that in the period 1559–1578 two inns and the Theatre developed a useful infrastructure for presenting the bouts, and this would suggest a raised stage with the scaffolds mentioned by Lambarde and, most importantly, a ‘gate’ in order to control entry. The Bell Savage Inn is identified by Brownstein as commencing earlier (in the 1560s) than the Bull which, he suggests, began performances of fencing in the 1570s while the Theatre dates from 1576. Brownstein goes on to analyse shorter periods to show that different venues became popular for a few years. He illustrates that between 1578 and 1581 the Theatre and Curtain theatre were used three times against

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<sup>13</sup> Brownstein, *Ibid*, p. 18.

the Bull's six times, but in the period 1582–1583 the Theatre and Curtain are used exclusively. The bouts return to the Bell Savage and Bull in the period 1584–1590 during which time only two prizes are recorded for the Theatre. Brownstein examines plague events as a possible reason for the change in preferred location but without being able to draw a conclusion. In fact, this period shows no marked eruption of the plague, so there must be another reason. It is more probable that the changes in location are commercially driven. The Brotherhood were persuaded to make their audience walk to the northern suburbs by a freedom, in Middlesex, from the increasing limitations on playing days and times and the licence fees imposed by the City of London. The period from 1581 to 1584 is one in which the City sparred with the Privy Council over the control of 'plays, tumblings, interludes and prizes', the last being the sword play Brownstein analyses, and all these entertainments were the business of the inns and theatres able to charge for entry.<sup>14</sup>

Private houses also served as small playhouses. In April 1566, the City bound over one Robert Fryer, Goldsmith, in the sum of ten pounds, not to perform plays at 'his mansion before the hour of four-of-the-clock in the afternoon upon any Sunday or other festival or Holy day'.<sup>15</sup> The phrasing suggests a regular commercial operation. The Act of the Common Council of the City for the regulation of all theatrical performances in London, dated 6 December 1574, imposed licensing restrictions on the places of playing, requiring sureties and bonds to be placed with the Chamberlain of London.<sup>16</sup> The Act describes such performances as 'plays interludes and shows'. In addition to the fees and fines contributions were required to the funding of hospitals, there must have been a temptation to expand the

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<sup>14</sup> *ES*, vol. iv, Documents of Control, pp. 283-302, items li to lxxv.

<sup>15</sup> *EPT*, p. 57, item 28 (a).

<sup>16</sup> *EPT*, pp. 73-7, item 35.

interpretation of the Act to provide as much money as possible for the poor and sick.

A similar system of financing the hospitals pertained in Madrid.<sup>17</sup>

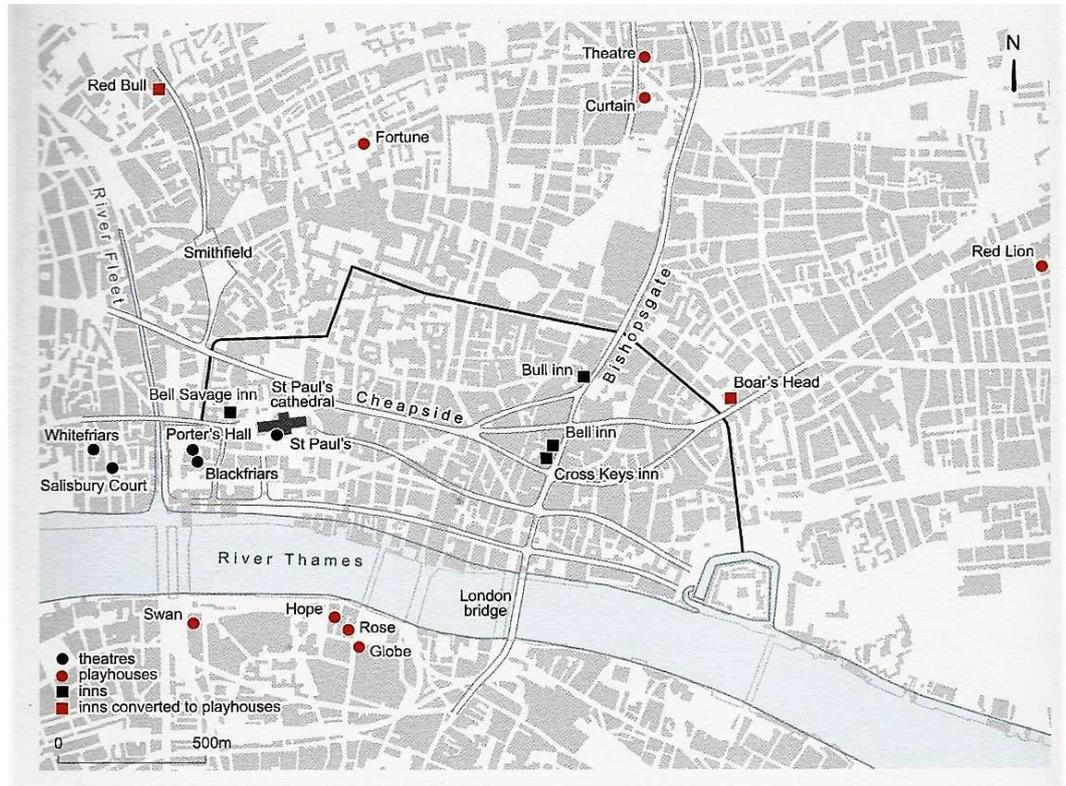


Fig. 1: Theatres in London, located on a present-day map.<sup>18</sup>

On the evidence of the fencing records one might well conclude that the Bell Savage was the first in London to place the all-important gate at the point of entry and to charge further for scaffolds sometime in the 1560s. It is not unreasonable to infer, therefore, that John Brayne, grocer, followed the Bell Savage precedent in erecting a stage and scaffold at the Red Lion in 1567.<sup>19</sup> The Red Lion was not an inn but a house or farm in the fields south-east of Whitechapel, then a popular area for

<sup>17</sup> Rachel Bell, ‘“Beautiful Serpents & Cathedrals of Pestilence”: Anti-theatrical Traditions, Gender Decline and Political Crisis in Early Modern Spain and England’, *The Seventeenth Century Journal*, XLV (3), (2005), 541-63.

<sup>18</sup> Julian Bowsher, *Shakespeare’s London Theatreland* (London: Museum of London Archaeology, 2012), p. 26.

<sup>19</sup> John Brayne, grocer, was the partner of James Burbage in the building of the Theatre in 1576. See chapter four of this thesis.

holiday sports and festivities.<sup>20</sup> Or perhaps Brayne invented the idea of paying to see a show and the Bell Savage copied it; this would still fit the time frame of Brownstein's analysis. We are unlikely ever to know which venue was first or whether, like so many new ideas, two or more people had the same idea at more-or-less the same time. Robert Fryer, goldsmith, was presenting plays in 1566 and David Kathman has shown performances in 1543 in inn yards where controlled entry may have been possible.<sup>21</sup> Because the early Elizabethan fencing records are in open spaces rather than inn yards I suspect that the idea of paying on entry was not established until about 1560. I shall show that the St. Paul's Boys are likely to have been performing to the public by the early 1560s with a controlled entry. The baiting arenas in Paris Garden, where entry could be controlled, according to Lambarde in 1576, are shown on the Braun and Hogenburg map of about 1560 (see figure 2). In this pre-payment the theatre achieves a certainty of a reasonable income, but it requires the audience to believe that the performance will be entertaining and worthy of repeat attendance and this is the presumption of a permanent 'professional' theatre.

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<sup>20</sup> *EPT*, p. 290, introduction to chapter XVI.

<sup>21</sup> David Kathman, 'Inn-Yard Playhouses' in Richard Dutton, (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), (pp. 153-67).

### The rise of the playing company

The process of the formation of household playing companies is still unclear as very few household records exist from the period. Susanne Westfall has examined some of those that do, in particular those of the Percy (Earl of Northumberland) and Rutland households. It is clear from these accounts that the household choir boys were used in entertainments and that the Percy's Almoner was also a 'maker of interludes', whilst the Earl of Rutland paid servants, normally employed for other duties, to rehearse plays for the family entertainment.<sup>22</sup> Lawrence Manley has similarly explored the Earl of Derby's Records.<sup>23</sup> He proposes patrons sometimes directed players to particular households as thanks for services rendered, evidenced by the Queen's Men's visits to the Derby's estates in 1588–1589, following the Earl's service against the Armada.<sup>24</sup>

Whilst largely unrecorded, it seems improbable to me that the delights of storytelling, of costume, and the adoption of a character remote from one's own, were not firstly the perquisite of the female members of larger households, though for reasons of propriety, in masks or disguisings where the face could be hidden, at least in pretence.<sup>25</sup> Suzanne Westfall suggests the importance of women in producing household entertainments and she gives examples from the early-seventeenth-century to show female performance activity and the use of a heightened language,

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<sup>22</sup> Suzanne Westfall, "What Revels are at Hand?": Performances in the Great Households' Arthur F. Kinney (ed.), in *A Companion to Renaissance Drama*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), pp. 266-80, see p. 274.

<sup>23</sup> Lawrence Manley, "'In Great Men's Houses': Playing, Patronage, and the Performance of Tudor History', in *Rethinking Historicism from Shakespeare to Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 159-78.

<sup>24</sup> Manley, p. 165.

<sup>25</sup> The term 'mask' rather than 'masque' is used for the simpler short scenes and dances of the pre-Elizabethan period rather than the elaborate performances of the Court 'masque'. This follows a precedent established by John Astington in *English Court Theatre 1558–1642* to distinguish Elizabethan from the yet more elaborate Jacobean masque.

performance and costume.<sup>26</sup> My own research into *The Masque of Shipmen and Country Maids* performed at West Horsley in 1559 during a visit by Elizabeth strongly suggests that the female Royal Court played in this mask as the costumes and properties were sent to Hampton Court, where the Court was in residence, before they were shipped to West Horsley for the private performance. Today drama theatre audiences have a higher proportion of women than men in the audience, about 60%.

In November 1558 when Elizabeth came to the throne, she was only twenty-five years old. England, under Mary, had lost the town of Calais in January of that year, an important political and economic loss. The religious changes from Protestant Edward through the Catholic Mary to a more tolerant, but definitely Anglican, Elizabeth will have created some social insecurity and the economy was in a poor state. She and her female court were new to their position and masking would have been a very useful way to establish an easier social interchange with the established male Court, allowing the formal occasion to be more ‘distant’, as the image of a strong Queen would require. Elizabeth was reputed to be a good dancer and the dances, within or ancillary to, masks would be an opportunity to show her to her best advantage. There were ten masks at Court in 1558–1559.<sup>27</sup> In addition there were masks at Nonsuch and at West Horsley during visits in 1559. In the three years 1560–1562 only Lord Dudley’s adult players perform (once each year) whilst the boys of St. Paul’s play four times.<sup>28</sup> In the same period there are four masks for the French Ambassadors.

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<sup>27</sup> John Astington, *English Court Theatre, 1558–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 222.

<sup>28</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p.142.

In London the established acting companies must have played for their patrons in their London mansions. Again, we have few records, but Lawrence Manley suggests that Lord Strange's company was formed out of Leicester's on their patron's demise and migrated to London just as Lord Strange (the future Earl of Derby) took up his place in the House of Lords. Presumably they came to London to support their patron by playing.<sup>29</sup> Robert Fryer's fines from the City show that the richer merchants in London were hosting performances in their mansions and there are references to companies playing at weddings and other festivities. An Act of Common Council of the City of London dated 6 December 1574, forbids plays being 'openly played or showed' which suggests private performances could not, practicably, be controlled.<sup>30</sup> The City had long distinguished between plays where money was collected from the audience and plays within a household where no money was taken. An example is a Precept by the Lord Mayor to the Aldermen of the Ward of Cheape dated 26 November 1565:

[...] within your said ward that no manner of common play or enterlude be from henceforth permitted or suffered by any manner vintner or tavern keeper, inn-holder or victualler, or by any other person or persons to be made holden or kept in any their taverns, inns, victualling houses or in any other place or places where any manner of sum or sums of money shall be demanded, collected or gathered of any manner of person or persons for the hearing or seeing of any such play [...]<sup>31</sup>

The Royal Household has better records, though still far from complete. It retained 'enterluders' (actors for short playlets) from at least 1492 and the Earl of Oxford had 'players' but whether musical or dramatic is uncertain.<sup>32</sup> The summer

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<sup>29</sup> Lawrence Manley, "'In Great Men's Houses': Playing, Patronage, and the Performance of Tudor History', in *Rethinking Historicism from Shakespeare to Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 162.

<sup>30</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 274.

<sup>31</sup> *EPT*, p. 56, item 27 (b).

<sup>32</sup> Sydney Anglo, 'The Court festivals of Henry VII: A study based on the account books of John Heron, Treasurer of the Chamber', *John Rylands Library Bulletin*, 43 (1960-61), 12-43.

was the time for visiting and travelling for pleasure and finished as the roads became muddier and less reliable. Royal Progresses were completed by the end of September when the risk of adverse weather would make the transport of a thousand or more royal courtiers, officers and servants difficult or uncertain.<sup>33</sup> For the major households the pattern would be similar and for the same reasons. Long distance private visits are likely to have finished before Michaelmas Day (29 September), the legal quarter day, partly for manorial lords to collect rents and dues payable at the estate court on that day.

Summer progresses and visits gave opportunity for families to meet and to form the links that would reinforce them for the next generation. It was thus a time for the marriageable men and women to demonstrate their skills and attributes perhaps by dancing, or music, or by showing appreciation of texts and references in oratory, in masques or plays. It was the time, too, for parents to show their wealth to underline the benefit of a familial association. This worth might be demonstrated in part by a performance or a tableau where the aspiring young person's presentation could be reinforced and heightened by a good professional supporting cast from the household staff. Michael Shapiro makes clear the importance of such gifts and their enduring reciprocal nature.<sup>34</sup> Christmas was an extended period of feasting and performances. In Elizabeth's and James's reigns, performances were usually presented at Court on Christmas Day, St. Stephen's Day (26 December), and Twelfth

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<sup>33</sup> Mary Hill Cole, 'Monarchy in Motion: An Overview of Elizabethan Progresses', in Jayne Elizabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight (eds), *The Progresses, Pageants and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, paperback edition 2013), p. 43.

<sup>34</sup> Michael Shapiro, 'Patronage and the companies of boy actors', in Paul Whitfield White and Suzanne Westfall (eds), *Shakespeare and Theatrical Patronage in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 274.

Night (6 January) though other days might also have a play and Candlemas Day (2 February) was routinely celebrated with a play, often by companies of children.

Once individuals had been selected in the household staff to be players for private events it would not be too long before it became possible for those individuals to earn additional income outside their home establishment and to be encouraged by the applause and monetary rewards of other audiences. Sponsoring players in this way was potentially useful to their patron, both to spread awareness of his name and to confirm his importance and social power in providing the entertainment. Thus, professional companies began to travel with the protection of their lord under a written licence to travel and to perform. The sponsor's licence would, in turn, be endorsed by other lords, the increasing collection of seals becoming an affirmation of the company's ability and importance. Leicester's Men had been touring from at least 1559 when Lord Robert Dudley (he was not made Earl of Leicester until 1564) wrote a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord President of the North, asking him to confirm, for the north of England, his players'

[...] licence of diverse of my lords here under their seals and hands to play in diverse shires within the realm under their authority [...]<sup>35</sup>

His was the first company to receive a Royal Licence for their protection as The Earl of Leicester's Men in 1574. This licence was given on 10 May under the private seal of the Queen rather than as a Patent, though it is often referred to erroneously as a Patent (which would have to be under the Great Seal), it thus carries a personal request from the Queen rather than a state mandate.<sup>36</sup> These licences characterise the first companies as 'House Companies' dependent on the patron for support, rather

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<sup>35</sup> *EPT*, p. 205, item 151.

<sup>36</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 88.

than as independent businesses. It must be remembered that the players were rewarded in varying amounts according to the importance of their patron and the nature of the performance given. Ronnie Mulryne in his study of playing at the Guildhall in Stratford-on-Avon shows the Queen's Men receiving rather more than even the local Earl of Warwick's Men.<sup>37</sup>

The adult playing companies toured to fulfil the function of spreading their patron's fame and importance, and to seek audiences though touring would seem to have been very much a hand-to-mouth activity. Studies drawing on the increasing REED information identify relatively little money from civic authorities in rewards to the players, though they may well have given other (unrecorded) performances in the town and collected gratuities from individuals at the civic performances. There would appear to be a considerable dependence on the greater houses *en route* to provide additional income, accommodation and food.<sup>38</sup>

As London inns and theatres became established venues some companies managed to use them for considerable portions of the year. Some companies were only touring ones, the luckier ones coming to London for short periods.<sup>39</sup> The protection of a person of importance was also imperative to the London companies, as a defence against the City's attempts to suppress them, until 1604 when the main London companies were taken into the patronage and household of the King and the

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<sup>37</sup> J. R. Mulryne, 'Professional Theatre in the Guildhall 1568–1620', in J. R. Mulryne (ed.), *The Guild and Guild Buildings of Shakespeare's Stratford: Society, Religion, School and Stage* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), appendix 3, p. 200.

<sup>38</sup> Peter H. Greenfield "'The Actors are Come Hither': Travelling companies' in Arthur Kinney (ed.), *A Companion to Renaissance Drama*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), pp.212-23.

<sup>39</sup> David Kathman identifies some early playing spaces in 'The London Playing Bust of the Early 1580's and the Economics of Elizabethan Theatre', *Shakespeare Studies Columbia University*, vol.45, (2017), pp. 41-50, as does T.F. Ordish in *Early London Theatres*, (London: White Lion Publishers, 1971). These are not names ordinarily entered into the canon of playing spaces and we must assume that they or other Inns and houses were used throughout the period but less frequently, so escaping administrative notice. Who played in these venues is also unrecorded. It is likely that many touring companies found occasion to play in the London fringe theatre of its time.

royal family. This ultimate elevation in the status of the patrons may have been necessary to over-rule the City authority's objections and the complaints from private citizens regarding congestion from carriages taking the audience to the play.<sup>40</sup> For the Court itself, the patronage of plays was a way of linking to the citizen by the provision of entertainment. Despite relentless pressure from the City to forbid plays in and around London, the Privy Council ensured the public performances of the major companies and playhouses. For the Court unrest in the City might lessen trade, which reduced customs revenues, yet the predominantly young male population of the City (young men tend to lead migration and draw women and children after them once established) was more pliable and governable when given some entertainment. In 1630, Sir Thomas Roe wrote to the Queen of Bohemia (the Stuart Princess Elizabeth's name after her marriage to the Elector Palatine):

Your Majesty, will give me leave to tell you another general calamity; we have had no plays this six months, and that makes our statesmen see the good use of them, by the want: for if our heads had been filled by the loves of *Pyramus and Thisbe*, or the fortunes of *Don Quixote*, we should never have cared who made peace or war, but on the stage. But now every fool is enquiring what the French do in Italy, and what they treat in Germany.<sup>41</sup>

At the Royal Court entertainment of a musical nature was available from the court musicians and chapel choirs, whose primary duty was that of singing in church services, but they also sang secular songs and supported masks and other performances at the Court. Sydney Anglo has shown that the work of these choirs was important in entertainment at Court in the early Tudor period.<sup>42</sup> It was not

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<sup>40</sup> *EPT*, pp. 522-25, item 410 (a) and (b).

<sup>41</sup> Sir Thomas Roe, Letters to the Queen of Bohemia, 29 October 1630, about the plague. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Chas 1*, 174. Doc 102. Quoted in Andrew Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*, p. 285.

<sup>42</sup> Sydney Anglo, 'The Court Festivals of Henry VII: A study based on the account books of John Heron, Treasurer of the Chamber', in *John Reynolds Library Bulletin*, 43 (1960-1961). 12-43.

unnatural for the masters of these choirs to seek further recognition and advancement in creating interludes and ‘disguisings’ and beyond this to plays. Chambers shows that the choir masters, particularly at St. Paul’s where Sebastian Westcote, a Yeoman of the Chamber in 1545 and a ‘schoolmaster at Paul’s’ by 1557, began to train choir boys in speech and performance as well as in singing and musicianship.<sup>43</sup> The established boys companies never played outside the Court or in their own or other private (indoor) performance spaces, the common throng at an open air playhouse was not for them. It is likely that the lighter vocal modulation of the boy companies could be more subtle and their gesture more polished, given the indoor places in which they performed with closer physical and acoustic proximity to their audience. The rise of the professional adult company must, in part, have been to spend more rehearsal time together, developing a competitively polished vocal and physical performance. We must remember that actors were required to be multi-skilled. If a play would not suit then an acrobatic or tumbling performance might be presented by the same company, just as they need to be able to sing and dance the jigs that completed the performance. Both the Queen’s Mem and Lord Strange’s appear to have undertaken tumbling or feats of activity when required, as evidenced in the records of performances in studies of these companies.<sup>44</sup> In the late twentieth century the London Bubble Theatre (a touring company that set up tented theatres in London parks), of necessity, employed actors with a similar range of skills.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 12.

<sup>44</sup> Scot MacMillin & Sally-Beth MacLean, *The Queen’s Men and their plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, paperback 2006), appendix and Lawrence Manley and Sally-Beth MacLean, *Lord Strange’s Men and their plays* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2014), appendix C.

<sup>45</sup> Author’s own experience as a director of the London Bubble Theatre from the late 1970s until the turn of the century.

## Scene Setting

It is clear too, that most of the adult companies increasingly used indoor theatres from the first decade of the seventeenth century, where they too could enjoy the luxury of subtlety before a better educated audience (the audience paid more to come into the theatre and so had a predominantly higher education and earning capacity) in conditions more similar to their duties at Court. None-the-less the draw of the open-air playhouses with their larger, popular audiences, is evident in the fact that Shakespeare's company, the King's Men, rebuilt the Globe in 1613 despite having an indoor venue in Blackfriars and the Admiral's Men built (and rebuilt) the Fortune theatre without ever attempting to create an indoor theatre.

The REED Patrons and Performances Database shows a remarkable rise in company patrons under Elizabeth. The actual number of troupes is difficult to ascertain with certainty. Some clearly follow a family name, in succession, but a son may have his own troupe within the lifetime of his father (for instance Lord Strange, son of the Earl of Derby) and the amalgamation or demise of a troupe following the father's death may not always be clear. Troupes might also have passed from one patron to another for financial or reasons of politic but be essentially the same company with its knowledge and experience and plays but now under another name.

*Table 2. Troupes of Players and their Patrons<sup>46</sup>*

<i>Years</i>	<i>Entries</i>	<i>Approx. Troupes</i>	<i>Patrons</i>
1509–1557	88	47	60
1558–1603	179	95	123
1603–1642	74	48	52

Seventeen of the twenty-five Earldoms and two Dukedoms in Elizabeth's reign were patrons of acting companies whilst two of the patrons were female, the Duchess of Suffolk and Countess of Essex. The early success of Robert Dudley in presenting

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<sup>46</sup> REED Performances and Patrons online database <https://reed.utoronto.ca>, accessed 7.9.2019,

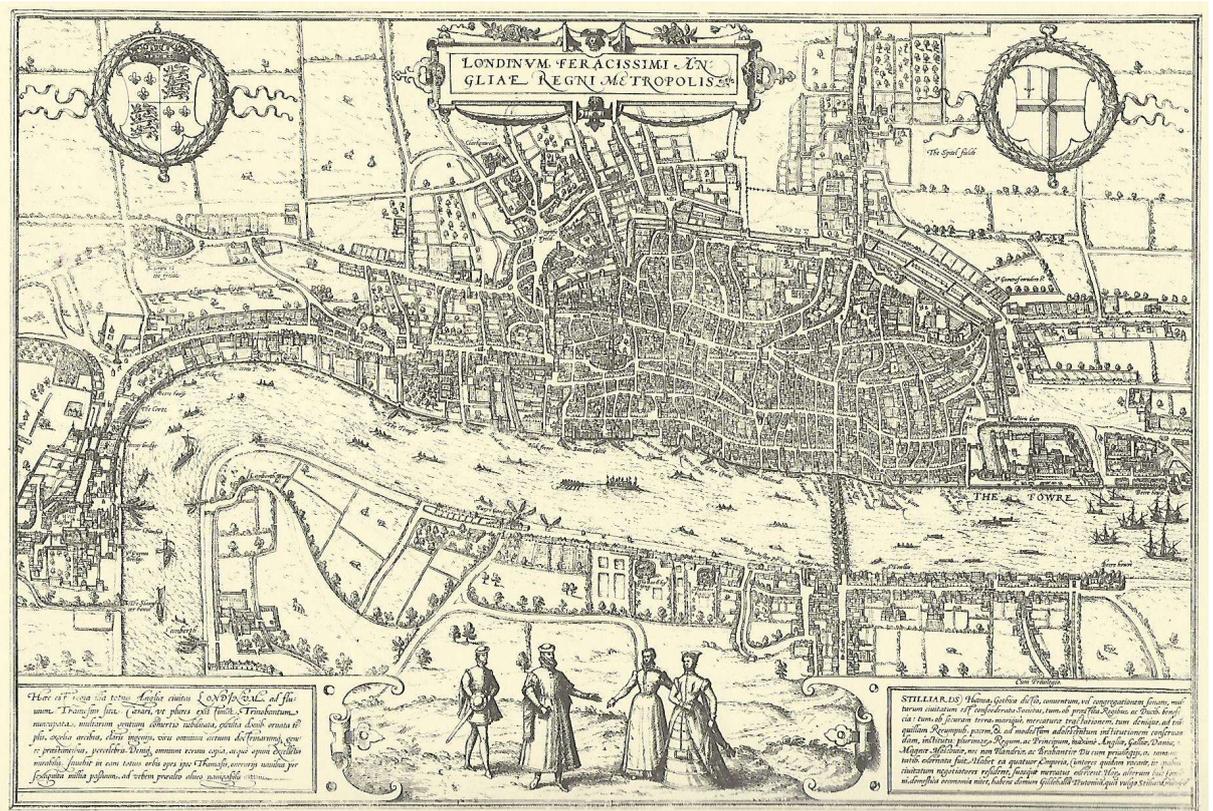
plays at Court in 1560–1562 may have triggered the sharp rise in patrons during Elizabeth's reign as others sought to compete for favour.

The eighty years from the provision of paid entry to plays at the Bell Savage and the Red Lion to the closure of the theatres in the 1640s saw the development of acting as a profession and the formation of private shareholding companies to own and operate theatres. It saw the huge popularity of London theatre in the open public playhouses, where attendances each week may have been as large as 15% of the population, diminish to the smaller but higher priced indoor theatres and finally, at the Restoration of the Monarchy, to the actor-manager owned and royally licensed theatres. The actor had progressed from a minor member of a major household, to a travelling player regarded as little better than a vagabond, to a Gentleman, a man of property, even with a coat of arms.<sup>47</sup> The focusing of reputation on a few star players, the sharers who participated in the profits, had also been established. For many waged actors, the 'shilling men', the hand-to-mouth pattern of touring may have meant that, at best, they exchanged the food and housing of a major household for the modest wage of the ensemble actor, but with the applause of a larger audience.

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<sup>47</sup> E.A.J. Honigman and Susan Brock, *Playhouse Wills 1558–1642* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993).

**London: its Population and Social Structure**



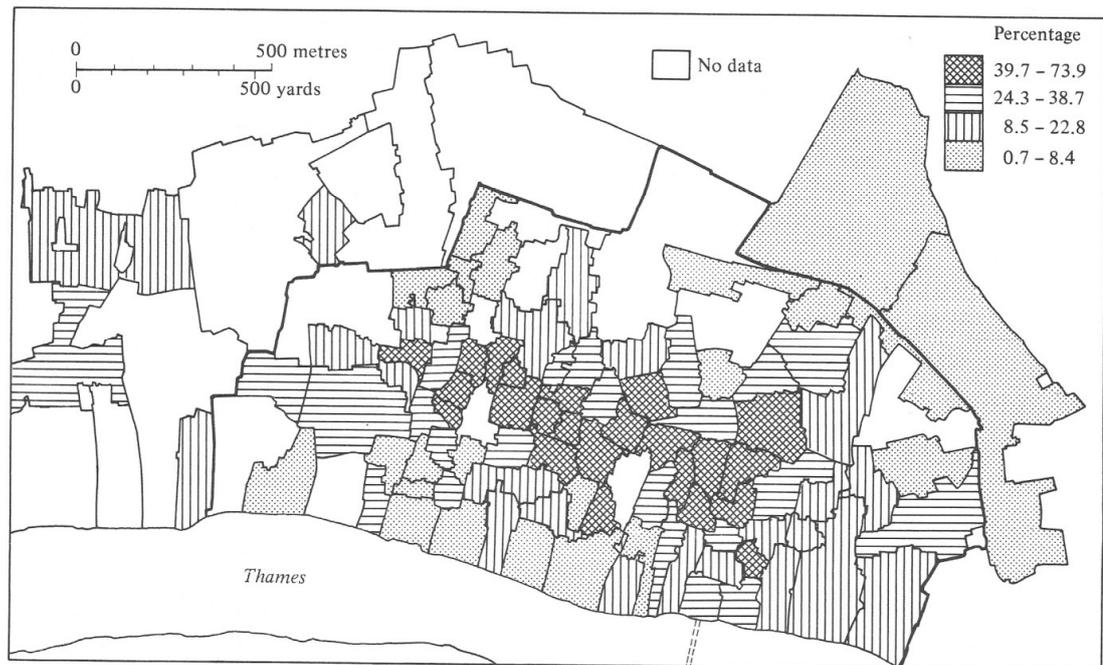
*Fig. 2. The Braun & Hogenberg map of London drawn about 1560.<sup>48</sup> The bear and bull baiting arenas are south of the river in the rectangular fields above the two ladies' heads.*

London at the beginning of Elizabeth I's reign was a modest-sized city in the European context. It was largely contained within the area defined by the Roman Wall around London. Outside the walls London is seen linking up with Westminster in a band of development along the river and suburbs are appearing in modern-day Islington and Camden to the north. Down river from London Bridge development on both sides of the Thames is evident, created no doubt to serve the sea-going vessels that traded in and out of the port below the bridge. Bankside and Shoreditch are still only lightly populated. One must imagine a London where the prevailing south-westerly wind blew the smoke from the thousands of fires towards the north east. It is little wonder then that London pushed out towards the west. Southwark to the west

<sup>48</sup> Adrian Prockter and Robert Taylor, compilers, *The A-Z of Elizabethan London* (London: London Topographical Society, publication 122, 1979), p. 32.

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of the bridge was marshy beside the river, protected by sluices which shut as the tide came in and opened as it ebbed. The dwelling places of the well-to-do were in the very centre of the City itself and to the north of the river in the western parishes of Westminster, St. Martin's in the Fields (centred on the Court) and St. Dunston in the West (between the City and the Court).



*Fig. 3. Proportion of substantial (better-off) households in parishes in 1638 (denser hatching reflects greater average household wealth in the parish, unhatched indicates no information).<sup>49</sup>*

In more affluent parts of the town, houses are shown with substantial gardens, amongst them the parish of St. Stephen, Coleman Street, inside the north wall of the City opposite Moorfields, the home of the Burbage family in the 1560s. The pattern of relative wealth in London in 1638 (fig. 3) shows the wealthiest areas to be along the gravel ridge on the line of Cheapside & Watling Street (east-west) with Gracious Street (north-south) at their eastern end. Gracious Street is part of the Great North

<sup>49</sup> Roger Finlay, *Population and Metropolis, The Demography of London 1580-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981). p. 78 (Table 4.1).

Road running from London Bridge through Bishopsgate and on to the north. Along the river the relatively low wealth levels show the wharf workers' and watch keepers' houses for the warehouses and wharves.

The population of the City within the walls is estimated at about 80,000 people in 1560, rising to 100,000 in 1600 and about 150,000 in 1660. By contrast the suburbs grew enormously with the northern suburbs of London growing from 20,000 in 1560 to 170,000 in 1660.<sup>50</sup> The growth in the southern suburbs in Southwark must have been proportionately similar though unfortunately not analysed in the same detail in the works cited. The following table gives an overall total for London.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Pop. Of England</i>	<i>Increase</i>	<i>Pop. Of Metropolitan London</i>	<i>Increase</i>	<i>Per cent of England</i>	<i>Pop. In towns of 5,000+</i>	<i>Per cent of England</i>
1550	3,010,000		120,000		4.0%	n.a.	
1600	4,110,000	37%	200,000	67%	4.9%	125,000	3.0%
1650	5,230,000	27%	375,000	88%	7.2%	n.a.	
1700	5,060,000	-3%	490,000	24%	9.7%	275,000	5.4%

*Table 3. The comparative growths of the population of London and England.*<sup>51</sup>

This speed of expansion was brought about by many factors. Enclosure of fields to allow cattle and sheep to graze reduced the need for labour on the land, while poor harvests in some years forced more off the land to seek less seasonally conditioned work in the towns. But perhaps the greatest factor was the sense that within the City one might thrive and become relatively wealthy, a free man in comparison to the established, and more socially limited order of the rural village. The new arrivals

<sup>50</sup> Roger Finlay and Beatrice Shearer, 'Population Growth and suburban expansion', in A. L. Beier and Roger Finlay (eds), *London 1500–1700: the making of the metropolis* (London: Longman, 1986), Table 2, p. 42.

<sup>51</sup> Finlay and Shearer, Table 1, p. 39.

*Scene Setting*

(mostly men) were to be followed, when they made their way, by wives and children and by single women looking to become domestic servants and wives. London had a higher than average male-female ratio throughout the period.

The midlands, where enclosure was most prevalent, provided apprentices whilst the west country provided both apprentices and a considerable proportion of the Inns of Court intake destined for the law and administrative work, some of it at Court. Roger Finlay sets out a table analysing the place of origin of apprentices in 15 companies 1570–1640, and Inns of Court members 1590–1639.

Region	Counties	% of Apprentices 15 companies 1570–1640	% of Inns of Court members 1590–1639
Home Counties	Essex, Herts., Kent, Middx., Surrey	19.0	18.5
South Midlands	Beds, Berks, Bucks, Northants, Oxon.	17.5	9.5
North Midlands	Derbys. Leics. Notts. Staffs. Warwicks.	14.1	7.3
Eastern Counties	Cambs. Hunts. Lincs. Norfolk, Rutland, Suffolk	8.8	15.1
Western Counties	Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Gloucs. Herefords, Somers. Wilts, Worcs.	16.2	20.3
North East	Durham, Northumberland Yorks.	7.5	7.4
North West	Cheshire, Cumberland. Lancs. Salop, Westmoreld.	8.8	7.1
South	Hampshire, Sussex	4.3	5.4
Wales		3.4	5.3
Scotland & Ireland		0.4	4.1

*Table 4. Migration indicators taken from Finlay (1981).*

### Scene Setting

Huguenots fleeing from France, in the face of persecution for their protestant religion began migrating to England in 1536, when a French edict condemned Protestants, and the flow increased after 1562 when there was a massacre of Huguenots in Vassey. In 1572 the St. Bartholomew Day massacres in France again added to the number of protestant migrants. Many came to England bringing new skills, notably those of horticulture and of weaving. A French Protestant Church was founded in London under Royal Charter in 1550, suggesting a significant community had already settled in London by that time.

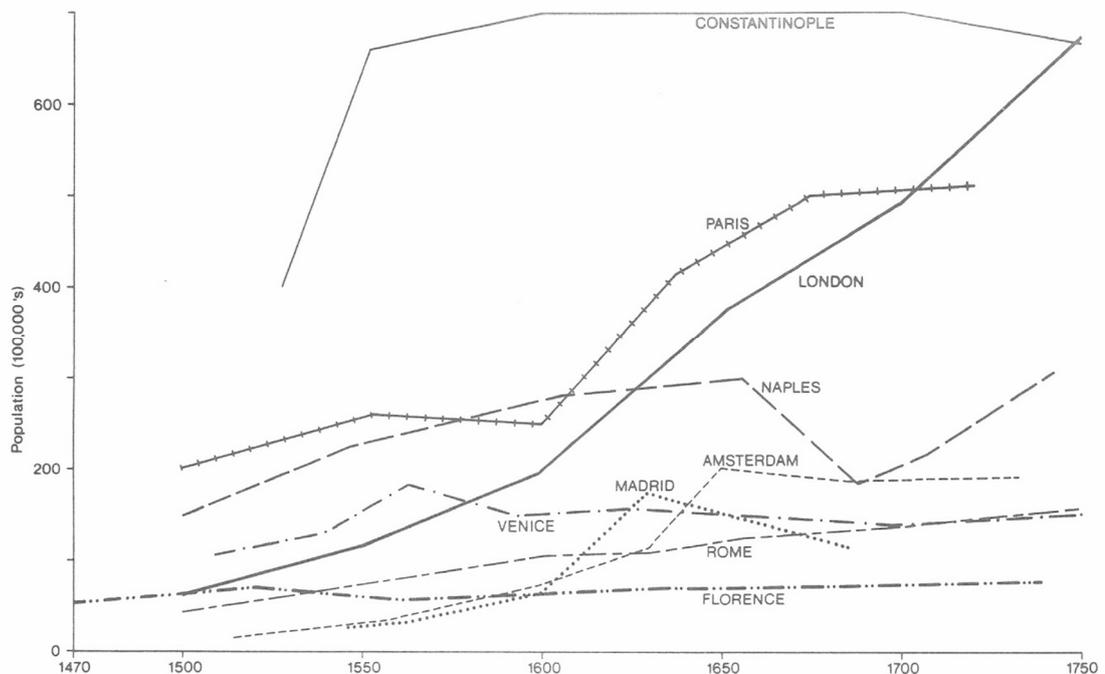


Table 5. Graph of Comparative sizes of European cities.<sup>52</sup>

As one of the two major English ports (the other being Bristol) there were a considerable number of merchants from other countries resident in London to represent their companies and, as a capital city, there were diplomats, bankers and

<sup>52</sup> A. L. Beier and Roger Finlay, 'The significance of the metropolis', in A. L. Beier and Roger Finlay (eds), *London 1500–1700: the making of the metropolis*, p. 3.

many others from overseas adding to the throng. Over the period 1500–1750 London became more cosmopolitan and grew in comparative size to other European cities.

Plague was an ever-present threat and successive waves of infection decimated the City. In almost every year there were some plague deaths, particularly in the poorer parishes, but in some years the number of plague deaths rose to high proportions of the population. Records are uncertain for a number of reasons. The report of a case of plague resulted in the locking-in of the residents of the infected house as a means of preventing contagion. The whole household was prevented from earning a living in what was largely a subsistence economy, thus the occupants were condemned to anticipated infection and possibly death, or to starvation save for the charity of others providing food (illegally) at their windows. Reluctance to report a plague death is obvious. In the City's response to the 1584 petition of the players the City points out that:

none are noted as dying of the plague except they have tokens, but many die of the plague that have no tokens, and sometime fraud of the searchers may deceive.<sup>53</sup>

The records, where they exist, are those of the 114 parishes of the City and nine 'Out-parishes' (outside the walls of the City) and, after 1630, a further seven 'Distant Parishes' in Surrey and Middlesex. Many records were lost in the Great Fire of London in 1666 (which destroyed both the plague and the records) and in heavy plague years the parish clerk might perish too, leaving records at best slipshod. My study of the surviving parish burial records shows that of those extant parish registers only four regularly record the cause of death and the changes in handwriting and increasingly cramped entries show the pressure on, and the fear, of the parish clerk

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<sup>53</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 301, item lxxv 2 (b).

concerned. Counter intuitively the ‘Great Plague’ of 1665, whilst greater in the number of fatalities, was proportionately less of a blow.

Table 6. Major Plague Epidemics in London 1563–1665.<sup>54</sup>

Year	Burials	Plague Deaths	Est. Population	Plague Mortality
1563	20,372	17,404	85,000	20%
1593	17,893	10,674	125,000	9%
1603	31,861	25,045	141,000	18%
1625	41,312	26,350	206,000	13%
1632*	23,359	10,400	313,000	3%
1665*	80,696	55,797	459,000	12%

\* Includes City and Outer Parishes.

There were extended periods with a lower proportions of mortality from 1578–1582, 1606–1610 and 1640–1647 when about 3% of the population died of plague each year.<sup>55</sup> I have depended here on Finlay’s work to a great extent but it is borne out by more recent studies, notably Cummins *et al* in their 2015 publication *Living Standards & Plague in London 1560–1665*.<sup>56</sup> They work from the *Ancestry UK* computerised records and add interesting points about the possible confusion in reported deaths between typhus and plague, as well as pointing out the preponderance of plague in the densely populated northern suburbs with increasingly lower death rates within the walls of the City as its population becomes wealthier. They suggest that many of the richer citizens left London in major plague years as fewer burials (from all causes) take place in the richer City parishes.

It is in the very nature of migration that the more ambitious and energetic (and often the best educated) lead the migration. They are the most able from their own communities, self-selected, because they are prepared to take the risk of change

<sup>54</sup> Paul Slack, *The Impact of the Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 151.

<sup>55</sup> Finlay, *Population and Metropolis*, Appendix 1, pp. 155-56.

<sup>56</sup> Neil Cummins, Morgan Kelly and Cormac O’Grady, *Living Standards and Plague in London 1560–1665*, accessed on line [www.neilcummins.com/plagueinLondon.html](http://www.neilcummins.com/plagueinLondon.html) [accessed on 18.9.2016].

in order to grow and thrive in a new environment and are confident of their ability to do so. With all this new, and inevitably young, population, hungry for opportunity, the ethos of the City changed from settled, highly structured, interdependencies in which a man was identified by his trade and station in life at birth, to one where Jack might very often be as good as his master and proud of it. In the expanding economy of London fortunes could be made and lost quickly and the new business of theatre was but one of those ways. In the early part of the study period legal documents almost universally give the name and trade of an individual. By 1600 individuals were more often defined by name and social status of ‘citizen’, ‘freeman’ or ‘gentleman’. Shareholder actors were usually self-defined in their wills as ‘gent’ by the 1590s.<sup>57</sup> At the close of the period people were often described by name alone, with only a rank or title added where applicable. This strongly indicates a rise in the sense of individual self-worth and independence.

The heavily migration-based pattern of population growth leads, in most cases, to unitary families separated by distance from parents and grandparents and thus freer to make their own rules both for the family and for its relationships with society. Remote family and parish still remained important support structures in difficult times. *Henslowe’s Diary* shows how much he supported remote members of his own family financially.<sup>58</sup> The livery companies, too, were a support structure. Where once these companies had been the arbiters and restrictive trade unions of the middle ages they were, by Elizabeth’s reign, more trade associations and clubs. Being a freeman of a livery company conveyed the status of ‘citizen’ to those who had arrived in London. The looseness of the original trade affiliations, by this time,

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<sup>57</sup> E.A. J. Honigmann and Susan Brock, *Playhouse Wills 1558–1642* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993).

<sup>58</sup> *Henslowe’s Diary*, and chapter three below.

### Scene Setting

can be instanced by John Hemmings, the actor, who was a freeman of the Grocer's Company, and so apprenticed his boys as grocers whilst, presumably, teaching them to act, he was certainly not trading as a grocer. One could gain entry to a livery company by paying a fee or simply because your father had been a member, you could even transfer from another livery.<sup>59</sup> Being 'Free' of a company, or to have attended one of the Inns of Court, were important stepping stones to recognition for those coming to London.

The high proportion of young men migrating is also apparent in the sex ratios in burial records. Finlay's analyses suggest that from 1580 to 1640 there were 45% more men than women in the parish of All Hallows, Bread Street, though generally in other parishes the imbalance was smaller at 14% to 20%. Marriage records indicate a high re-marriage rate for women and almost every woman buried after the age of 35 had been married at least once.<sup>60</sup> Children were typically baptised on the day of birth or as soon after as possible for the good of their immortal souls should they die, as so many did, in their first weeks or months. After childbearing age women became more certain to be long-term members of the family and were able to take a greater role in the family business. In the records of 'Brotherhood' money in the Grocers' Company (the two-shilling annual fee paid by each shop) widows' names are recorded and sometimes 'Mrs' for those now trading in their own right. Middleton and Dekker in *The Roaring Girl* show women as the *de facto* managers of their husbands' shops.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Author's own research in the Grocers' Company records.

<sup>60</sup> Finlay, *Population and Metropolis*, Table 7.6, p. 139.

<sup>61</sup> Thomas Middleton and Thomas Dekker, *The Roaring Girl, or Moll Cutpurse* (1608), Act II, Scene 1.

Parishes continue to be of administrative importance, but as population increases they are more remote from their parishioners by sheer press of numbers. Their role as support structures and in social policing, of necessity declines.

### **The Law and its effectiveness**

England in the 1560s, like most countries in Europe, retained the core of the feudal system. All land was technically owned by the monarch who might gift its use or lease it at will and, also, take it back. Such gifts or leases were originally made in return for the contribution of fighting men and materials for armies, when required, or for rentals to provide the Crown with revenues. The term freehold means ‘free of dues to the Crown’. When Henry VIII suppressed the monasteries the land automatically returned to the Crown, only to be let out again or gifted according to the needs, or affections, of the monarch. By the late Tudor period the subdivision of land and the complexity of the derivation of ownership, through centuries of imprecise records, meant that the Crown had no practical lien over individual plots of land so that small plot freeholds were, in general, secure. The ownership was derived from leases that were drawn referencing previous owners’ names whilst adjoining owners’ names defined custom and usage boundaries, the potential for dispute is evident. We can see this in the dispute between Giles Allen (mortgagor in possession of the Theatre site and ground to the south) and Edmund Peckham, on the basis of a disputed boundary and sale prior to the mortgage, some 26 years before the court case to resolve ownership in about 1581.<sup>62</sup> For the modern researcher the definition by owner can lead to considerable doubts over the disposition of buildings and rooms within buildings. In 1666–1667 ownerships in London after the Great Fire needed

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<sup>62</sup> Raoul Bull, Simon Davis, Hana Lewis and Christopher Phillpotts with Aaron Birchenough, *Holywell Priory and the development of Shoreditch to 1600* (London: Museum of London Archaeology, Monograph 53, 2011), p. 86.

surveyors to sort out disputed plots but there was still no attempt to form a fixed reference point; adjoining ownerships alone (and only sometimes a named road) locate the plot.<sup>63</sup> As we shall see financial dealings were similar in character with dependence on people's memories to interpret written records. Not surprisingly the period abounds with disputes and court cases to resolve them.

Just as land came from the monarch so did preferment, the many positions in the Royal Household and the many offices controlling customs and the supervision of product quality that generated the monarch's revenues. It follows therefore that great lords held similar sway and control in their own fiefdoms and thus the master and his servants in the small business. In parishes Churchwardens were expected to report on fellow parishioners. Control and regulation of society was largely person to person in a close structure. Where transgressions occurred, the law provided for very harsh punishments as a deterrent; hanging and mutilation were threatened as the punishments from simple theft to highway robbery. In practice, the transgressors often lived in the same parish or town as the judges and the personal interdependency of that community structure meant that the application of the full penalty was often unacceptable and so was not applied. The actual numbers of people hung or publicly whipped was far smaller than the level of crimes for which these were the penalties, though it cannot be denied many were horribly punished. In 1576 the principle of parishes contributing to the support of the poor was established and this must have done something to reduce the levels of petty theft and vagabondage which beset law-abiding members of the community.<sup>64</sup> The difference between the severity of the

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<sup>63</sup> Philip Jones (ed.), *The Survey of the building sites in the City of London after the Great Fire of 1666: Reduced facsimile of Mills & Oliver's manuscripts and plans*, 5 vols (London: London Topographical Society, 1962–1967).

<sup>64</sup> Jasper Ridley, *The Tudor Age* (London: Constable & Robinson, 1998, paperback 2002), p. 284.

statutory punishment and the mitigation applied by the community might create an atmosphere of fear, but surely not one of respect for the law.

In civil law a similar lack of respect is evident, together with a great deal of confusion. Justice had to be 'bought' in all its forms, from the fees to the Bailiff, Sargent or Constable, to lawyers and law court fees. Multiple layers of courts established over centuries for different geographical and administrative purposes, but largely uncoordinated in role or hierarchy, allowed cases to be heard in one court and then another and another. The potential for extending litigation seems to have been endless. Records are often incomplete, but many civil disputes connected with the theatre seem to be settled by agreement post the court case or lapse from sheer exhaustion. An example is to be found in John Briley's examination of the litigious history of the dispute between Edward Alleyn and the Henslowe family over Philip Henslowe's will.<sup>65</sup> Henslowe died in January 1615, three months later, in April 1616 his brother William was in court claiming that Alleyn had misappropriated a great deal of money, leases and goods before the family could inventory the estate. A period of agreement appears to have existed between 1616–1617 and then dispute between the families broke out again. Things were finally settled, probably out of court, about 1619 for then Alleyn established the Dulwich College Foundation.

Senior actors, who would have a recognisable connection to their patron, and especially those with a Privy Councillor as their patron, were surely less likely to be disadvantaged in a legal case where lawyers and judges might not wish to offend a Privy Councillor able to advance them in their own careers. The Burbages seem to have fared well in their legal disputes. There may be several reasons for this: James

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<sup>65</sup> John Briley, 'Edward Alleyn and Henslowe's Will' in *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (Summer 1958), pp. 321-30.

Burbage had held a Royal Licence as Leicester's leading man under Queen Elizabeth's signet seal. Or his advantage may have rested on the considerable reputation of Burbage's later patron, Lord Hunsden, the Lord Chamberlain. Or perhaps, because his eldest son, Cuthbert, was a servant to Walter Cope, gentleman usher to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, the most senior officer of Elizabeth's Court.<sup>66</sup> Each would give him influence, together they made James Burbage a formidable adversary in a court of law, and those who tried to challenge him made little headway.<sup>67</sup>

The small City parish communities of 1558, in which order was largely kept by mutual understanding and respect, became larger in population as the City grew and became less socially restricted in nature. Policing and the law were available but at cost and the general tenets of mutual respect and respect for a code of law and behaviour undoubtedly became weaker in society at large. England was to make great gains through piracy, appropriation of lands and overseas markets, whilst individuals developed sophisticated frauds. The fraudulent handling of bonds is illustrated by William Ingram in his study of Francis Langley, the owner of the Swan theatre.<sup>68</sup>

By contrast it was also a society in which the 'laws of nature' were beginning to be understood, mathematics and the beginning of the scientific method were being established and developed. Mathematics may have been raised in importance by astrology, but it was the bedrock of a developing understanding of astronomy. Alchemy was not all about making gold from lead but had serious chemical and

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<sup>66</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 306.

<sup>67</sup> Charles W. Wallace, 'The First London Theatre, Materials for a History', in *University Studies* (University of Nebraska), 13 (1,2,3,) (1913), 1–297.

<sup>68</sup> William Ingram, *A London Life in the Brazen Age: Francis Langley, 1548–1602* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1990).

physical understandings. The current excavation of the possible Curtain theatre site shows a developing pharmaceutical expertise drawing on plants from across the world.<sup>69</sup> Microscopy was invented in Holland but was first taken-up in England. The move towards experimental science began in England under Elizabeth with Cecil taking an active role in encouraging all forms of science and engineering invention. Letters patent were granted for inventions both to Englishmen and to ‘Strangers,’ though the latter were almost always required to teach their methods to Englishmen. Deborah Harkness illustrates some examples in *The Jewel House*.<sup>70</sup> Anthony Esler has taken a number of leading aristocrats born in 1560 to examine the mind set of those who would rule and inspire so much of the Elizabethan period. These were the patrons who could advance or stop experimental science and they chose to advance it.<sup>71</sup>

John Hooker, writing his account of Parliament in the early 1570s, described the Commons Chamber in the converted St. Stephen’s Chapel as being made ‘like a Theater, having four rows of seats one above another round about’ the chamber that was ‘more in length than in breadth’.<sup>72</sup> One wonders which theatre he had in mind, or did the capital letter for ‘Theater’ mean Burbage’s Theatre? The association of theatre and parliament might be meant to convey the importance of the theatre as a place for the exchange of ideas, or inversely, the drama of the Commons.

The time free of work was limited to Sundays and the many holy days. The

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<sup>69</sup> Archaeologist Heather Knight at the ‘Before Shakespeare Conference’, Roehampton 2018, unpublished paper.

<sup>70</sup> Deborah E. Harkness, *The Jewel House: Elizabethan London and the Scientific Revolution* (New Haven, Conn. & London: Yale University Press, 1965).

<sup>71</sup> Anthony Esler, *The aspiring mind of the Elizabethan younger generation* (Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 1966).

<sup>72</sup> Jennifer Loach, ‘The House of Commons, 1528–1603’, in Robert Smith and John S. Moore (eds), *The House of Commons: seven hundred years of British Tradition* (London: Smith’s Peerage Ltd, 1996), p. 80.

## Scene Setting

*Book of Common Prayer* of 1615 lists 32 holy (or saints') days.<sup>73</sup> In Elizabethan England the statutory working day was set in 1563 as from dawn until dusk, in the summer, but with periods of rest through the day for breakfast, the midday meal and 'sleep time', and a 'noonmeat' afternoon break, in all not to exceed two-and-a-half hours.<sup>74</sup> As with many laws in this period they were widely ignored. Employment in practice must have been more flexible or theatregoing in the afternoon would have been impossible. At first, plays were restricted to the days of rest (Sundays and holy days) but the conflict with church services led to weekday playing with no playing on Sundays in 1581.<sup>75</sup>

A picture emerges of a society in the late sixteenth century in which the traditional chains of command and position were breaking down. Respect for the law was being undermined by inadequate means to apprehend lawbreakers and to punish them as the law required. Even civil actions resulted in long and indeterminate litigation. It is little wonder that the City authorities, led as they were by freemen, shopkeepers, merchants, and employers of all kinds, were keen to maintain control of their workforce by preventing plays and other diversions from work. In a world where the plague descended, killing thousands with no discernible cause, the hand of God must have seemed to be a reasonable cause of the plague and the plays, to the Puritan mind, a direct provocation. How natural then to link the diversion of plays to the plague and the loss of social control to the licentiousness illustrated in those plays and by behaviour at them.

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<sup>73</sup> *Book of Common Prayer* (London: Robert Backer, 1615), Guildhall Library, Pamphlet 8342.

<sup>74</sup> Ridley, *The Tudor Age*, pp. 174-75.

<sup>75</sup> *ES*, Vol. IV, p. 262, item vi (1553 City order forbidding plays before 3 p.m. on Sundays and Holidays) also EPT, p.73, item 35 (Act of Common Council Dec. 1574, plays 'withdrawing of the Queen's Majesty's subjects from divine service on Sundays and Holydays – at which times such plays were chiefly used.' See also *ES* vol. IV, p. 296-97, item lxxiii Sir Francis Walsingham (1 Dec. 1583) to the Lord Mayor sets down that all weekdays and workdays to be allowed for playing.

**Money, the economy and the growth of trade.**

Money was a constant problem in the Tudor period. Henry VIII had debased the currency to pay for his wars and generous lifestyle, adding to the inflation caused by poor harvests towards the end of his reign. Edward VI's Council attempted to redress this by redeeming coins and re-minting them to consistent standards of weight and precious metal content, but their efforts were limited by a lack of precious metal to make up the deficiency. Mary, in an attempt to improve coin standards, reduced the number of mints from the three across England to one in London. Elizabeth re-valued money in 1561 setting the new minted penny (1d) at 10 grains of silver 11/12ths fine and debased coins were taken in and refined to allow new coins to be minted at lower weights but greater purity. It is said that Elizabeth's treasury made £50,000 from this exercise. The lack of very small denomination coins made the daily shop-keeping exchanges difficult. Penny coins were cut in half to make halfpennies as no halfpennies were minted from Edward VI until 1580. The silver farthing was very small and easily lost so it became the practice for shopkeepers to issue tokens for the smaller amounts in change. This was illegal but the authorities were faced with the difficulty of making low value coins since the face value needed to be higher than the cost of manufacture or the Treasury lost money.<sup>76</sup>

The quantity of different small coins, older coins in circulation, and foreign coins presented problems for shopkeepers and this must also have been true for theatres where payment was in penny amounts. It is difficult to see how the theatres coped with the business of change if the collectors at the doors were required to place

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<sup>76</sup> I.D. Brown, 'Some notes of the coinage of Elizabeth I with special reference to her hammered silver', *British Numismatic Journal*, 28 (44) (1955), Table VI, p. 584.

the coins immediately into sealed pottery money boxes. We know that this was the method used for money collection from the remains of the boxes found at the Rose theatre excavations.<sup>77</sup> Did someone provide change (rather like the change booth in a penny arcade) or did the collectors have a small reserve of change rather as programme sellers in theatres do today?

Having collected the money its dispersion had to be accomplished as quickly as possible to reduce the weight of coin and risk of theft. The 'box office' of a theatre, where the money was collected together and the coin collectors' boxes broken open to release the coins, would have had a mound of small denomination coins. It is significant that the agreement between Philip Henslowe and John Cholmley for the financing of the Rose theatre, requires both parties (or their assigns), to meet each night to divide the money from the box office and, implicitly, remove it to their own safe keeping:

[...] and that all such some and sum of money gains profit and commodity whatsoever as shall be so collected gathered or received by them their deputies as assigns shall immediately that night after account made by themselves their deputies or assigns be equally divided into Two parts or equal portions [...] <sup>78</sup>

Well-to-do houses had strong boxes for the safe keeping of money and other valuables and during the Elizabethan and Stuart periods the Goldsmiths became the holders of money for others because, of necessity, they had larger and safer storage vaults. It was this accumulation of funds in one place, and where a full draw-down by depositors was extremely unlikely, that allowed Goldsmiths to use some of their stored money to become the bankers of their day. Goldsmiths would accept gold and silver as a security and issue receipts that could be exchanged as though they were

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<sup>77</sup> Julian Bowsher and Pat Miller, *The Rose and the Globe playhouses of Shakespeare's Bankside, Southwark* (London: Museum of London Archaeology, Monograph 48, 2009), p. 134.

<sup>78</sup> Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe playhouses*, p. 166.

paper money. They would also issue letters of credit, secured by deposits in their vaults, and these too could be exchanged by third parties.

Henslowe and Cholmley would face a pile of almost 2,500 pennies, on a good day, to be divided between themselves and the players. It is interesting to note that the players' portion of the proceeds is not mentioned in the agreement though it would have been near 1,250 pennies even if the players collected the first penny at the entrance themselves. Cholmley (if he was trading as a grocer) may have arranged to change quantities of these pennies into larger denominations so as to feed much needed change back into his own and other shops. For Henslowe, and for many others, a simple way of reducing money stocks was to lend money out and to invest in real property.

In the wages legislation of 1496 two-pence (2d.) was the allowance for food for a day being the difference between the maximum wage with or without the employer providing 'meat and drink'.<sup>79</sup> By the time of Middleton and Dekker's *The Roaring Girl* (c.1608) the page, Gull, sneers at 'Three single half-pence' offered for his dinner saying it will buy 'only the mustard, oil and vinegar.'<sup>80</sup> In that time wages had doubled but retail prices had increased by three times. Over the hundred years 1567–1666 wages rose 192% (0.65% per annum as an average) and commodity prices 223%, an inflation rate of about 0.81% per annum averaged over the period.<sup>81</sup> For comparison, the overall inflation from 1750 to 1900 (a period in which Britain's economy expanded hugely), the cost of a £1 product in 1750 was £1.80 in 1900, an

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<sup>79</sup> Ridley, *Tudor Age*, p. 170.

<sup>80</sup> Thomas Middleton and Thomas Dekker, *The Roaring Girl, or Moll Cutpurse*, Act II, scene 1, line 107.

<sup>81</sup> [www.measuringworth.com.uk](http://www.measuringworth.com.uk) [accessed on line 1.11.15].

inflation rate of 0.3% per annum averaged over the period.<sup>82</sup> In practice the higher inflation of Elizabeth's reign took place in the 1560s and in the 1590s, when consecutive harvests failed.

Money-lending at interest had been banned by Henry VII but was permitted at rates up to 10% by Henry VIII in 1545.<sup>83</sup> The Stationers Register for February 1525, has an entry for George Purslowe, reserving his publication rights on a work entitled: *A preparative to purchase, or, A table (of) compound interest at £8 percentum*.<sup>84</sup> As ever the law was not always followed. Interest on loans was banned again in 1552 under the religious orthodoxy of Edward VI's reign. This had the effect of driving up interest rates so that rates for the credit worthy merchant rose to 20% and for the less credit-worthy might rise to thirty, forty or even fifty per cent.<sup>85</sup> To these rates had to be added the 5% charged by brokers for documents and conveyances.<sup>86</sup> In 1571 the ability to lend at interest up to ten per cent was reinstated.<sup>87</sup> In the same year an act against fraud was passed.<sup>88</sup> The period of illegal lending had given scribes the position of being discrete intermediaries between borrowers and lenders since they wrote the necessary documents.<sup>89</sup> As the economy grew the increasing need for money depositories and for transactions to be facilitated by promissory notes began to create a much faster monetary flow. The paper money bills were in part backed in the economy by the rewards of plundering gold and silver

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<sup>82</sup> Bank of England Inflation calculator, [www.bankofengland.co.uk/.../inflation/inflation-calculator](http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/.../inflation/inflation-calculator) [accessed on line 1.1.2016].

<sup>83</sup> *The Statutes of the Realm* (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall by Command, 1818; reprinted 1963), 37 Henry VIII, chapter 9, *An Acte againste Usurye*.

<sup>84</sup> Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Register of the Company of Stationers of London, (1554–1640 A.D.)*, 5 vols (London and New York: printed privately in London 1877; reprinted New York: Peter Smith, 1950), vol. 5.

<sup>85</sup> Norman L. Jones, 'William Cecil and the making of economic policy in the 1560s and early 1570s', in Paul A. Fideler and T. F. Meyer (eds), *Political Thought and the Tudor Commonwealth: Deep structure, discourse and disguise* (London & New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 177.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid*, p. 174.

<sup>87</sup> *Statutes of the Realm*, 13 Elizabeth, chapter VIII.

<sup>88</sup> *Statutes of the Realm*, 13 Elizabeth, chapter V.

<sup>89</sup> Ridley, *The Tudor Age*, p. 246.

### *Scene Setting*

on the Spanish Main. Increasing money stability resulted but it was the increase of bills and bonds that funded the entrepreneurial activities of London merchants and traders, including the burgeoning theatre industry.

The large quantity of ‘paper money’ had two direct effects: the first was to allow the same security to be used for several loans at the same time, giving expansive money supply, and the second was to form links of trust (for this was the only true security of any paper bill) and, through this, the formation of trading partnerships across different trades where hitherto such support would tend to have been a personal contact within a family, livery company, or fellow parishioner. Note that John Brayne a grocer obtained a mortgage for the Theatre from John Hyde, another grocer in 1579 but Henslowe, a Dyer, and Cholmley, a Grocer, joined together financially in 1587 to create the new Rose playhouse.

About 1545 the flow of silver from Mexico began to enter into the European monetary system enlarging the money supply. This, coupled with Henry VIII’s debasing of the coin to fund his wars in France, resulted in a near doubling of prices in the ten years up to 1556.<sup>90</sup> However, from then until three very bad harvests in the years 1595–1597 prices were more stable. The poor harvests of 1596–1597 result in food shortages causing price rises and food riots in London in 1596. These years brought terrible hardship to London and other urban areas.

I have drawn from Thorold Rogers’s immense compilation of prices drawn from contemporary records representative prices for a number of staples averaged

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<sup>90</sup> Ridley, *The Tudor Age*, p. 171.

over ten-year periods.<sup>91</sup> These are generally drawn from university records (so not in London) though occasionally purchases by the Wardrobe on behalf of the Crown are noted. They can therefore only be an approximation for ordinary London prices.

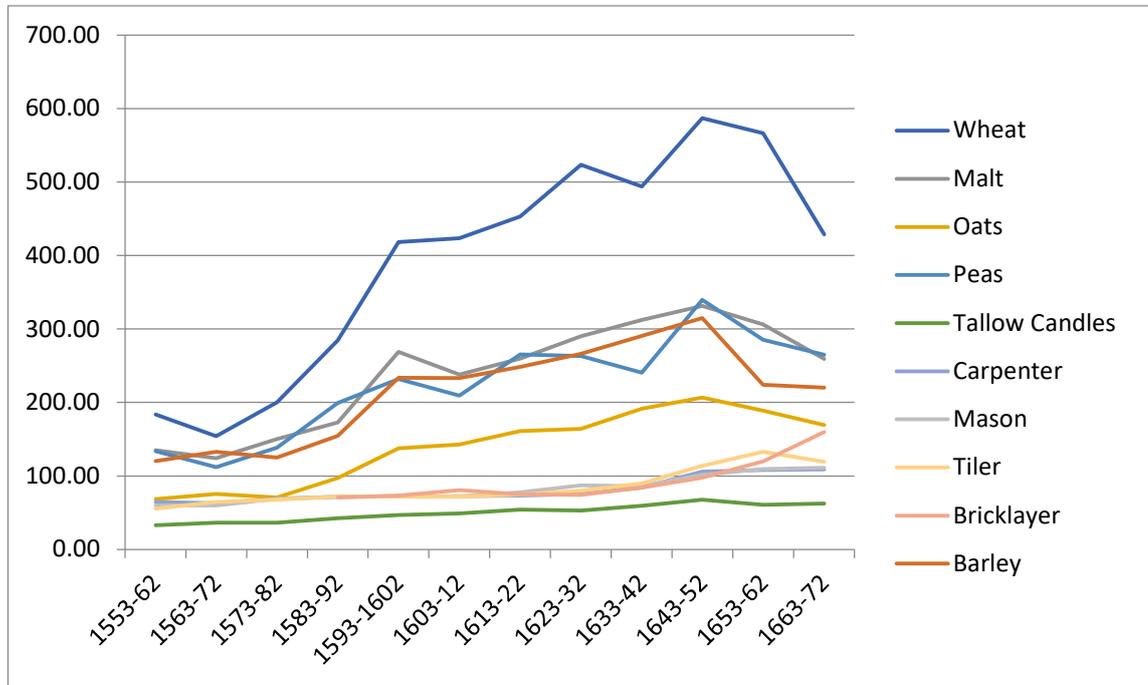


Table 7. Graph of inflation showing average prices in each decennial (vertical axis in pennies (d.)) Agricultural product in pennies (d) per quarter (291 litres). Tallow Candles in pennies (d.) per 72 candles. Wages in pennies (d.) per week. Author's graph based on Thorold Rogers's data.

Wheat prices show a considerable increase over the period due to this crop's susceptibility to weather and as this is the base of the better bread it can overemphasise inflation. For the majority of the working-class population lesser grains and even peas would form the majority of the loaf. The price of bread is an important indicator in the varying cost of living. The wages of bricklayers are a consistent indicator of wage rates as the task is almost uniform through the centuries. Their wages increase only slowly over the period but climb sharply in the in the 1660s and

<sup>91</sup> Thorold Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, 7 vols, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1887), *Vol. V, 1583–1702*.

1670s due to demand for bricklayers in the rebuilding of London following the Great Fire and the natural demand for more fire-resistant brick houses.

Table 8. London Bread prices and the quality of the harvests.<sup>92</sup>

1562–1570	1.8d. to 2.6d.	
1590	2d.	A ‘dearth’ harvest
1591	2.25d.	
1592	2.5d.	
1593	3d.	
1594	4.75d.	A bad harvest.
1595	not available	A bad harvest
1596	6.5d.	A ‘dearth’ harvest
1597	5.25d.	
1598	2.25d.	Average harvest
1599	3.25d.	A good harvest

I pause a moment here to consider the impact of English piracy on the economy and the spirit of the country. Drake and Hawkins voyage of 1580 had, of necessity, to be licensed by Queen Elizabeth in order to prevent their trial for piracy. This state-sponsored piracy was allowed by Elizabeth in return for a considerable share in the proceeds of the venture. In 1568 Hawkins and Drake sent £13,500 in bullion to London and in 1573 perhaps a further £20,000 was contributed by Drake. In 1580 Drake landed a cargo worth as much as £600,000 of which at least £300,000 reached the Queen.<sup>93</sup> With this the Crown paid off the international debt and invested about £42,000 in the Levant Company, trading with the Ottoman Empire, out of whose profits the Crown invested in the East India Company.<sup>94</sup> The proceeds of the *Madre de Deus* capture in 1592 went in part to the monarch as the licensor of the enterprise and other shareholders but much was secreted and the government spent

<sup>92</sup> W.G. Hoskins, ‘Harvest Fluctuations and English Economic History 1480–1619’, in *The Agricultural History Review*, 12 (1) (1964), 28–46.

<sup>93</sup> George Malcolm Thomson, *Sir Francis Drake* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1972), p. 153.

<sup>94</sup> John Maynard Keynes, ‘Economic Possibilities for our Grandchildren’, in *Essays in Persuasion* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1963), pp. 358–73.

many months tracing at least a proportion of the illegally held treasure. William Ingram suggests that Francis Langley of the Swan Theatre may even have been involved in the illicit market in this treasure in London.<sup>95</sup>

Just as important to the economy was the sense of a developing English sea-power and adventuring ability. It impacted trading and, more slowly, on the development of colonies for which reliable shipping was essential. This sense that, even as a small nation, England could go forth and wrest wealth be it by piracy, trade or conquest and return to be lauded and achieve high office (Drake and Hawkins were knighted, and Drake became a Member of Parliament) invigorated the spirit and endeavours of the more adventurous in society. Privateering on a more modest scale was practised whenever the country was at war for it promised large potential gains from captured ships and cargoes. The needs of the navy and the need of merchant shipping for larger and better armed vessels coincided, and larger ships were built from the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. Between 1560 and 1588 a total of 126 ships were built with a royal subsidy contribution, at an average size of 177 tons and between 1589 and 1610 this increased to 384 ships with an average size of 255 tons.<sup>96</sup>

The reign of Edward VI had seen the first of the trading companies of adventurers overseas. These were chartered companies, that is, they held letters patent that formed a joint stock company that was licensed by and was overseen by the Privy Council. The Privy Council was both an authoritative body to control the potential for disputes amongst the stockholders but was also the most senior court in

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<sup>95</sup>William Ingram, *A London Life in a Brazen Age*.

<sup>96</sup> Ian Friel, *Elizabethan Merchant Ships and Shipbuilding*, lecture given at Museum of London, 29 September 2009 for Gresham College, transcription accessed online, 24.9.2016.

the land, when sitting as the Court of Star Chamber the members of the Privy held a particular mandate for real property. The Royal Charter was, in essence, a licence to travel and trade under the English flag.

*Table 9. List of the early Chartered Companies*<sup>97</sup>

1555	The Muscovy Company (with possibly 240 members)
1577	The Spanish Company
1579	The Eastland Company
1579	The Turkey Company
1600	East India Company (with George Earl of Cumberland and 215 knights, aldermen and burgesses).
1610	Newfoundland Company
1612	Bermuda Company
1629	Massachusetts Company.

The first of these, the Muscovy Company, was successful and established for England primacy of trading with Russia for many years. The Turkey Company, later called the Levant Company, began trading directly with Asia gradually displaced Venice as the ‘middleman’ in trade with Turkey, itself a middleman for Persia, China, and the Far East. The East India Company, the most successful of all, bypassed the eastern Mediterranean to trade directly with the Far East, voyaging around the Cape of Good Hope. Typically, the companies were limited to merchants (rather than retailers) and had about 250 to 300 members each paying an entry price. The Levant Company, after its charter was confirmed by James I, had 300 members including a number of government officers and the entry fee was £25 for those under 25 years of age and £50 for those over that age. This age discrimination was because younger men were expected to undertake the actual ‘adventuring.’ The companies created trading posts overseas and often performed in the role of ambassadors. The

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<sup>97</sup> Privy Council list of Royal Charters, accessed online 1.1.2016.

chartered companies were very much an expression of the new confidence of England to trade abroad and to explore new lands.

The more conventional Joint Stock Company (unpatented) we know today was not formulated until 1844 and the limited liability company (the basis of private companies today) in 1855.<sup>98</sup> Until then private enterprises existed as partnerships. The acting companies were such partnerships, holding a value per share, calculated initially it seems from the stock of their material goods (costumes and properties), rather than the uncertain returns of playing. The ownership of shares in the theatres by 1600 were each secured by a sub-lease to the theatre and the valuation at a change of shareholder was arrived at by adding an anticipated earning from trading.<sup>99</sup>

Elizabeth's reign was a time of rapid change. The certainty of the old order and the wealth represented in lands and agriculture was being supplanted by industry and commerce enriching the lower ranks of society. The changes were unsettling. An advisory document sent to Cecil in the last days of 1558 by Abel Waad, a close associate of the new Principal Secretary, in which 'The Distress of the Commonwealth' was 'diagrammed' (*sic*) under seven headings:

The poverty of the Queen  
The pecunery of the noble men, and their poverty  
The wealth of the meaner sort  
The dearth of things  
The divisions within the nation  
The wars  
The want of justice.<sup>100</sup>

Norman Jones has set out Cecil's thought process in considering the reformation of the Usury Laws in 1570, from Cecil's manuscript notes held at the British

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<sup>98</sup> <https://www.Legislation.gov.uk> accessed online 8.9.19.

<sup>99</sup> *EPT*, p. 616, item 475 (a) and p. 621, item 478.

<sup>100</sup> Norman L. Jones, 'William Cecil and the making of economic policy in the 1560s and early 1570s', in *Political Thought and the Tudor Commonwealth: Deep structure, discourse and disguise*, Paul A. Fideler and T.F. Mayer (eds), pp. 173-98 (quotation on p. 174).

Museum.<sup>101</sup> His conclusion, evidenced by the act of 1571 permitting lending at interest at 10% or less, goes against the dominance of the religious doctrine of 1552 when loans at interest were forbidden, and many of Cecil's own reservations.

### **Audiences**

Permanent popular theatres originally formed at the very heart of London, in the Inns on the main thoroughfares. When growth became restricted by City authority resistance, new purpose-built buildings began to be created in the suburbs. Julian Bowsher in *Shakespeare's Theatreland*,<sup>102</sup> suggests that all of London from the Theatre in Shoreditch to the Globe in Southwark could be walked in an hour and implies therefore that all audiences could attend all theatres.<sup>102</sup> His timings are based on modern London but in Tudor London there were few pavements, traffic was not organised as it is today and shops and materials spilled onto the roadway, life was lived much more on the streets. As a result, streets were more crowded and journey times through London would be longer than they are today. The theatre companies clearly recognised the need to serve the different areas of London. When the Globe arrived in Southwark, the Rose company moved north, not to Shoreditch where the Burbages had left their sister operation the Curtain, but to Golding Lane. This was north of the city but closer to the centre than the Curtain. Theatres such as the Red Bull in Clerkenwell and the Phoenix in Drury Lane served the west London audience. Most central of all, St. Paul's and Blackfriars served the very richest areas looked towards the Inns of Court and the river borne audience. John Elliott in his examination of the account books of four Inns of Court members in the Caroline period notes that the

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<sup>101</sup> Norman L. Jones, 'The Birth of the Elizabethan Age: England in the 1560s and early 1570s', in Paul A. Fidler and T. F. Meyer (eds), *Political Thought and the Tudor Commonwealth: Deep structure, discourse and disguise* (London & New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 174.

<sup>102</sup> Julian Bowsher, *Shakespeare's London Theatreland* (London: Museum of London Archaeology, 2012), p. 13.

strong preference was for Blackfriars and the Cockpit/Phoenix, Drury Lane, the closest theatres. Whitefriars theatre had a short and chequered career and is not directly mentioned and Salisbury Court arrived too late for those recorded visits to the theatre. Some water borne excursions to playhouses suggest the Globe but could also include trips by water (to impress companions) on the way to Blackfriars.<sup>103</sup> Today we consider a journey time of 30 minutes encompasses the primary audience for a venue, and this may be indicative of Elizabethan audiences too.

In *Documents of Performance* Tiffany Stern explores the playbills by which the audience learnt of performances.<sup>104</sup> These were posted daily so that planning a journey to the playhouse for a specific play was something done on the day. Long journey times would be only for those with no set working hours, the ordinary playgoer would choose his play in the morning to follow his work and proximity was more of an issue if the play was to be fitted into the day and after a midday dinner. The indoor theatres with their higher entry price and smaller capacity were naturally located in the richer areas of London and close to the Inns of Court where the highest number of bright, well-off and independent young men were quartered. For the theatre, then as now, journey time defines the catchment area as much as the demography.

Andrew Gurr has written extensively on the social mix and behaviour of audiences in *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*,<sup>105</sup> and *The Shakespearean Stage*

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<sup>103</sup> John R. Elliott, 'Four Caroline Playgoers,' *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 6 (1993), pp. 179-93.

<sup>104</sup> Tiffany Stern, *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, paperback 2012).

<sup>105</sup> Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987; third edition 2004, reprinted 2005).

1574–1642.<sup>106</sup> In these works he has captured the essence of the audience range and make-up. His comments on the behaviour of the audiences and their ability, when roused, to take out any frustration on the playhouse fabric may be confirmed in Edward Alleyn's declared costs for running the Fortune Theatre.

The foreign observers who came to London and commented on the theatres all speak of their size and grandeur, and almost universally put their capacity at 3,000 people. But then the capacity of the Nurenburg Fencing School Arena was said to be 3,000.<sup>107</sup> Three thousand ducats was also the sum Bassanio borrows from Shylock on Antonio's Bond in *The Merchant of Venice*.<sup>108</sup> It was only recently that I realised, from a casual remark by an Italian colleague, that 3,000 is used, even today, as an indicative statement of a large number and should not be interpreted as being an actual count. In fact, the largest theatres held barely half that number and, as we shall see later, were frequently only half full. An exception to the foreign visitor's bland over estimates was Samuel Kiechal, a merchant from Ulm, who complained that because the plays were in English he could not understand them and so, bored, he set about calculating the value of the box office, concluding that on a good day the Queen's Men could attract £10 to £12 'especially when they act anything new, that has not been acted before and double prices are charged.'<sup>109</sup> This accords well with Henslowe's daily returns and my estimates of capacity of the theatres (see appendices).

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<sup>106</sup> Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage 1574–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

<sup>107</sup> June Schlueter, 'The Earliest Nurenburg Playbill', *Theatre Notebook*, 67 (3) (2013), 141-55, p.143.

<sup>108</sup> William Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, First Folio, p. 183, line 326.

<sup>109</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 358.

### **Circumstances for the entrepreneur-led growth of theatre in London**

The requirements I set out at the beginning of this chapter were met by the first years of Elizabeth's reign. The population of London was growing rapidly and would double by 1600. The patronage of a playing company had become fashionable and the competition for recognition and a place in London must have improved their abilities in performance. Playwrights were becoming more proficient and their plays more related to ordinary people's experience, 1561 is the year in which *Annals of English Drama* begins to record more play titles than masks, disguisings and shows.<sup>110</sup> Coinage was becoming more standardised and money supply was growing as urban wealth developed. By 1571 lending and borrowing at interest was again legal, allowing money to flow easily from capital to entrepreneur and the means of transfer was changing from bullion to paper bonds and letters of credit. England was beginning to be adventurous in trading and in privateering, giving a sense of daring-do, on which the entrepreneur might thrive. The religious restrictions to thought and belief were beginning to be displaced towards a more rational enquiry into God's role and it was now an 'English god', free from foreign domination. In parallel scientific enquiry was beginning to form a secular interpretation of the world. It was the time to bring forth permanent theatre buildings and the time brought forth the men and their enterprises that I shall describe more fully in the following chapters.

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<sup>110</sup> Alfred Harbage, revised by S. Schoenbaum, *Annals of English Drama 975–1700* (London: Methuen, 1964), p. 36.

## Chapter Two

### The Children's Companies

#### **The foundation of the Boy Companies**

Many schools in the early Tudor period had their foundation in a church or cathedral where choral singing played an important part in the routine of the establishment. Choir schools were formed as a means of getting boys with good voices to leave their home churches and families to sing in the choir, their education and resulting advancement by this means being a considerable advantage to boys from ordinary families. In London Westminster, Eton College, and Merchant Taylor's schools all played at Court from time to time but the principal companies, that developed a professional frequency of performance were the choir schools of St. Paul's and the Chapels Royal at Whitehall and Windsor. Chambers traces the Chapel Children back to the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup> In addition to their religious service the boys of these choirs performed music and spoken works for the entertainment of guests in disguisings, interludes, masks and plays. The Chapel choristers provided service in the Court increasing in sophistication during the Tudor period, with developed plays at the end of the first quarter of the sixteenth century and, by the middle of Elizabeth's reign, plays of poetic importance and popularity.<sup>2</sup> By 1603 the main children's companies, now under commercial rather than 'household' management, changed in character and repertoire, this however is beyond the scope of this thesis and covered by other writers, notably Lucy Munro.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *ES*, vol. II, pp. 9 and 24.

<sup>2</sup> Charles William Wallace, *The Evolution of the English Drama up to Shakespeare* (New York, NY: first published 1912; reissued by Kennikat Press, 1968).

<sup>3</sup> Lucy Munro, *Children of the Queen's Revels: A Jacobean Repertory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, paperback 2011) and 'Children's Companies and the Long 1580s' in *Shakespeare Studies*, Columbia, Vol. 45, pp. 97-105.

Sydney Anglo has provided a transcription of the payments made for Court entertainments under Henry VII, between December 1490 and April 1509.<sup>4</sup> In the article he notes a description of a pageant or show, from the *Chronicle of London*, of the 1494 Twelfth Night entertainment which included the entry of

William Cornish apparelled after the figure of Saint George followed by a girl, dressed as a princess, who led a fire-breathing dragon through the hall.<sup>5</sup>

It seems likely that this 'girl' was, in fact, a boy of the King's Chapel, of which William Cornish was a gentleman and, from 1509, Master. 1495 has the first entry in these accounts for the Children of the King's Chapel: they sang at the November Audit ceremony, clearly a secular event – one wonders what they sang. They were paid again in December that year, the first of a regular entry 'for singing of *Gloria in excelsis deo*' on Christmas Day (the actual piece being confirmed by the 1498 entry and others). That year there were two 'plays on the hall' and these may indeed be 'plays' as we would use the word, but the words 'plays' and 'players' are used, ambiguously, also for musicians. Players from Essex, Wycombe and Offord and Waites from other towns are also recorded. The last are, presumably, primarily singers but the 'players' could be performing anything from a mime to a scripted performance or even mystery plays, though one would expect the word 'mystery' to be used in that case. The Children of the King's Chapel received £1 for the Audit entertainment in most years and £2 for the *Gloria* at Christmas in addition to their food and keep and their master's stipend, which were part of the Court establishment costs. A great deal of the entertainment at Court was domestic in nature, with resident

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<sup>4</sup> Sydney Anglo, 'The Court festivals of Henry VII: A study based on the account books of John Heron, Treasurer of the Chamber', *John Rylands Library Bulletin*, 43 (1960-61) 12-43. NB the accounts in the article are grouped in modern calendar years, beginning in January.

<sup>5</sup> Anglo, p. 23.

musicians and masques presented by courtiers and the household, as with any other great house establishment.<sup>6</sup>

1506 has the first specific mention of an external household boy company, as opposed to 'players,' that of 'the Children of my Lord of Oxford's Chapel,' when a reward of 6s.8d. (half of one mark) was made in thanks for their performance.<sup>7</sup> These boy choristers were part of the household of major houses with regular choral duties but they also provided music for, and played parts in, disguisings and pageants for guests and for family celebrations. The payments for entertainments in January 1495 give a flavour of the Court's Christmas festivities. The following section of the accounts is taken from Sydney Anglo's transcription:

Dec. 31 <sup>st</sup>	Item to 2 plays in the hall	26s. 8d.
	Item to Dic the fools master wages	10s. 4d.
Jan. 1 <sup>st</sup> & 2 <sup>nd</sup>	Item to the players of Oxon. in reward	13s. 4d.
	Item to the players of Essex	20s.
	Item to the players on Saturday at night	13s. 4d.
Jan. 3 <sup>rd</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Item to the Gentlemen of the King's Chapel	£13. 6s. 8d.
	Item to the players on Monday in reward.	13s. 4d.
	Item to the King's players in reward	13s. 4d.
Jan. 10 <sup>th</sup> –15 <sup>th</sup>	Item to Ringeley, Lord of Misrule, in reward	40s.
	Item to the Scottish fool in reward	6s. 8d.
Jan. 24 <sup>th</sup> –29 <sup>th</sup>	Item to Jakes Haute in full payment for the disguising at Christenmas	£6.12s. 6d.*
Feb.7 <sup>th</sup> –9 <sup>th</sup>	Item to my Lord Suff., my Lord Essex, my Lord Wllm. and other for the disguising	£40.

\* £10 had been paid Jakes Haute in November for part payment for the disguising and a further £10 in December so that the cost for the whole disguising was £26. 12s. 6d. for the set and, I presume that the last entry of £40 was for their costumes and reward to the main players.<sup>8</sup>

It is possible that the 'disguising' was *Everyman* or *Nature*, both are listed by Craik as being about 1495.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Susan Westfall, "What Revels are in Hand?": Performances in the Great Households' in *A Companion to Renaissance Drama*, 2002, pp. 266-280.

<sup>7</sup> Anglo, p. 41.

<sup>8</sup> Anglo, pp. 29-30.

<sup>9</sup> T.W. Craik, *The Tudor Interlude* (Leicester: Leicester University Press 1967), p. 140.

### **Thomas Cawarden, first permanent Master of the Revels**

For the purposes of this study, the business of playing by boy companies in London must begin with Thomas Cawarden as the first permanent Master of the Revels.

Cawarden was the son of a shearman and fuller and was said to be apprenticed to a mercer though there is no record of him becoming free of that Company. The coat of arms he used were those of a family that moved from Cheshire to Staffordshire at the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>10</sup> Documentation in the Loseley collection confirms that his grandfather was a Thomas Cawarden of Everton, on the Bedfordshire-Huntingdonshire border, and may have been the Thomas 'Hawarden' entered at Gray's Inn in 1528, when he would have been about fourteen.<sup>11</sup> Cawarden signed himself 'Citizen and Draper' on the documents for the sale of the Everton property.<sup>12</sup> Given that he was the first permanent Master of the Revels, the Drapers may have made him a Freeman by acclamation for the work that he could provide their members. He must have been from a landed family as his advancement at Court was very rapid. William Robison, in the *DNB*, suggests that Cawarden was advanced by Thomas Cromwell, also a Draper, and, like Cawarden, a convinced protestant.<sup>13</sup> Cawarden's subsequent history shows him to be strongly protestant with involvement in all the plots against Queen Mary, resulting in short periods of imprisonment and payment of £1,000 to Mary for an unspecified fine or debt. Cawarden's skills would appear to be in organising and administration, he assisted Cromwell in the dissolution of monastic properties and in 1538 purchased some of these properties at Chertsey, Walton and Weybridge. By 1540 he was a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, a position of considerable influence, close to the King. He must also have been

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<sup>10</sup> S. R. Johnson,, 'Cawarden, Thomas', in *History of Parliament Online* [accessed, 7.2.19].

<sup>11</sup> William B. Robison, 'Cawarden, Sir Thomas', in *DNB*, [accessed on line 5.2.19].

<sup>12</sup> S. R. Johnson,, 'Cawarden, Thomas', in *History of Parliament Online* [accessed, 7.2.19].

<sup>13</sup> S. T. Bindoff, 'Cromwell, Thomas' in *History of Parliament Online* [accessed, 7.2.19].

something of a charmer to survive through four reigns of changing political and religious fortune. Culturally, his reputation was that of a man who took a delight in disguisings and pageants and was artistic and skilful in their preparation.<sup>14</sup> It seems clear that Cawarden established himself as producer of entertainments for Henry's Court, a role he continued with Edward VI and through the Coronation of Elizabeth I.

Cawarden first appears in the Revels accounts as 'Thomas Cawarden Esquire', recording an inventory of the Revels costume stock in 1542. He reappears in the accounts in 1544 as Sir Thomas Cawarden, Master of the Revels.<sup>15</sup> In March 1544 he was given patents for the position of Master of the Tents and for Master of the Revels. As Master of the Tents he was responsible for the logistical support of Henry VIII's army at the siege of Boulogne. He had accumulated a considerable wealth by this time and supplied 51 horse and 200 foot soldiers to that siege. For this he was knighted at Boulogne, in September 1544, and soon after appointed keeper of Nonsuch Palace, a mark of especial personal favour as this was a favourite palace, especially linked to entertainment.<sup>16</sup> Over the remaining years of Henry's reign he was granted lands in several counties, adding to his growing wealth. In Henry's will, he received £200 in money and land worth 100 marks a year.<sup>17</sup>

As Master of the Tents (whose work was mostly in the summer) and Master of the Revels (whose work was mostly in the winter) he appointed a comptroller and clerk who worked for both departments, freeing the separate Tents and Revels Yeomen and their assistants for the actual work of preparing and maintaining

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<sup>14</sup> William B. Robinson, 'Cawarden, Sir Thomas', *DNB*, 03 January 2008 version, accessed 05.02.19.

<sup>15</sup> Eleanor Lowe, Martin Wiggins and Janette Dillon (eds), 'Accounts and Inventories of the Revels Office, 1541–46,' *Collections Volume XVII*, Malone Society Reprints (2015), pp. 7-73; checked by Siobhan Keenan and Eugene Giddens (Manchester: Manchester University Press for The Malone Society, reproduction 2016). See pages 11 and 32 for Cawarden entries.

<sup>16</sup> S.R. Johnson, *History of Parliament*, 'Cawarden, Thomas', accessed 05.02.19.

<sup>17</sup> 'Cawarden, Sir Thomas', *DNB*, 03 January 2008 version, accessed 05.02.19.

costumes, properties and tents.<sup>18</sup> Given the similarity of trades (wooden framing canvas, painting, costume and leather working) he may well have contracted many of the same tradesmen for both departments to give the officers greater purchasing power. As with many royal appointments they were occasional (in modern parlance 'gig' contracts) under which the master and other staff were paid for their days of attendance.

I suggest that Cawarden's appointment as Master of the Revels allowed him to re-think the organisation of much of the entertainment resources of the Court. He would have been helped by the appointment of a new Master of the Chapel Children, Richard Bower, in 1545, who served in this role until his death in 1561. By 1544 the members of the Chapel Royal had ceased dining in the hall with the rest of the royal household and began to receive a subsistence allowance of one shilling a day for each Gentleman and two shillings a week for each of the Children (later raised to sixpence a day per child).<sup>19</sup> The Chapel was based at Greenwich, presumably appropriate members following the Court around as required, and thus at least some had enjoyed accommodation in Whitehall Palace for much of the year, including the Children of the Chapel with daily duties in the Royal Chapel. The new allowance for the Children and Gentlemen of the Chapel shows that they no longer had the right to dine in Hall with the other palace staff and this also implies that they also lost the right to accommodation within the palace itself, presumably to reduce pressure on accommodation. The change of accommodation and of day to day operations resulting, will have made the Children of the Chapel more divorced from the household and, one suspects, more professionally motivated in their duties.

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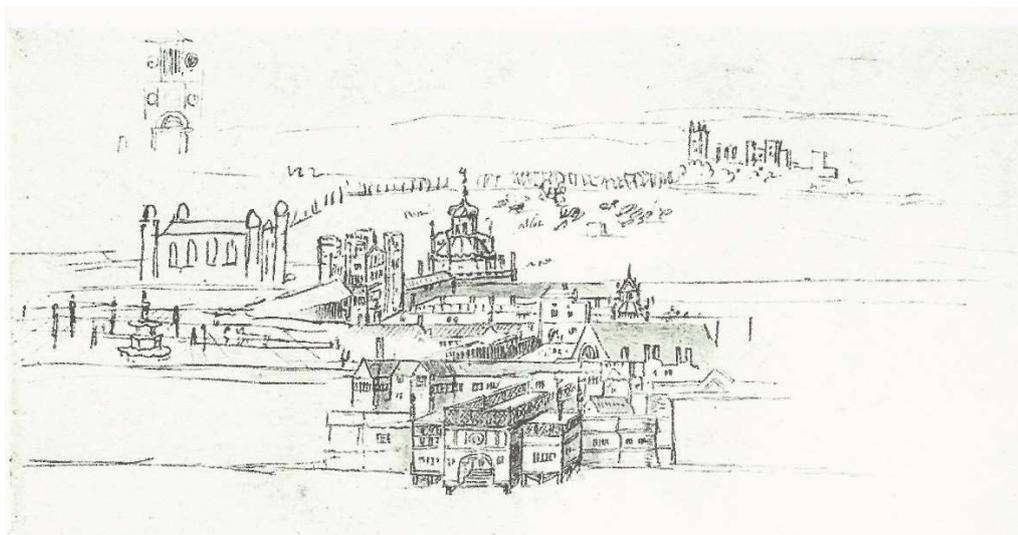
<sup>18</sup> *ES*, vol. I, p. 73.

<sup>19</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 26.

It is possible that, in re-organising the Court's resources, Cawarden moved the Children to the west side of King Street into the part of the palace where the entertainment wing of the Whitehall Palace, tennis court, bowling alley, cockpit and tiltyard were located. It is tempting to think of the Cockpit-at-Court (also in this part of the Palace) being a rehearsal space for the Chapel Children in these early years of the Cockpit's existence. The two images below show the Cockpit surrounded by a tennis court and bowling alley, to the south of the tilt-yard.



*Fig. 4 The west side of Whitehall. the 'Agas' Map of about 1560.  
The Cockpit is the building to the far left with a conical roof.*



*Figure 5. Whitehall Palace, by Anton van den Wyngaerde 1544.  
This shows the Cockpit in the centre of the sketch as an octagonal roof above one or two  
floors of castellated terraces, the upper one octagonal, the lower one probably square.  
The view appears to be from Southwark Cathedral tower.*

The Wyngaerde sketch could be interpreted to imply that the lowest storey is a single, ground floor one. The much later Webb Collection drawing No. 27 shows a two-storey building in about 1632 and a 1674 painting by William Danckwart confirms this. Productions by the King's Men are known from 1607 and Pepys saw plays there in 1662.<sup>20</sup>

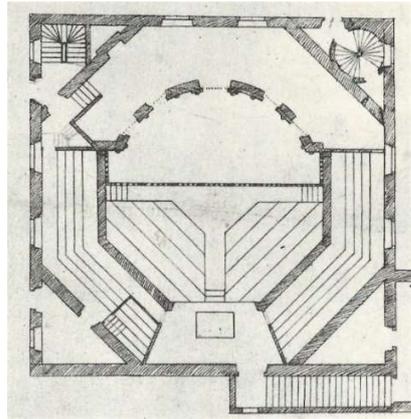


Fig. 6: Cockpit at Court Drawing probably showing Inigo Jones setting of 1632 or later.<sup>21</sup>

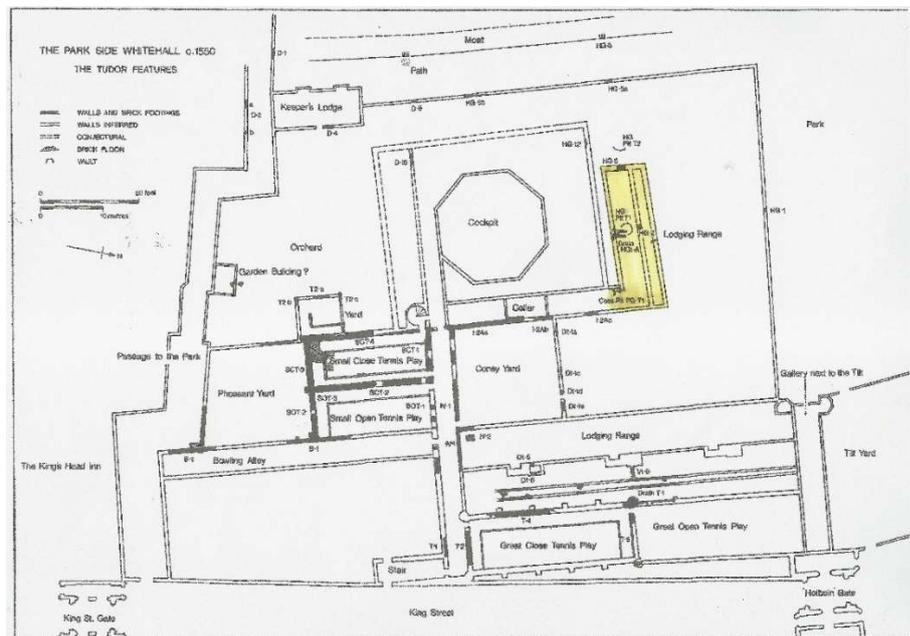


Figure 7: West side of Whitehall showing the octagonal Cockpit and the accommodation block built Henry VIII and demolished during Mary or Elizabeth's reign (coloured yellow).<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> John H. Astington, *English Court Theatre 1558–1662* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 242.

<sup>21</sup> Webb Collection, part of drawing 27 (by permission of the Master and Fellows of Worcester College, Oxford).

<sup>22</sup> H. J. M. Green & S. J. Thurley, 'Excavations on the West Side of Whitehall 1960–1962', *London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, Transactions*, vol. 38 (1987), 59-130, p. 70.

The Green and Thurley report on the archaeological excavations assumes that the square building around the octagonal cockpit is a late addition, however, both the Agas (c. 1560) and Wyngaerde (1544) images suggest two storeys beneath the lower castellations. Their report shows a range of lodgings to the right (north) of the Cockpit. These were dated by them as built in the 1534–1547 period and demolished under the late Tudors. This could have been accommodation for the Children of the Royal Chapel, following their displacement from Whitehall Palace on the opposite side of King's Street and conveniently close to the Cockpit as a potential rehearsal space. A requirement to attend and contribute to daily services in the Royal Chapel suggest some local accommodation was needed and much later, in 1683, the Cockpit was being used as part of the domestic accommodation of the palace. If, as I shall argue, the Chapel Children removed to Greenwich after 1584 the subsequent demolition of this accommodation would be appropriate and desirable to reveal the full Cockpit to the landscaped St. James's Park. There were, it must be admitted, several other buildings on the west side of the street and other accommodation may have been provided for the Chapel Children but proximity to a large rehearse space in the Cockpit argues strongly for this accommodation being provided for the Royal Chapel Children.

In 1548 Cawarden received a 21-year lease from the Crown on a large part of the north western sector of the Blackfriars precinct, including the stores of the tents and revels, moved by him to (then) crown-owned buildings in 1545. There was some lack of definition of a pre-existing leasehold interest in parts of the property held by Sir Thomas Cheyne (the matter was finally settled in a court case in 1572).<sup>23</sup> Cheyne does not appear to have occupied his property and Cawarden moved in, possibly

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<sup>23</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 502.

unaware of the confusion. The Office of the Tents store, at least, was part of the Cheyne property for in 1550 Cheyne was granted £5 in rent for the store, backdated to 1545. I think it entirely possible that Cawarden used the old guest hall of the Blackfriars monastery (also part of the Cheyne property) from sometime after 1548 to house and rehearse the Children of the Chapel Royal when they were in London, thus establishing a precedent for Richard Farrant to use the same room in later years. Cawarden received a grant of all the lands remaining in Crown hands in the Blackfriars precinct in March 1550, from the executors of King Henry VIII's estate. This was likely to have been in part settlement of considerable sums owing to Cawarden for Court entertainments.<sup>24</sup> Sir John Portinori (tenant of part of the Parliament Chamber) gave evidence, in the Cheyne dispute, that he had kept the keys for part of the granted property for many years since the surrender of the monastery in 1538, and that when he handed them to Cawarden he was invited by Cawarden to dinner and to a play in the hall.<sup>25</sup> Clearly Cawarden was able to 'command' plays, to be played at Blackfriars, though it may, in practice, have been a performance for the purposes of approval of a new play-text. It is also possible that the play was given by the Children of the Chapel Royal. It must be remembered that Cawarden 'lived bounteously' with more than 100 liveried servants licensed to him, so that dinner in the hall would have provided a reasonable audience for the play in front of the Cawarden household and guests.<sup>26</sup>

### **The Royal Chapel as centre of excellence**

The Chapel Royal under Bower and Cawarden was a centre for the greatest of the composers of the period. Thomas Tallis came from Canterbury in 1543 to become a

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<sup>24</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 492.

<sup>25</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 492.

<sup>26</sup> *DNB*, 'Cawarden, Sir Thomas,' 03 January 2008 version, accessed 05.02.19.

Gentleman of the Chapel Royal and a pattern was established of drawing major talents together in the Chapel. Roger Bowers in his *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* article on Sebastian Westcote says that it is 'extremely unlikely that the Sebastian Westcote (of St. Paul's) can be identified with the Sebastian Westcote who occurs in 1545 among Henry VIII's yeoman of the chamber'.<sup>27</sup> I find this a surprising assertion considering that in 1541 Westcote had been engaged as one of six lay-vicars at St. Paul's and was Master of the Choristers and Almoner at St. Paul's in 1547.<sup>28</sup> Westcote was a considerable composer and a position as 'yeoman', rather than 'gentleman', of the chamber is surely consistent with a looser association with the Court and Chapel Royal resulting from his appointment at St. Paul's. A position as a Yeoman of the Chamber may also account for Westcote's ability to continue as Choir Master at St. Paul's, despite retaining his Catholicism in the face of City of London opposition and, one assumes, at least embarrassment on the part of the Cathedral authorities. He was of course an important composer and arranger for the Cathedral as well as an organist. Westcote's appointment as Yeoman of the Chamber is consistent with Cawarden strengthening his lien on available entertainment resources to serve the Crown and centring the greatest musical talent available for the greater national and international glory of the English Court.

By 1552 William Hunnis was a gentleman of the Chapel Royal and the following year Richard Farrant joined him. Hunnis and Farrant established the boy companies of the Chapels Royal as regular public performers and both wrote plays and composed music. This gave Cawarden, as Master of the Revels, resources that included the King's Men (the small company of disguisers under Henry VII now grown to six members of the royal household), the twelve boys of the Chapels Royal

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<sup>27</sup> Richard Bowers, 'Westcote (Westcote), Sebastian', in *DNB*, accessed on line 10.5.2017.

<sup>28</sup> Richard Bowers, *ibid.*

at Whitehall and six, increasing to ten, at Windsor.<sup>29</sup> As the Chapel Royal became the foremost centre for the composition of English music, the close association with St. Paul's and Westcote's smaller, but important school of musicians and composers was, surely, desirable for the Court's entertainment. William Byrd probably followed his brothers into the choir of St. Paul's but it is also possible that he joined the choir of the Chapel Royal, establishing early a close musical association with Tallis. Byrd became a gentleman of the Chapel himself in 1572.<sup>30</sup>

Cawarden continued as Master of the Tents and Revels under Edward VI and Mary (his appointment was for life) but he will have been less trusted in Mary's reign when he was suspected of supporting rebels and his arms and some property were confiscated. He was fully reinstated by Elizabeth I and oversaw her coronation and the first winter festivities of 1558. His last duty may have been to supervise a masque for the Queen's visit to Lord Clinton at West Horsley, where he died in August 1559 following an accident in which he broke his legs. He would have been about 45 years of age. Though not directly evidenced, the circumstantial indications are that Cawarden orchestrated the growth of the boys' companies and the base for a considerable wealth of musical talent, centred on the Court and its entertainment. Cawarden's ability and control might be illustrated by the fact that the first performance after his death was told to 'forebear' as the content was unacceptable.<sup>31</sup> This performance is thought to have been by the Chapel Children under Bower who seems to have continued his career unfettered under Queen Mary and so may have

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<sup>29</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 62.

<sup>30</sup> The information for this paragraph is taken from the *DNB* entries for the person's identified. All online: 'Cawarden, Sir Thomas', by William B. Robison, 2008, 'Hunnis, William', by Andrew Ashbee (copyright 2004–2016), 'Farrant, Richard', by Roger Bowers (copyright 2004–2016), 'Tallis, Thomas', by John Milsom (copyright 2004–2016), 'Byrd, William', by Craig Monson (copyright 2004–2016), all accessed 2.6.2017.

<sup>31</sup> *ES*, Vol. II, p. 32.

had catholic leanings. Without Cawarden's restraining, protestant hand, material could quickly go 'off message' and be unacceptable. By the time that the boys' companies began to present regular commercial performances to the public they had a secure musical base in the Chapel Royal and St. Paul's and a history of support from the Master of the Revels. As the evidence suggests that St. Paul's boys were the first to perform to a paying public, I shall address that company next before returning to the Children of the Chapel.

### **The Children of Paul's**

*'Masters: Sebastian Westcote 1547–1552 (acting) 1552–1582 (under patent); Thomas Gyles (acting) 1582–84, (patent) 1584–90; Edward Pearce >1600–6'.<sup>32</sup>*

Sebastian Westcote was appointed one of six lay vicars-choral at St Paul's in 1541 and succeeded John Redford as Master of the Choristers in 1547. Redford left him a bequest in his will and appointed him sole executor but it was not until February 1552, under Mary, that the catholic Westcote was to receive a formal appointment as Master of the most important choir performing music in public in London.<sup>33</sup> Westcote was a composer and playwright and according to Roger Bowers, in *DNB*, something of an entrepreneur. The abolition of obits, and their fees, in 1548, and the much reduced liturgy of 1549, diminished both the choir's income and its workload. To address both problems Westcote began to offer the choir for performances both as musicians and actors at livery companies and in private houses, re-awakening or expanding the role of the boys as actors.<sup>34</sup> In 1538 a play had been presented before the Lady Mary, attributed in the Court accounts to 'John Heywood his boys,' but as Heywood was a minor canon of St. Paul's at the time there can be little doubt it was

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<sup>32</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 9.

<sup>33</sup> *DNB*, Roger Bowers 'Westcote (Wescott), Sebastian', accessed 10.5.2017.

<sup>34</sup> *DNB*. Roger Bowers 'Westcote (Wescott), Sebastian', accessed 10.5.2017

the Paul's boys.<sup>35</sup> Westcote raised the profile of his play productions by bringing a play to the Lady Elizabeth at Hatfield House in 1552, with John Haywood and, presumably also, with the St. Paul's boys.<sup>36</sup>

Westcote's early service to Elizabeth may well have been his professional saving grace for, as an avowed catholic, he suffered a lack of advancement at St. Paul's, though he managed to maintain his leadership of St. Paul's Choir School and the role of Almoner until his death in 1582. He lost his benefice as a vicar-choral in 1564 when he was under regular pressure from the visiting Bishop and City authorities to recant his Catholicism. He was even jailed for a short time in 1578 for failing to conform, though Elizabeth ensured his release, through the good offices of the Earl of Leicester. If, as I believe, he was a Yeoman of the Chamber, Leicester's assistance may well have been instigated by the Court to ensure the release of one of its musical staff. Undoubtedly Westcote's work in presenting the Children of St. Paul's at Court was a major component of his security in a long career. Support in the City will have come from his close friend, John Southcote, in 1577 Master of the Rolls and a dining friend of the Lord Mayor and Recorder Fleetwood.<sup>37</sup> Southcote was also born in Devon within four years of Westcote and it is possible that they met as boys, living only twenty-eight miles apart across sparsely populated Dartmoor. Southcote's wife, Elizabeth, was the daughter of the London Alderman William Robbins and Southcote himself became London Sheriff and latter a justice of the Queen's Bench in 1563.<sup>38</sup> Southcote was also a neighbour in Essex to the farm leased

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<sup>35</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 12.

<sup>36</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 11.

<sup>37</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 277.

<sup>38</sup> J. H. Baker, 'Southcote, John', in *DNB*, accessed online 15.5.2017.

to Westcote and both were Catholic, achieving their initial advancement in Queen Mary's reign.

From 1558 until 1560 no plays were presented at Court, instead masks and enterludes, naturally assisted by the Children of the Chapel, were presented. The Revels estimates for the year 1560 emphasise the economy that has been effected under the new Master, Sir Thomas Benger.<sup>39</sup> Elizabeth clearly had an initial concern for the costs of the Court, but may also have been feeling her way into monarchy. It was a sensitive time, with a return to the protestant religion and a considerable change in the stance of government, away from Spain and towards a stronger independent trading country in its own right. She would naturally be concerned not to present anything in her entertainments that might be contentious, but would wish to have plays and masks that emphasised her policies.<sup>40</sup> Masks were generated and supervised within the Court and their content could be more easily controlled and seen in rehearsal to ensure they were politically 'on message'.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, masks included dancing within and after the performance, and dancing was something at which Elizabeth excelled, and presented her at her best in these early years. In 1560 the first plays are presented by Lord Dudley's Men (a favourite and respected protestant) and by the Children of Paul's. The Children had previously (July 1559) performed at Nonsuch before the Queen on Progress. Westcote's work being known to Elizabeth from before her accession, she would be aware of his taste for classical and pastoral themes, unlikely to raise problems. It was the beginning of an outstanding body of

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<sup>39</sup> *ES*, vol. 1, p. 75.

<sup>40</sup> John Guy, in his introduction to *Elizabeth: The Forgotten Years* (New York: Viking, 2016) is at pains to stress Lord Burghley's concerns over the political and religious sensitivities of the early years of Elizabeth's reign and his close control of all external communications. Masks and plays would have been part of these communications. Burghley also emphasised the Protestant commitment of the new monarchy.

<sup>41</sup> John H. Astington, *English Court Theatre 1558–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 222. The first noted masque on 6 January 1588 was the *Mask of Papists* and ten days later the masque of *Almains and Palmers* establishing the protestant stance of the Court.

work for Westcote's boys. From 1560 until 1581 (excluding only 1563 and 1569) St. Paul's Boys played every year at Court, sometimes twice. Chambers makes the point that the adult companies fare less well (in terms of numbers of performances) than the boys companies before the establishment of permanent London theatre in 1576.

Thereafter the adult companies dominate, implying the importance of greater renown in London and the continuity of performances that the boys' companies had long established for their own work. Table 11, below, sets out the relative success of the Paul's and Chapel Children in Elizabeth's reign. In the table the children's companies performances at Court are listed by the company name and the payee. We have no records for 1563 in the Chamber Accounts and only a brief note of three plays at Windsor at Christmas and Candlemas in the Revels Accounts. John Astington places the Court at Whitehall for that year, using the symbol 'W' in his appendix table, but he has no symbol for Windsor and may have mistakenly used 'W' for Windsor rather than Whitehall.<sup>42</sup> Given that the plague killed almost a quarter of the City of London population that year, Windsor is surely the more likely location. Chambers references the Revels accounts which note 'charges against Christmas and Candlemas for three plays at Windsor'.<sup>43</sup> Astington notes two plays over Christmas and three masks at Richmond in June for the French Ambassador. At this time Westcote was under pressure to conform to Protestant worship and so may not have been a politic choice for the winter festivities. In November 1564 he gave a bond to conform or resign by the following Easter, yet in 1575 is still known to be non-communicant.<sup>44</sup> The other gap in the St Paul's playing record, 1569, is a year in which both William Hunnis of the Children of the Chapel Royal and Richard Farrant's Children of Windsor play at

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<sup>42</sup> John H. Astington, *English Court Theatre 1558–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 223.

<sup>43</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 14.

<sup>44</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 14, fn.2.

Court in Windsor and there is only one other play, by Lord Rich's Men at Hampton Court.<sup>45</sup> There appears to be no explanation for the paucity of plays that year other than the Court being out of London.

Table 10. Performances at Court by the Children's Companies 1559–1602  
*Author's table derived from Chambers and Astington.*

Year	Location	Paul's		Chapel Royal		Windsor Chapel	
		Signatory	Perfs.	Signatory	Perfs.	Signatory	Perfs.
1559	Whitehall						
1560	Whitehall	Westcote	1				
1561	Whitehall	Westcote	2				
1562	Whitehall	Master	1				
1563	Windsor						
1564	Whitehall	Westcote	2	[Edwards]	1		
1565	Whitehall & Savoy	Westcote	3				
1566	Whitehall	Westcote	2			Farrant	1
1567	Whitehall	Westcote	2	Hunnis	1	Farrant	1
1568	Whiteh. & Wind.	Westcote	1			Farrant	1
1569	Windsor			Hunnis	1	Farrant	1
1570	Hamp.Ct & Whiteh.	Westcote	2	Hunnis	1	Farrant	1
1571	Whitehall	Westcote	1	Hunnis	1	Farrant	1
1572	Hampton Court	Westcote	1			Farrant	1
1573	Whitehall	Westcote	1			Farrant	1
1574	Hamp.Ct & Richm.	Westcote	1	Hunnis	1	Farrant	1
1575	Hampton Court	Westcote	1			Farrant	1
1576	Hamp.ct & Whiteh	Westcote	2	Farrant	1		
1577	Hampton Court	Westcote	1	Farrant	1		
1578	Richm. & Whiteh.	Master	1	Farrant	2		
1579	Whitehall	Westcote	1	Farrant	1		
1580	Whitehall	Westcote	1	Master	1		
1581	Whiteh.& Greenw.	Master	1	Master	1		
1582	Windsor & Richm.			Hunnis	1		
1583	Whitehall	<i>Oxford's Servants</i> Lyly	2	Master	2		
1584	Greenwich	<i>Oxford's Children</i> Evans	1			<i>Oxford' Servants</i> John Symons (Acrobatics)	1
1585	Greenwich					<i>Stanley's Boys</i> John Symonds (Acrobatics)	1
1586	Greenwich	Gyles	1				
1587	Greenwich	Gyles	2			John Simons (Acrobatics)	1
1588	Whitehall	Gyles	3				
1589	Richm. & Greenw.	Gyles	3				
<i>1590 to 1599 No Children's Plays</i>							
1600	Whitehall	Edward	Peers	1	Nath. Gyles	2	
1601	Richm. or Whiteh.*				Gyles	3	
1602	Greenw.or Whiteh*	Peers		1	Gyles	2	

\* Difference of location between Chambers and Astington.

Some 28 plays were presented by Paul's in the period 1560–1581, more than

<sup>45</sup> John H. Astington, *English Court Theatre 1558–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 225.

by any other single company in Queen Elizabeth's reign. Westcote's death in April 1582 terminated this considerable run.

In 1583 Paul's Boys did not play at Court, but there were two performances by the Children of the Chapel Royal and two by Oxford's Servants with the payee being John Lyly. Chambers, and many others, conclude that Oxford's Servants (Astington records them as 'Oxford's Boys' rather than 'Servants' as recorded in C. W. Wallace and E. K. Chambers's transcription of the Chamber Accounts) may have been a company composed of the Chapel and the Children of Paul's because they are attributed as being the joint players on the title pages of Thomas Cadman's publication of these plays in 1584. The title page attribution for *Campaspe* reads 'Played beefore the Queenes Majestie on newyeares day at night, by her Majesties Children and the Children of Paules' and that for *Sapho and Phao*, 'Played before the Queenes Majestie on Shrove-tewsdays by her Majesties Children, and the Boyes of Paules' and both dates match the dates of plays noted for Oxford's Servants.

However the Children of the Chapel present two plays in their own name in 1583 (payee 'the Master') and, were the companies combined, this would mean that at least some of the boys of the Royal Chapel played four times over that Christmas, twice the usual maximum of two plays. The two plays are given earlier limits by Harbage, 1580 for *Campaspe* and 1582 for *Sapho & Phao* so that it is possible they were played by the Royal Chapel prior to 1584 and the publisher is simply recording that both companies have presented the plays.<sup>46</sup> Both plays can be played by a cast of 12 but they are very different in casting, with *Campaspe* having three female characters and a page, suggesting younger actors whilst *Sapho and Phao* has eight female characters and a Cupid, not to mention a Sybil. *Campaspe* is thus more suited to a

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<sup>46</sup> Alfred Harbage, revised by S. Schoenbaum, *Annals of English Drama 975-1700* (London: Methuen, 1964), pp. 50-51.

company rather short of actor's whose voices have not broken whilst *Sapho and Phao* would seem to require a cast composed of younger boys. As the Paul's company must have been depleted of younger voices following Westcote's death and the delayed appointment of his successor we might assume that the Chapel Children contributed boys to play some of the ladies in *Sapho and Phao* and the printer took advantage to credit both plays with combined companies on his title pages.

In 1584 'Oxford's Children' presented *Agammenon* (presumably *Agamemnon and Ulysses*) which is anonymous but possibly the Earl of Oxford's, or perhaps another Lyly play. The payee was Henry Evans, Westcote's executor and, in 1583–4 a co-lessee with Lyly of the first Blackfriar's Theatre. Gabriel Harvey in 1589 said that Lyly was deputy master of Paul's and master of Oxford's Boys so that a combination of these companies is possible.<sup>47</sup> Yet another alternative is that the boys of the grammar school (as distinct from the choir school) also acted when required. Chambers records performances by the grammar school boys after the Children of Paul's ceased to play and Dean Nowell instructed Thomas Gyles in 1584 to teach the choristers their catechism, writing and music and then 'to suffer them to resort to Paul's School that they may learn the principles of Grammar', from which one deduces a working relationship between the choir school and the grammar school.<sup>48</sup>

Paul's are not recorded at Court again until 1586 under Thomas Gyles, their next Master. In subsequent years, when they did play at Court, they presented several of Lyly's plays and Lyly was, at one time, Oxford's secretary.<sup>49</sup> It must be noted that Thomas Gyles, though Almoner from Westcote's death, was not officially the Master of Paul's Children until May 1584 and not authorised to take boys for the

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<sup>47</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 18.

<sup>48</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 16, fn. 2.

<sup>49</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 16.

choir until April 1585.<sup>50</sup> This gap in playing is considered in 'Paul's under Thomas Gyles', below.

### **The Earl of Oxford's role**

Andrew Gurr persuasively suggests that Walsingham's instruction to Edward Tilney, Master of the Revels, to form the Queen's Men in 1583, taking the leading men from many of the courtiers' companies, effectively denied the courtiers any chance to compete for favour at Court through the quality of their own playing companies that Christmas. He suggests that Oxford therefore sought favour through a boy company.<sup>51</sup> Surely the most appropriate would be the Paul's Children for they were the proven favourites at Court. Furthermore John Lyly's grandfather William Lily had been the High Master of St. Paul's Grammar School (1509–1522) and William's daughter, John Lyly's aunt Denyse, had married John Ritwise, William Lily's successor as High Master, until his death in 1549, and then she married a surmaster of St. Paul's John Jacob.<sup>52</sup> St. Paul's was thus embedded in the Lyly family history. John Lyly was secretary to Edward de Vere, 17<sup>th</sup> Earl of Oxford, from before 1579 (the second edition of his *Euphues, the Anatomy of Wit* was published that year with a dedication to de Vere).<sup>53</sup>

Gurr's point about the competition between courtiers through their acting companies is demonstrated in the table of Court performances below. Was it the increasing competition between courtiers (and, no doubt, their supporters) generating tensions at Court that made it necessary to create the Queen's Men in the summer of 1583? If so, Edward de Vere, the Earl of Oxford, made great use of the change in

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<sup>50</sup> *ES*, vol, II, pp. 17-18, fn. 2.

<sup>51</sup> Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*, pp. 159-60.

<sup>52</sup> *DNB*, R. D. Smith, 'William Lily' version dated 23.1.2008, accessed online 14.10.19.

<sup>53</sup> *DNB*, G. K. Hunter 'John Lyly' version dated 24.5.2008, accessed online 14.10.19.

regime, by-passing the male company competition to present children at Court.

*Table 11. Performances at Court by Adult Companies 1558–1583.<sup>54</sup>*

<i>Year</i>	<i>Performers</i>
1558–59	The Queen's retained players and others unknown
1560	Lord Robert Dudley
1561	Lord Robert Dudley
1562	Lord Robert Dudley
1563	No record
1564	Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick.
1565	No adult company
1566	No adult company
1567	Lord Rich's players (2 plays)
1568	Lord Rich's players
1569	Lord Rich's players
1570	No adult plays
1571	Sir Robert Lane's men (2 plays)
1572	Earl of Leicester [Robert Dudley] players (3 plays) Earl of Sussex [Thomas Radcliffe] Earl of Lincoln's players [Edward Fiennes de Clinton]
1573	Earl of Leicester (3 plays) Lord Clinton's men [Earl of Lincoln]
1574	Earl of Leicester (2 plays) Earl of Warwick Lord Clinton (2 plays)
1575	Earl of Warwick (3 plays) Earl of Leicester (2 plays) Lord Chamberlain [Earl of Sussex]
1576	Earl of Warwick (2 plays) Earl of Leicester Lord Howard [Charles Howard] (2 plays) Earl of Sussex
1577	Earl of Warwick (3 plays) Earl of Leicester Lord Howard's Earl of Sussex Lady Essex's men [Lettice Knollys later Countess of Leicester]
1578	Earl of Warwick (3 plays) Earl of Leicester Lord Chamberlain [Thomas Radcliffe] (3 plays)
1579	Lord Chamberlain (2 plays) Earl of Warwick Earl of Leicester Earl of Derby [Henry Stanley] Lord Strange [Ferdinando Stanley] (Acrobats)
1580	Earl of Sussex [Thomas Radcliffe] (2 plays) Earl of Leicester (2 plays) Earl of Derby
1581	Lord Strange (acrobats)

<sup>54</sup> Schedule taken from *ES*, vol. IV, pp. 142-60, Appendix B, and Astington, Appendix.

*Table 11 Adult Company players at Court 1558–1583 (continued)*

1582	Lord Hunsdon [Henry Carey] Earl of Derby Lord Strange (Acrobats) Earl of Leicester Lord Chamberlain
1583	The Queen's Men (3 plays)

From the table it can be seen that in the early years of Elizabeth's reign the Court favourite presented the plays for several years together, first Dudley and then Rich. From 1572 the competition becomes wider with the Dudleys (Leicester and Warwick), Radcliffe and Clinton joining and, in 1576, the Howard family followed by the Stanleys in 1579. It all stops in 1583 when the newly formed Queen's Men take all the adult playing work. The Queen's Men predominate until 1591 when Lord Strange's Men play six plays and the Queen's Men make a single appearance. Strange's and Pembroke's take the places in 1592 but in 1593 the Queen's Men play the only performance that year, at Hampton Court. When, following 15 months of plague, the companies were re-organised in 1594, the Lord Chamberlain's and the Lord Admirals take all the adult places and the Queen's Men do not appear at Court again in Elizabeth's reign.

Oxford had a particular need to find favour with the Queen in 1583. He had quarrelled with Sidney and Leicester in 1579, informed on Arundel, Frances Southwell and Henry Howard as Catholic traitors in 1580 and followed this with the birth of his illegitimate son in March 1581, born to Anne Vavasour, one of the Queen's ladies in waiting. A resulting year-long quarrel with her uncle Sir Thomas Knyvet led to street brawls in which retainers were killed on both sides and both Oxford and Knyvet were injured.<sup>55</sup> This public quarrel rumbled on through 1582. Oxford spent short periods in the Tower and under house arrest in 1580 and was

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<sup>55</sup> Alan H. Nelson, 'Vere, Edward de, seventeenth Earl of Oxford', *DNB* (2008).

banned from Court until June 1583. In addition to all this, Oxford had been estranged from his wife from 1576 until 1581 – she was Anne Cecil, daughter of the Queen's chief councillor. The memory of this separation followed by the birth of a son by his mistress must have reached a peak when Anne's only son was born and died the same day in May 1583. De Vere was formally reconciled to the Queen, in June 1583 and must immediately have set about finding favour at Court.

With Paul's without a patentee to present the boys at Court and Oxford in need of a certain place in the Christmas entertainment it is surely most likely that he sponsored Paul's at Court, just as he sponsored John Symons (Strange's Acrobat in 1582) in 1584. Paul's Boys did not perform at Court in 1585 when, one assumes, Gyles was still rebuilding the company under his April 1585 patent to take boys. Westcote must be presumed to be sick and aging before his death as he is not the payee for 1578 or 1581 (the payees are noted as 'the Master of the Children of Paules') whilst Westcote is the named payee for every other Paul's performance from 1560 until 1581. I conclude from this record that Westcote was unable to collect the payments in 1578 and 1581 and so may not have been well enough to take new boys into the Paul's choir in 1581–2. I shall return to this in the next section.

### **St. Paul's under Thomas Gyles**

Thomas Gyles, though Almoner at St. Paul's from Westcote's death, was not appointed Master of the Song School until May 1584 and did not receive his mandate to take boys for the choir until April 1585.<sup>56</sup> Thus, for the winter festivities of 1582 and 1583, the boys of St. Paul's had no one to present them formally at Court and by 1584, when Gyles as the patented Master could have presented them, he was still unable to 'take' boys for the choir. Paul's must have been running short of boys with

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<sup>56</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 17.

unbroken voices. Boys were taken into the choir at about eight years of age and their voices would have broken about five years later. To maintain a company of ten boys it would be necessary to take in two or even three boys a year. It is surely likely that Oxford arranged some additional cast members and presented the joint company as 'The Servants of the Earl of Oxford', in a continuing bid to improve his standing at Court. As I have noted Evans, as executor of Westcote's will, would have had some continuing responsibilities for St. Paul's Children and is thus a reasonable payee for the Court playing fee. A moment of caution here, Henry Evans was in fact appointed overseer by Westcote, Justinian Kydd was named as Executor in the will but at probate Evans was the applicant and appointed executor.<sup>57</sup> The relevant level of appointments may suggest that Evans, as overseer, was not as close to the Paul's Children as might otherwise be assumed. A close association undoubtedly formed between Evans and John Lyly in this two-year period through the plays and through Henry Evans's association with Lyly in the lease of the first Blackfriars.

Thomas Gyles, as successor to Westcote, presented St Paul's boys at Court in each of the years 1586–1589 and many of these plays were by John Lyly. The title pages of the printed plays say that they were presented at Court and in some cases give dates, though, unfortunately, not years.

*Annals of English Drama* attributes the John Lyly plays as follows:<sup>58</sup>

1584 [83]	<i>Campaspe</i> and <i>Sapho &amp; Phao</i> , presented by Oxford's Boys.
1585 [84]	<i>Galathea</i> presented by Paul's.
1588 [87]	<i>Endymion</i> and probably <i>Galathea</i> revived by Paul's.
1589	<i>Midas</i> and <i>Mother Bombie</i> , presented by Paul's.
1590 [89]	<i>Love's Metamorphosis</i> presented by Paul's.

The 'corrections' in square brackets are to accord with the Julian calendar. Some of the Lyly plays required quite large casts so that some retention of older boys would

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<sup>57</sup> TNA, Probate 11/64/142.

<sup>58</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 18.

be required, just as Westcote seems to have done from his will bequests to past boys who also appear to be living in the Almonry. *Endimion* has fifteen characters on stage for the final two scenes and *Mother Bombe* has eighteen.<sup>59</sup> Gyles would have inherited ten older boys in his choir and need most of a further ten to bring the necessary young voices back into the group. As well as securing new voices he would have had to place eight or ten boys in university or suitable posts, rather than the two or three he might expect in a normal year, so he is likely therefore to have had large forces of new boys and unplaced older ones available to him and Lyly's plays reflect the cast available.

There is no record of an inhibition being placed on the Children of Paul's in 1590 but there seems to have been one, for the company is not at Court again until 1600 when they were under a new master Edward Pearce.<sup>60</sup> Whether the long gap was due to the illness of Thomas Gyles or that he had too close an association with John Lyly's pamphlets fuelling the Marprelate controversy, is not clear. Paul's are at Court under Edward Pearce in the winters of 1602, 1603 and 1605 and, for the last time, in July 1606 in a performance for the Court, to entertain the King of Denmark, at Greenwich. Plays were published after this date: *The Woman Hater*, 'lately Acted by the Children of Paules' in 1607.<sup>61</sup> Middleton's *A Mad World, My Masters*, was published in 1608 but is ascribed by Harbage and Schoenbaum to the year 1606, after which there are no more entries for the Children of St. Paul's.

### **Public Performances**

It is not difficult to see where the Paul's Boys might have played publicly in these last

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<sup>59</sup> John Lyly, *Plays* (Oxford Scholarly Press, 2012), [accessed online, 22.3.17].

<sup>60</sup> *EPT*, p. 307, Chapter XXI.

<sup>61</sup> W. Reavley Gair, *The Children of Paul's: the story of a theatre company, 1553–1608* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 167.

years. The Almonry House had a potential playing area until it was sub-leased in 1596, the first Blackfriars was no longer available to Oxford and Evans from May/June 1584 but the second, larger, Blackfriars venue was available and under Henry Evans's control from 1600. Thus until 1596 they had the Almonry House and for their brief later Court career after 1600 could be accommodated by Henry Evans. It is more difficult to ascertain when Westcote began allowing the public entry to the rehearsals of plays. In 1554 the Lord Mayor promulgated fines for the misuse of the Cathedral itself as a trading venue for goods and foodstuffs in an attempt to reserve the church for worship and respectful activities, but he does not mention plays as one of the abuses. In 1559 Westcote's patent as Master of the Choir School was renewed, this time with a lease to occupy the Almonry House.<sup>62</sup> References to the playing place for the performances as being in the Almonry House occur in later years and it may well be that the 1559 lease was specifically to allow rehearsals of plays before the public. The Almonry House had the advantage of being a venue that was not quite within the Cathedral or St. Gregory's Church (which abutted the Cathedral on the south west corner) as they were consecrated venues, but was a 'private house' with all the rights and privileges of 'private performance'. The house was also within the precinct and liberty of St. Paul's and thus outside City jurisdiction. Paul's Children performed at Nonsuch for the Earl of Arundel's entertainment of Queen Elizabeth on 7 August 1559 and appeared at Court for Christmas in 1560 where they obtained a fee of £6. 13s. 4d. (ten marks). The new Queen's desire for entertainment and her support of Paul's boys must surely have had Westcote thinking in terms of augmenting the choir's income by frequent appearances at Court. The idea of making rehearsals open to the public, or at least to selected persons, might also have occurred about that year,

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<sup>62</sup> REED, Mary C. Erler (ed.), *Ecclesiastical London* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), pp. 138-39.

for in 1561 St. Paul's played two performances at Court (each for the same fee of 10 marks) and that suggests a confident expectation of quality and foreknowledge of their work by appropriate courtiers influential in selecting the plays.

We might therefore tentatively put the commencement of public performances by the Paul's Boys in the autumn of 1560. In that year William Mallin, headmaster of Eton, laid down the normal practice of the headmaster of the school for the month of December:

Around the feast of St Andrew, the Master is accustomed to select, at his own discretion, the best and most accomplished plays, which the pupils may perform publicly, not without dramatic elegance, at the ensuing Christmas season with spectators looking on. The art of acting is a slight accomplishment but in so far as it pertains to the learning of the action of oratory, and the gestures and movements of the body, nothing else accomplishes these objects to so high a degree. At times the Master may also present plays in the English language, provided they are written with wit and humour.<sup>63</sup>

If the Children of St. Paul's did begin 'public rehearsals' at that time the headmaster of Eton's statement might have been a necessary pacification for a raised general concern about boys playing in public. Here in 1560 we have both the practice of play presentation by boys confirmed and an educational reason for their public performances. A further signifier is that on 3 June 1561 the spire of St. Pauls was struck by lightning and the resultant fire burnt the roof off the Cathedral's nave as well as the spire. There is no specific reference to any fire damage at the Almonry House but St. Paul's was faced with the cost of rebuilding and Westcote would have been under pressure to add what income he could to the repair fund.<sup>64</sup> There were two performances at Court that year by Paul's Boys and this may have been in part a

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<sup>63</sup> W. Reavley Gair, *The Children of Paul's: the story of a theatre company 1553–1608* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 3. (translated from Mallin's Latin).

<sup>64</sup> William Benham, *Old St. Paul's Cathedral* (London: Seeley & Co. and New York, NY: Macmillan, 1902), p. 49.

support of the Cathedral's urgent need. The nave roof repairs were finished in 1566 and it is notable that in the period 1564–1566, when the roof was being finished and covered in lead, Paul's play seven times at Court far more than any other similar period. Whilst the Court fees are not large against the cost of the repairs we can assume that there were contributions from courtiers and others as a result of the Children of Paul's appearances at Court.

It is some fifteen years until we get positive confirmation of public playing, when Westcote was accused in 1575 of being a recusant and making great gains from the presentation of plays:

[...] this Court [of the Common Council of the City of London] is informed that one Sebastian [Westcote], that will not communicate with the Church of England, keepeth plays and resort of the people to great gain and peril of the children with papistry.<sup>65</sup>

The use of the word 'informed' seems to imply that the practice is a new one, but I think here 'informed' means 'informed-on', that is, a recent complaint. This establishes that Westcote was presenting plays for gain, though whether this was for personal gain or to meet the costs of the boys' company is not clear. He was assessed as being worth £100 in goods in 1577, and he left more than £240 in his 1582 will, but he left money to past choristers and also several instruments for the tuition of others.<sup>66</sup> His care for the boys and their welfare and advancement is evident.

By 1578 the practice was clearly an established business for in December of that year the Privy Council sent a letter to the Lord Mayor 'requiring him to suffer the Servants of the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Leicester, the Earl of Essex and the Children of Paul's, and no companies else' on the grounds that

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<sup>65</sup> *EPT*, p. 309, item 226.

<sup>66</sup> E. A. J. Honigmann, and Susan Brock (eds), *Playhouse Wills 1558–1642* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 'Westcott, 1582'.

these companies had been appointed to play at Christmas before her majesty.<sup>67</sup> At this time the Lord Chamberlain was the Earl of Sussex, Thomas Ratcliffe, and it was his men that were therefore meant in this 'requirement' rather than the later Lord Chamberlain's company in which Shakespeare was a sharer.

### **The Children of Paul's as a Business**

In financial resources the Choir School had the benefit of the leases in various parts of the cathedral, including the undercroft of the Convocation (Chapter) House and possibly the courtyard and cloister that surrounded it. They also held St Gregory's church and the crypt under the main choir of the cathedral. The Master of the children also had rights over the area between St. Gregory's and the Chapter House cloisters, on either side of the narrow lane leading to the south door of the cathedral and was able to gain rents for all these properties.<sup>68</sup> The drawing below indicates the approximate location of the Almonry House and for the shops or stalls beside it on the path to the small south door of the cathedral.<sup>69</sup> From a subletting of the Almonry House in 1596 by Thomas Gyles we know that a ground floor room and two upper rooms were made into a separate tenancy.<sup>70</sup> At that time the company had not played at Court for six years and presumably had not been playing publicly either.<sup>71</sup>

*Endimion*, printed by I. Charlewood for the widow Broome in 1591 includes a note from 'The Printer to the Reader: Since the plays in Paules were dissolved [...]'.<sup>72</sup>

The choir would appear to have had to subsist on the rents and annual fees of the

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<sup>67</sup> *EPT*, p. 310, item 227.

<sup>68</sup> REED, *Ecclesiastical London*, transcribes several leases for properties in this area between the tenant, the Dean and the Almoner.

<sup>69</sup> Herbert Berry, 'Playhouses' in Arthur Kinney (ed.), *Companion to Renaissance Drama*, (Oxford, Blackwell, 2002), pp.147-162.

<sup>70</sup> W. Reaveley Gair, *The Children of Paul's*, p. 21.

<sup>71</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 19.

<sup>72</sup> John Lyly, *Endimion, The Man in the Moone*, Oxford Scholarly Editions Online, 22.3.2017.

master, the subdivision may therefore represent an opportunity for much needed rental income.<sup>73</sup>

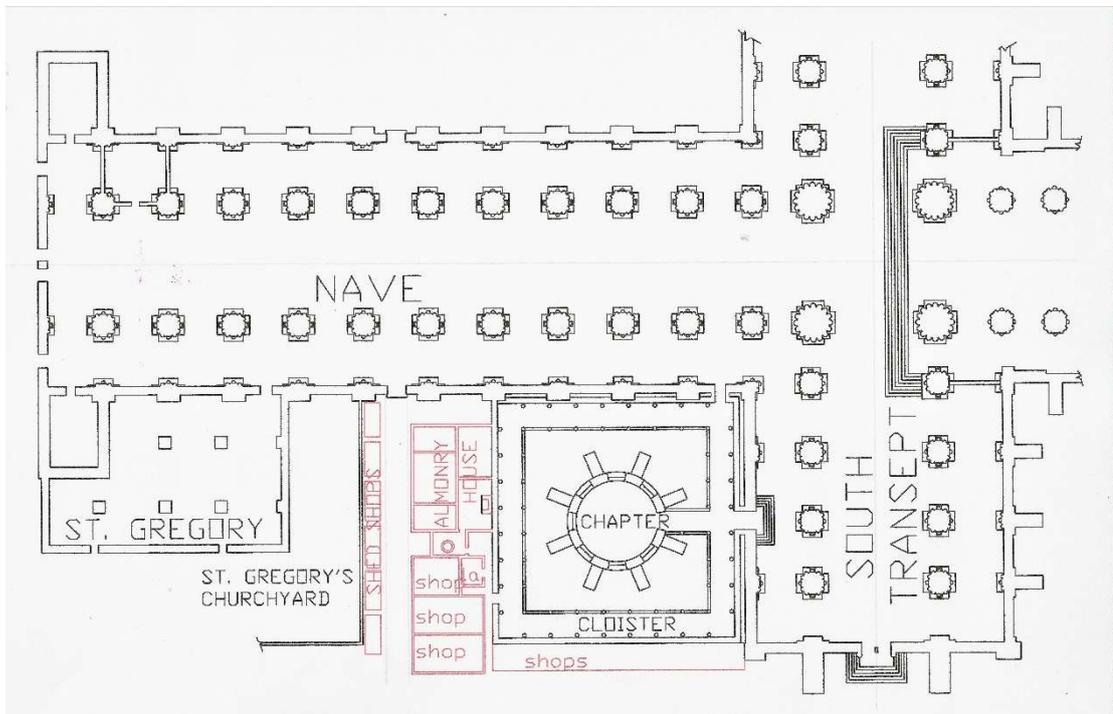


Fig.8. Author's plan showing the location of the Almonry House at St. Paul's. The red outlines indicate the probable Almonry house and the shops surrounding it.<sup>74</sup>

The sub-lease describes an area at upper level large enough to have been used as a playhouse together with the stairway from the ground floor to that area. The sub-leased part of the building was 16ft (5m) wide and included an upper room 20ft (6.1m) long and a room adjoining 8ft (2.4m) by 16ft (4.9m).<sup>75</sup> There is also a ground floor room 9.5ft (2.9m) by 16ft. A subsequent lease of the Almonry House to Edward Pearce as incoming Almoner and Master of the Children in May 1599 includes a provision that he shall 'not further sublet any of the Almonry House, nor sell any of the children to other performing companies'.<sup>76</sup> It may be concluded from this that the Choir School was still short of funds and so not performing to the public in 1599,

<sup>73</sup> Bishop Richard Bancroft's visitation of 1598 describes the poverty of the Choir School 'without proper uniforms for their duties'. Quoted in Gair *ibid*.

<sup>74</sup> Wenceslaus Hollar, survey of St. Paul's accessed 2.1.2019, from Royal Collection Trust, [www.rct.uk/collection/802860/st-pauls-ground-plan](http://www.rct.uk/collection/802860/st-pauls-ground-plan).

<sup>75</sup> REED, *London Ecclesiastical*, p. 161.

<sup>76</sup> REED, *London Ecclesiastical*, p. 168.

though by implication, some revenue may have been obtained by selling the children's services to other companies. Edward Pearce presents the Children of Paul's at Court for three plays between 1601 and 1603 but may have been providing boys to Henry Evans, as a complete company for his Blackfriars enterprise; court cases of the time suggests that Pearce did not rehearse or produce the boys at St. Paul's, where he would have had no appropriate accommodation.<sup>77</sup>

The years in which no performances were given at Court or to the public clearly impoverished the Children's company to the point of selling trained children. From the lease transfer to Edward Pearce we know that the house was bigger than the total upper floor 28ft (8.5m) by 16ft (4.9m) of the subleased area. There is however no indication of how much bigger or how the other accommodation was related. The 1596 sublease included the roof space 'hitherto unused' and this suggests that the room included the pitched roof void, an additional volume that would have been important to the acoustic for singing practice and performances. I believe that this upper room or rooms therefore represented the original performance space for the Children of Paul's and that the smaller upstairs room might represent the original tiring house. A new external door is to be formed to give access to the stair at that end of the building, presumably previously an internal stair to the tiring house above.

From 1599 to 1606 the Children of Paul's are generally thought to have been part of a joint management with the Children of Blackfriars, though, if so, they clearly maintained a separate identity at Court where they are recorded as the Children of Paul's in the accounts. It could well be that the Paul's company, having lost the upper room in the Almonry, rehearsed in the second Blackfriars, now leased by Henry Evans. It was conveniently close to St. Paul's, and this might also explain

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<sup>77</sup> *EPT*, p. 316, item 235 (f).

their demise when the Blackfriars Children move to Whitefriars in 1606, a rather greater distance from the cathedral.<sup>78</sup> It is also possible that they rehearsed at St. Gregory's church but performed publicly (if at all) at Blackfriars or even in St. Gregory's.

That the boys usually played between four o'clock after prayers and six o'clock when the gates of the St. Paul's precinct were closed is made clear in the following note by William Percy attached to a copy of his plays:

To the Master of the children of Pauls Memorandum that if any of the five and foremost of these Pastorals and Comedies contained in this volume shall but overreach in length (The children not to begin before four after Prayers, And the gates of Paul's shutting at six) the time of supper, that then in time and place convenient, you do let pass some of the songs and make the consort shorter. For I suppose these Plays be somewhat too long for that Place – Howsoever on your own Experience and at your best direction be it. Farewell to you all.<sup>79</sup>

Paul's are stated by Reaveley Gair to have presented at least four plays by William Percy in 1601–1602.<sup>80</sup> Westcote left a sum to the keeper of the gate to the churchyard in his will, and another (larger one) for the door-keeper of the theatre who collected the payments for entry, demonstrating the importance of both men to the functioning of the boys' theatre.

Sebastian Westcote's will, written in 1582, provides sums for his current choir of ten boys and for eight men who had previously been members of the choir including one who had been a chorister twenty-eight years earlier and two from twelve years before. To each of the ten boys in the choir and seven of the past members he leaves £1 but to the eighth man, Peter Philips he leaves £6.13s.8d. (ten

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<sup>78</sup> *EPT*, p. 547, chapter xxxii.

<sup>79</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 53, quoting from the Huntingdon Library copy of the Percy MSS where it is to be found at f.191. He notes that this is first identified by J. P. Collier but satisfies himself that this is not a forgery.

<sup>80</sup> W. Reaveley Gair *The Children of Paul's*, Appendix 3, p. 186.

marks) which could represent either that Philips was an assistant in preparing and presenting the plays or, of course, a past debt, though this is not stated. Philips, a notable composer in his own right, left England shortly afterwards to work in catholic courts in Europe and the ten-mark bequest may have been intended to make that journey possible.<sup>81</sup> These bequests to older boys could indicate that they continued as members of the choir, perhaps only as actors after their voices broke. Ten is the number of boys in the cathedral establishment for the choir school and this shows that Westcote had not expanded his choir school establishment to accommodate the needs of larger cast plays.<sup>82</sup>

It is difficult to make much fiscal sense of the Children of Paul's company. The Master of the Choir School received £50 a year from the cathedral and the benefit of a 300-acre farm and manor in Essex, at a rent of £20.6s.8d. per annum. He also enjoyed the rents of various parts of the cathedral. In all, Gair estimates that his income as Master was in excess of £92 per year.<sup>83</sup> The post of Almoner was a separate one but seems to have been synonymous with that of the Master of the Choir School and the Master may therefore have received an additional fee as the Almoner. Finally, he will have had a stipend for life as a Yeoman of the Chamber, probably £2.13s.4d. per annum. The boys themselves were not paid, and the cathedral provided only a measly 7d. per week for the food of all 10 boys.<sup>84</sup> The Cathedral did however make every effort to try to secure the boys a continuing education at a university, after their voices broke, or maintained them in a post at the cathedral, or found them a place elsewhere. The Master of the Choir School was responsible for feeding,

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<sup>81</sup> Lionel Pike, 'Philips, Peter', in *DNB* [accessed online, 15.5.2017].

<sup>82</sup> Brandon Centerwall, 'A Greatly Exaggerated Demise: The Remaking of Paul's as the Duke of York's Men', *Early Theatre*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (June 2006), pp. 85-107, makes the case for the boys companies always having had a mature additional acting membership to add to the young choir boys.

<sup>83</sup> W. Reavley Gair, *The Children of Paul's*, pp. 41-2.

<sup>84</sup> REED, *London Ecclesiastical*, p. 161-64.

clothing and generally maintaining the boys at his cost and bore those costs together with those of the servants and assistant masters he engaged to help him.

Public performances, carefully characterised officially as 'rehearsals' because the Queen must not be offered 'second-hand' entertainment, may have started as especial favours at 6d for entry. Certainly the sum of 6d. is recorded as the cost of a visit to a play at Paul's in 1589 when James More, servant to William Darrell, went to see a play there.<sup>85</sup> It follows that 64 auditors at the play would yield the sum of £1.12s.0d. It is true that a note in the margin of a document in the Lansdowne collection, which it is conjectured is in Lyly's hand, says that were Martin Marprelate to be hung it would form a comedy that would cost you '4d. to see at Paul's, 2d. at the Theatre and free at the St Thomas a Waterings' (a place of execution on the Old Kent Road).<sup>86</sup> This suggests that St. Paul's entry was in fact 4d. and therefore presumably the 6d. charged for expenses by John Moore included 2d. for his midday meal.

The audience of 64 is not arbitrary, it is derived from the 1596 lease for the property of three chambers to the west of the Almonry House. The Almonry was originally for the sick, in practice the cathedral hospital. A number of children were orphaned by their parent dying at the hospital or arrived as foundlings and their care became the responsibility of the Cathedral. These boys often formed part of the choir and all the boys had to be educated in order to place them with appropriate trades. It would appear that the Almonry would have needed at least one hospital ward, a schoolroom and dormitory, probably two, one for the children and one for older retained choristers, a kitchen, buttery and refectory and sleeping accommodation for

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<sup>85</sup> Hubert Hall, *Society in the Elizabethan Age* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edn., 1886), pp. 101 and 211.

<sup>86</sup> *EPT*, p. 310, item 228 (b).

male and female staff and the almoner. The Almonry therefore was a large building which we know from the lease was on two floors. The hospital function appears to have diminished in need, though the Master was required to maintain an infirmary.<sup>87</sup> The need for a large hospital ward will have reduced with the loss of the public hospital work at the dissolution and I suggest that this is the room that Westcote made into an auditorium.<sup>88</sup> After 1590 there are no plays presented at court and from this one assumes no plays presented to the public so that by 1595 the large schoolroom was largely unoccupied and the finances of the choristers somewhat depleted. Leasing that part of the Almonry would therefore be a sensible addition to income. I therefore believe that the lease describes the original auditorium with a length of 20ft (6.1m) with a 12ft by 10ft (3.7m) stage, which is likely from the physical space (see plan below). Of course, the auditorium could have been longer and so accommodated more, if the whole 28ft (8.5m) of the lease were the auditorium then the capacity would be nearer one hundred.

The 16ft. bay width fits neatly into the recess between piers on the Cathedral (from the Hollar plan) and the Almonry is stated as 'part formed by the Cathedral'.<sup>89</sup> This could mean the Cathedral itself, (orientating the Almonry House north-south) or the wall of the cloister (orienting the rooms east-west) or simply mean that a yard or pathway walls were incorporated into the Almonry House. The desire not to spread infection and the need for windows to many rooms suggests to me that the latter is the case. We know that the sub-leased part in 1596 (I take this to be playhouse, then out of use for six years) is stated as lying to the west of the Almonry (presumably this

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<sup>87</sup> REED, *Ecclesiastical London*, p. xviii.

<sup>88</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 9 fn. Confirms the examination of the choristers 'in ecclesia Sancti Gregorii' in papers from 1294-1304 but this could mean the lands of St. Gregory's and as can be seen these extended along the southern side of St. Paul's and would include the Almonry.

<sup>89</sup> REED *Ecclesiastical London*, p. 164 records 'The House of John [Thomas?] Gyles was partly formed by St. Paul's and was used for a playhouse' (Malcolm: *Londinium Redivivum*, vol. 3, p. 73).

refers to the remaining portion of the Almonry). The Hollar Long View of the City of London is difficult to interpret but appears to indicate the wall of the south side of the nave and in front of that two flat roofed buildings and south of these two large ridged houses extending almost as far as the south wall of the cloister.

The seating in the auditorium would have been on benches and there would be no gangways (you climbed over the seats to reach your row) and, at six inches of rise per row for three risers, would give a top row floor height of eighteen inches (457mm). With a raised stage it would not be necessary to rake the seating and the whole theatre would be the flat floor of the original Almonry hospital ward with the stage built on top. The plan below illustrates a possible auditorium layout whose layout is similar to *The Wits* frontispiece of 1673 as it offers the only guidance we have to an indoor room conversion to a theatre.<sup>90</sup>

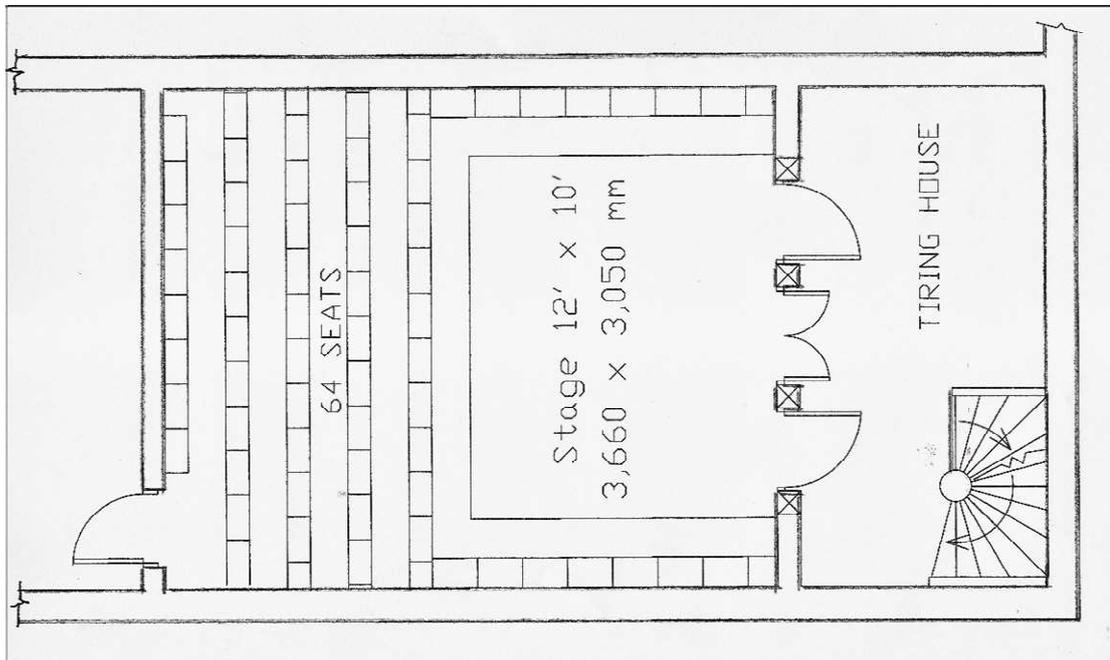


Fig. 9. Author's conjectural layout of the upper floor of the Almonry House of St. Paul's Cathedral showing a possible auditorium, stage and tiring house prior to the 1595 sublease. The auditorium and stage occupy the 20'x16' room and the tiring house the 8'x16' room.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>90</sup> Foakes Illustrations, p. 160.

<sup>91</sup> REED, *Ecclesiastical London*, pp. 161-64.



Gair allocates Paul's plays on the basis of the years of publication and information on the title page or from elsewhere.<sup>93</sup> Between 1560 and 1590 he proposes that 24 plays were published and must have been performed before publication. This is less than one play a year. Between 1599 and 1606 the rate increases, with 28 plays in seven years at an average of four a year to give a total of 52 plays. *Annals of English Drama* by contrast, works from play text or other references to discern the year of writing or first performance. 16 plays are noted in the period 1560 to 1590, and 20 between 1599 and 1606, a total of 36 plays. By contrast E.K. Chambers works from the Chamber Accounts and where possible from the Revels Accounts, allocating companies by the payee for the performance or from other information. He assigns 35 plays to Paul's in the first, thirty-year, period or a little more than one a year. In five years they play two plays and in three years they perform three plays. It would be rational therefore to assume that the Children of Paul's rehearsed an average of three new plays a year (though some may have been revivals) in the period up to 1590. This would allow them to provide two plays and for one that proved not worthy of the Court, though in some years all three were accepted.

I presume here that they did not play in the seven weeks of lent and between the end of Whitsun week until Michaelmas Day, when much of the potential audience would be away (that is late May/June to the end of September) nor in the weeks they presented at Court, leaving about 25 weeks for performances. Assuming say sixteen full public rehearsals for each play this would represent about fifty 'rehearsals' a year. That is one for every Sunday and Monday (when Paul's are known to perform to the

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<sup>93</sup> W. Reavley Gair, *The Children of Paul's*, Appendix 3, p. 186.

public) over the available twenty-five weeks.<sup>94</sup> This level of performances would add £33.6s.8d. additional income (at a 4d. entry and allowing for only 60% occupation of the house), equivalent to a third of the regular income of the Almonry. A successful season in performing at Court would add a further £6.13.4d. for each performance (Paul's averaged £8.6s.8d. per annum under Westcote). The choir received additional income for special services, funerals and so forth in the cathedral and can be anticipated to earn from performances of music and plays in private houses and livery halls where the kudos of a previous performance before the Queen would surely command a premium fee. We know that plays were presented in Livery Halls, Merchant Taylors is cited by Chambers and I have noted above a performance at Nonsuch Palace, paid for by the Earl of Arundal, as examples of schools giving private performances. It would not be unreasonable to assume at least another £45 a year from these sources.

As we shall see from the Children of the Chapel Royal, the cost of maintaining a child actor-chorister was estimated at 6d. per day. That is £9.2s.6d. per child per year, or £91.5s.0d. for ten children. The regular income of the Master would, apparently, have been largely defrayed in the upkeep of the children though these costs would include their food, accommodation, clothing and servants. The importance of playing to the wellbeing of the Master, his choristers and his staff is thus apparent. The 1598 visitation by Bishop Richard Bancroft, when the choir had not performed before the public (nor at Court) for eight years, reported that the boys did not have their full uniform and that they spent much of the time in services soliciting 'spur [spare?]money' from the gentlemen sitting in the choir. Clearly without performances the boys were under-employed and the Choir School very poor.

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<sup>94</sup> W. Reavley Gair, *The Children of Paul's*, pp. 118-27.

Taking Gair's estimate of Westcote's income from the Cathedral of about £100 per annum and an income of 50 public performances (£33. 6s. 8d.) and allowing one performance at Court, the total income of the Paul's Boys enterprise might have been about £140 per annum or £180 with other sales of music and private performances added. If the ten boys cost £91 to maintain (including food and clothing) and there were eight staff or past choristers (the number identified in Westcote's will) at say an average of £6.5s.0d. additional food and accommodation, totalling say £50 a year and the Master of the Children at say £20 per annum there was likely to be a total operating cost of £161 or an operating margin of £20 per annum. From this must be added the unknown costs of obtaining replacement boys and of furthering the education or employment of those leaving the choir, plus costumes (possibly furnished by the Revels Office) and the purchase of plays. Any deficit could have been made up by a higher level of occupancy (an additional twenty-percent occupancy yields £10 3s. 8d. per annum), by a larger auditorium or more performances or by private house performances. The Master and staff would also have sold music and plays to other schools and there would have been the occasional printed publication. These figures are of course very uncertain, but they do indicate that a viable business might have been possible, and given the ability to play through the week in private houses, could have made for a profitable enough enterprise to allow Westcote to make the bequests of a substantial total in his will.<sup>95</sup>

Edward Pearce, the Master of the Children of Paul's from 1599, appears to have co-operated with Henry Evans and his commercial colleagues, as the lessees of the Second Blackfriars theatre, to create a more arms-length relationship. In May 1603 George Chapman was sued for a libel in a play called *The Old Joiner of*

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<sup>95</sup> E. A. J. Honigmann and Susan Brock, *Playhouse Wills 1558-1642*.

*Aldgate*.<sup>96</sup> The play was paid for by Thomas Woodford and he stated that the play was played by the Children of St. Paul's 'in a private house of a long time kept, used and accustomed for such purpose'.<sup>97</sup> In further evidence 'Peers', whom I take to be Edward Pearce, claimed he did not buy the play but was responsible only for the education of the Children of Paul's. From these two items it may be noted that Woodford does not say the play was performed at St. Paul's, which was surely unavailable following the 1596 sublease, so that the 'private house' must be the second Blackfriars, then leased by Henry Evans and others. Pearce, the Master of the Children of Paul's said he was not involved in the production of plays, though he may have been allowing the boys to play for other managements. Pearce is, however, still the signatory for the fee for plays at Court on 1 January 1602. The offending play was said, in the Attorney General's complaint, to be being played in Hilary Term 1602 (24 January to 12 February). Pearce continues as payee for one more play at Court in 1603 (20 February) and the following day Edward Kirkham signs for another play by the 'children of the Queenes Majesties Revells'. In 1605 Kirkham signs again for two plays but this time as 'one of the Master of the Children of Pawles'. We can have no certainty that the Children of Paul's were not an entirely separate company, playing at Blackfriars, but it is more likely that they were in a joint operation. A subsequent court case over an alleged assault by 'Peers' on Woodford on 2 December 1604 results in a settlement of 20 marks (£13.6s.8d.) awarded to Woodford in June 1606.<sup>98</sup> This sum is, perhaps coincidentally, the sum Chapman was paid for his play and might indicate that Pearce never did pay for the play (as he stated in his evidence) though he enjoyed the benefit to St. Paul's of it being played at Court.

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<sup>96</sup> *EPT*, pp. 314-16, item 235.

<sup>97</sup> *EPT*, p. 316, item 235 (d).

<sup>98</sup> *EPT*, p. 317, item 237 (a).

## **The Children of the Chapels Royal**

*The Children of the Chapel Royal: Masters of the Chapel Children: Richard Bower 1546–61, Richard Edwardes 1561–6, William Hunnis 1566–97 (Richard Farrant acting 1576–80); Nathaniel Giles 1597–1633 (he was also Master of the Children of the Chapel at Windsor from 1595).*<sup>99</sup>

*The Children of the Chapel at Windsor: Masters Richard Farrant 1564–80 (Assistant Master of the Chapel Royal Children from 1576); Nathaniel Giles 1595–1633.*<sup>100</sup>

At Elizabeth 1's accession in 1558 the Master of Children of the Royal Chapel was Roger Bower whose daughter Anne, married Richard Farrant, Master of the Children of the Chapel at Windsor. Bower died in 1561 and his successor Richard Edwardes died after only a short term in office in 1566 to be followed in turn by William Hunnis. On 11 December 1559 the Children of the Royal Chapel performed a play or mask for the Queen at Whitehall a year before the Paul's Children performed at Court.<sup>101</sup> In the thirty-two year period to 1590 they performed sixteen times whilst the Children of the Chapel at Windsor gave a total of ten performances. From 1576 to 1579 Richard Farrant is the payee for the Children of the Chapel, a period in which he was also the lessee of the first Blackfriars playhouse. The Children of the Chapel present plays at Court from 1580 to 1583 with the payee either the 'Master' or (in 1582) William Hunnis. The Chapel Children appear to have suffered the same inhibition (1590–1599) caused by the plays at Paul's and in the period 1600–1603 played three times under their own name (payee Nathaniel Giles) before being supplanted by the company titled the Queen's Revels Children. There follows a

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<sup>99</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 23.

<sup>100</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 61.

<sup>101</sup> John H. Astington, *English Court Theatre, 1558–1642*, p. 222.

succession of company names as that company falls in and out of favour at Court and reinvents itself to appear again in another name.<sup>102</sup>

The Children of the Chapel Royal were developed in a similar manner to the Children of Paul's, discussed above. At Court there were liturgical needs in the Chapel Royal at Whitehall Palace and other palaces and six of the boys were required to travel with the royal progresses for liturgical and, no doubt, musical entertainment reasons. The Masters of the royal children's choirs at Whitehall and at Windsor were always drawn from Grooms of the Chapel, these men were primarily musicians (often organists or lutenists) and were expected to train their children in both singing and playing an instrument. The boys' singing or speaking parts in disguisings, would subsequently develop to full plays. A disguising is recorded at the wedding of Prince Arthur and Katherine of Spain in 1501, in which two of the children were concealed in mermaids 'singing right sweetly and with quaint harmony'.<sup>103</sup>

The Chapel Royal was a part of the Chamber Department of the Court and thus under the Lord Chamberlain. In 1478 the establishment of the Chapel was a Dean, six Chaplains, twenty Clerks, two Yeoman (or Epistolers) and eight children and a master of grammar.<sup>104</sup> In 1526 the number of children was increased to twelve. Elizabeth left the post of Dean vacant which brought the Chapel more directly under the control of the Lord Chamberlain.

### **The Public Performances of the Chapel Children**

The relationship between William Hunnis, Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal from 1566 and Richard Farrant, Master of the Children of the Chapel at Windsor from 1564 presents a series of questions. Both men were writers of plays as

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<sup>102</sup> Lucy Munro explores this in *Children of the Queen's Revels*.

<sup>103</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 28.

<sup>104</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 24.

well as composers and both had to establish their own careers and artistic identities at a time when both Tallis and later, Byrd, were composing and were fellow Gentlemen of the Chapel. Farrant was appointed first and was presenting plays at Court from 1566. Hunnis was appointed later but to the senior of the two positions. Hunnis had been the servant of the Earl of Pembroke, Henry Herbert, in 1550 and his seniority may have stemmed from this influence at Court. Farrant, as the son in law of Richard Bower a previous master of the Chapel was surely advanced earlier as opportunity offered. Unfortunately, we have little information on the plays and music either man created for their companies.<sup>105</sup>

The Windsor Children seem to have had the lead in playing at Hampton Court and Richmond and sometimes played at Whitehall.<sup>106</sup> Farrant would have found opportunities to show his skills to the Queen when the Court was at Windsor or Richmond for Christmas festivities in 1563 at Hampton Court in 1572. 1574 at Hampton Court and Richmond, 1575 Hampton Court and Westminster, a pattern repeated again in 1576. It is significant that on 6 January 1576 at Hampton Court, three months after Farrant has obtained a lease from Sir William More for the first Blackfriars playhouse Richard Farrant is described as 'Master of the Children of the Chapel' as payee for a play. Thereafter the 'Children of Windsor' do not appear in records of performances at Court. The most logical explanation is that by providing rehearsal and a public performance space the commercial importance of supporting the Children of the Chapel resulted in Farrant becoming acting master. Both Farrant and Hunnis would have retained their fees as Masters of their respective children (neither resigned and the posts were for life) but Farrant is noted in the Chamber

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<sup>105</sup> Andrew Ashbee, 'Hunnis, William' and Roger Bowers, 'Farrant, Richard' *DNB* (accessed online 2.6.2017).

<sup>106</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, pp. 77-113.

Accounts for 1576 as 'Master of the Children of the Chapel' Chambers interprets this as indicating that Farrant is leading the new performance group comprised of the Windsor and Royal Chapels and they are performing at the first Blackfriars theatre.<sup>107</sup> This is confirmed by the Revels Account for Twelfth Night 1576 that identifies the performance to be 'by the 'children of Windsor and the Chapel'.<sup>108</sup> This suggests, however, that the Windsor Chapel choir of ten was depleted to play in Whitehall but as they had continuing duties in Windsor it would be more logical to assume that Farrant simply took over the Royal Chapel Children for Blackfriars. The Chamber Accounts describe the company in subsequent years as:

- 1577–79 'Richard Farrant the Master of the Children of Her Majesty's Chapel
- 1580 'the Master of the Children of the Chapel'
- 1581 'the Master of the Children of Her Majesty's Chapel'
- 1582 'William Hunnis the Master of the Children of the Chapel'
- 1583 'the Master of the Children of Her Majesty's Chapel'

The ambiguity of these records does not help to resolve the issue.<sup>109</sup> The subsequent short history of the company under William Hunnis, following the death of Richard Farrant in 1582 suggests that Hunnis had little enthusiasm for play-making and even less business ability to sustain it. On balance the descriptions above imply the Chapel Royal Children rather than a combined company, the Revels Account of 1576 may indicate some children borrowed from Windsor rather than a complete amalgamation and the obvious problem of chapel duties at Windsor and rehearsals in London.

Richard Farrant took the lease of a property in Blackfriars from Sir William Moore in December 1576 at a rent of £14 per annum for 21 years as a school and house for the Chapel Children but also (without Moore's permission) used the

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<sup>107</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 63.

<sup>108</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 152.

<sup>109</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 152-60.

premises as a theatre open to the public. The theatre is likely to have been the northern part of two rooms totalling 56.5ft (17.2m) north to south and 25ft (7.6m) east to west, of which the larger room was 34ft (10.3m) long and the smaller 22.5ft (6.9m) long, lying to the south of the larger one.<sup>110</sup> This smaller room is probably the 'Hall Place' (referred to in other leases) and located at the top of stairs leading from a lane or entry running from Water Lane (on the west) past the kitchen to give access to the Hall Place and thence north to the guest hall of the monastery, and south to the Parliament Chamber. The latter was about 100ft (30.5m) long by 46ft (14m) wide but divided in two north to south. Farrant had the east side of the central partition some 22ft (6.7m) wide and further divided into four rooms. The theatre was surely the wider part to the north end, the old guest hall. The room was almost certainly where the present Hall of the Society of Apothecaries is today, but re-built (after the Fire of London) on the original foundations of this part of the Blackfriars monastery. Part of the original wall is still visible on the east side of the Apothecaries Hall.<sup>111</sup>

Richard Farrant seems to have operated a public theatre here, very much as Westcote did at St. Paul's. When Farrant died in 1580 leaving his widow Anne with the lease, she had little money and no authority to ensure the continuity of the company. William Hunnis was the signatory for a play at Court in 1582 but in 1581 and 1583 the payee is merely described as the Master of the Chapel Children. It would appear from the Court performances signed for by Hunnis that there was a continuing, if faltering, Chapel Children company. Hunnis had probably preferred the less demanding musical work of the Children of the Chapel leaving Farrant to run the playing work as soon as opportunity offered in 1576. Farrant by contrast had an

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<sup>110</sup> Irwin Smith, *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse: Its History and Its Design* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1964), pp. 463-66, Document 16.

<sup>111</sup> Nick Holder, *The Medieval Friaries of London* (unpublished thesis Department of History, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2011), p. 36.

excellent record in performances at Court (and presumably therefore in 'public rehearsals') presenting a play every year for fourteen years. Hunnis in taking over the sub-lease from Anne Farrant (Richard's widow) joined with one John Newman as co-lessee, both described themselves as 'gentlemen' and a John Newman is an actor in Prince Charles's Men in 1610. It could be that Hunnis, conscious of his inexperience in operating a public theatre, brought John Newman in to add relevant experience. If so it would appear they had very little success, they paid their rent to Anne late and failed to make repairs to the building so that she took them to court and at the same time Sir William Moore, the freeholder, also sought recovery of his property through the courts.<sup>112</sup>

In November 1583, after the death of Farrant and when the Blackfriars lease is in dispute, Hunnis appealed to the exchequer for additional financial support for the Children of the Chapel. In his supplication he confirms the twelve children of the Chapel Royal was still the establishment. The journey from Blackfriars to Whitehall would be time consuming and inconvenient if the Court decided entertainment was required at short notice and Hunnis complains that he had to hire chambers for the boys at Westminster when they were required to attend at Court. He does not mention the cost of boat hire and that would suggest that the boys walked the mile each way to Whitehall. In this application for additional funding Hunnis defines the staffing as a master (presumably a replacement for Farrant, possibly John Newman), an usher, a man servant and a woman servant, these staff are not paid by the Crown but by Hunnis. When the Acting Master was Farrant his fee from the Chamber Accounts would have helped but when he died in 1580 that fee ceased, clearly Hunnis replaced him rather than undertake the work himself but the fee did not transfer. The signs of

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<sup>112</sup> *EPT*, pp. 393-401, items 310 to 317.

an enterprise rapidly exceeding its means are apparent. At the end of 1582 or early in 1583 Sir William More sought to recover the property and granted a fresh lease to one of his own men, Thomas Smallpiece, encouraging him to sue for possession of the property. Hunnis and Newman countered this by subleasing the property to Evans (presumably Henry Evans) who sold his interest in turn to the Earl of Oxford.<sup>113</sup> The Earl's status might easily over-sway, in the courts, any attempt at recovery by a mere knight, even Sir William More. More succumbed and accepted the Earl of Oxford's sub-lease which the Earl promptly handed on to his servant John Lyly but this transfer was one too far for Moore, who was now the senior litigant in the court case for recovery of the property, doing so successfully in May/June 1584.<sup>114</sup>

The playing space appears to have been retained and this leads to a conundrum as to which company is which for a while. To complicate matters Henry Evans is still executor for the Paul's Children and may have stayed with Lyly in order to run the theatre through 1583, Lyly is noted by Sir William More as being the successor to the lease in his summary of the court cases he undertook to regain possession of the Blackfriars property in 1584. Evans may also be the scrivener who wrote the agreement between Hunnis-Newman and Anne Farrant about which Chambers remarks that 'an unfortunate slip of the scrivener's pen' reduced the sum due to Anne Farrant from £6.13.4d. to £6.6s.8d. in rent on top of the £14 rent due to Sir William More. If Evans was the scrivener in question, he certainly had a vested interest in the 'error'.<sup>115</sup>

I have rehearsed the likely arrangement of the Earl of Oxford and Paul's company using Blackfriars in 1583–1584 above. Hunnis, I think, took the Chapel

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<sup>113</sup> Irwin Smith, *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 467-68, Document 17.

<sup>114</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 497.

<sup>115</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 496.

Children back to the Chapel base at Greenwich. There was no accommodation for them at Whitehall (the lodgings beside the Cockpit may have been demolished by then, following the long period of use of the Blackfriars accommodation) Green and Thurley say only that 'demolition occurred in the later Tudor period, possibly in Mary's reign'.<sup>116</sup> Hunnis made clear in his appeal for more funding from the Chamber in 1583 that there was no accommodation in Whitehall. His appeal for additional funding is undated but was surely concurrent with his departure from Blackfriars and reduction of income as a result. No mention is made of commercial playing. The text of his supplication is given in full as it sets out the financial resources of the Children of the Chapel Royal:

May it please your honours, William Hunnis, Master of the Children of her highness Chapel, most humbly beseeches to consider of these few lines. First Her Majesty alloweth for the diet of 12 children of her said Chapel daily 6d a piece by the day and £40 by the year for their apparel and all other furniture.

Again there is no fee allowed neither for the Master of the said children, nor for his usher, and yet nonetheless he is constrained, over and beside the usher, still to keep both a man servant to attend upon them, and likewise a woman servant to wash and keep them clean.

Also there is no allowance for the lodging of the said children, such time as they attend upon the Court, but the Master to his great charge is driven to hire chambers both for himself, his usher, children and servants.

Also there is no allowance for riding journeys when occasion serves the Master to travel or send into sundry parts within this realm, to take up and bring such children as are thought meet to be trained for the service of Her Majesty.

Also there is no allowance nor other consideration for those children whose voices be changed, who only do depend upon the charge of the said Master until such time as he may prefer the same with clothing and other furniture, unto his no small charge.

And although it may be objected that Her Majesty's allowance is no whit less than Her Majesty's father of famous memory therefore [heretofore?] allowed: yet

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<sup>116</sup> H. J. M. Green and S. J. Thurley, 'Excavations on the West Side of Whitehall 1960-2', *London and Middlesex Archaeological Society Transactions*, Vol. 38 (1987), p. 102.

considering the prices of things present to the time past and what annuities the Master then had out of sundry abbeys within this realm, besides sundry gifts from the King, and diverse particular fees besides, for the maintenance of the said children and office: and besides also there hath been withdrawn from the said children since Her Majesty's coming to the Crown, 12d by the day which was allowed for their breakfasts, as may appear by the Treasurer of the Chamber's accompt for the time being, with other allowances incident to the office as appeareth by the ancient accompts in the said office which I hear omit [submit?].

The burden hereof hath from time to time so hindered the Masters of the Children, viz. Mr. Bower, Mr. Edwardes, myself and Mr. Farrant: that notwithstanding some good helps, otherwise some of them died in so poor case and so deeply indebted that they have not left scarcely wherewith to bury them.

In tender consideration whereof, might it please your honours that the said allowance of 6d. a day apiece for the children's diet might be reserved in Her Majesty's coffers during the time of their attendance. And in lieu thereof they be allowed to meat and drink within this honourable household for that I am not able upon so small allowance any longer to bear so heavy a burden. Or otherwise to be considered as shall seem best unto your honourable wisdoms.

[*Endorsed*] 1583, November. The humble petition of the Master of the Children of Her Highness's Chapel. [*And in another hand*] To have further allowances for the finding of the children for causes within mentioned.<sup>117</sup>

Chambers notes that the accounts show no differences in the allowances paid as a result of the petition but, in 1585 Hunnis was given generous grants of land, presumably to meet the shortfall he describes.<sup>118</sup> The endorsement might suggest that Hunnis did get the travelling expenses he asked for when collecting boys and he may also have been granted food in the hall for the boys when at Court.

The Chapel Children present no plays at Court in the period 1584–1599 and this must surely support the interpretation that the Chapel Children left Blackfriars when Moore recovered his lease but that, under Hunnis, they did not seek another home, limiting themselves to their musical and chapel duties. This interpretation is

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<sup>117</sup> *ES*, vol. II, pp. 37-8 (but with modernised spelling and punctuation).

<sup>118</sup> *ES*, vol. II, pp. 38-9,

supported by the fact that the Court spent the winters of 1584–1587 at Greenwich where the Royal Chapel was based.<sup>119</sup> We may therefore presume that they ceased public playing entirely in this period having neither an entrepreneurial Master nor a playhouse in which to present their work.

In 1600 under a new master, Nathaniel Giles, the Children of the Chapel again appear at Court and are playing at Blackfriars but now in Burbage's 1596 conversion of the Parliament Chamber to a major playhouse. Unfortunately Burbage could not use the playhouse for an adult company because of local residents' objections (discussed more fully in chapter four). Henry Evans appears again as the lessee at rent of £40 per annum from Michaelmas 1600. The overlap of parts of the Blackfriars property between the two playhouse leases no doubt made Evans a knowledgeable and willing tenant and both Nathaniel Giles and the new Master of Paul's, Edward Pearce, had fresh commissions to take boys for their choirs. In order to fill the Blackfriars playhouse Evans appears to have provided a playing space for the Children of the Chapel and for the Children of Pauls, who, since 1596 no longer had their Almonry House theatre.<sup>120</sup> The second Blackfriars under Henry Evans control from 1600 cannot be provided with a definitive playing company but I suggest that it was occupied by the two established boy companies as they took up the opportunity to play at Court again. For two years the relationship appears to have worked and Edward Pearce presented one Children of Paul's play at Court in 1600 and again in 1602 whilst Nathaniel Giles is the payee at court for five plays by the Children of the Chapel at Court in 1600 (two plays) and 1601 (three plays). Evans seems to have been a poor or, more probably underfunded, business man and shuffled ownership, in trust, from himself to his son-in-law, Alexander Hawkins in order to avoid

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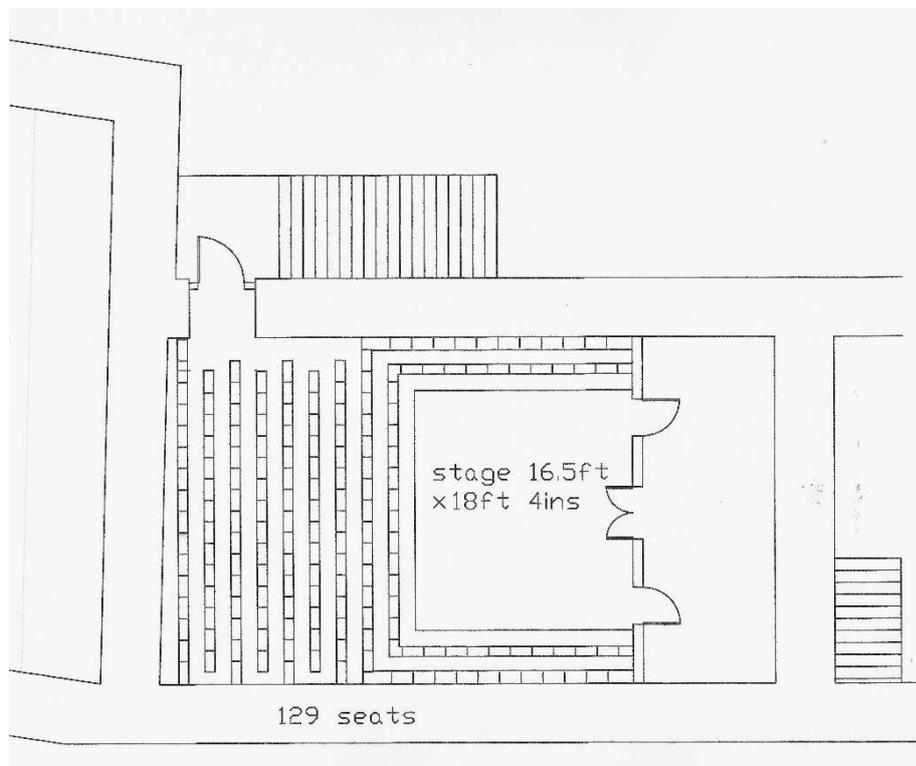
<sup>119</sup> John H. Astington, *English Court Theatre 1558–1642*, Appendix, pp. 231–32.

<sup>120</sup> REED, *London Ecclesiastical*, p. 127.

sequestration of the lease to cover his debts, though to be fair, this was a common practice in the period. I shall show in chapter five how John Brayne used a similar technique to fend off his creditors. The second Blackfriars was a very large theatre for the boy companies to fill (see chapter five for details) and the rental was high for their restricted playing opportunities each week. Evans and his various partners had a difficult business to operate.

### **The Children of the Chapel as a business**

The first Blackfriars Playhouse was a considerably bigger room than that of Paul's (if my assessment of that theatre is correct) accommodating double the number of patrons possible at Paul's. We know the sizes of the rooms and Chambers and subsequent authorities have assumed the space for the theatre to be in the old buttery and guest hall of the priory.



*Fig. 11 Author's reconstruction of First Blackfriars Theatre plan.*<sup>121</sup>

<sup>121</sup> Dimensions derived from Nick Holder, *Medieval Priors of London*.

Chambers sets out the income from the royal purse of the Master of the Chapel Royal.<sup>122</sup> The Master's annual fee, £40, the board for the boys £109.10s.0d., a possible breakfast allowance of £16 and largess for attendance on High Feasts of £9.13s.4d., a total of £175.3s.4d. and, though Chambers does not mention it, their livery each year. The Chapel were, by comparison to St. Paul's a very well-funded operation and the importance of the annual livery ensured good clothing compared to Paul's incomplete uniforms described in the Bishops Visitation of 1598. Perhaps because of this funding they had less need to develop public performances and in practice did so only for the four years 1576–1580 during Richard Farrant's tenancy of the first Blackfriars Theatre and the following two years in which Hunnis and Evans took on the tenancy. The approximate plan suggests an audience of about 129 so that a 4d. entrance fee and 60% occupancy yields £1 5s.10d. per performance or £32 5s.10d. for a single performance a week over 25 weeks (as estimated for St. Paul's) and double this if two performances a week. Again the costs of operation are more difficult to estimate. Hunnis, in his 1583 application for more funding only list his grants and, unfortunately, not his costs.

It seems to me that Farrant had to continue the activities of the Chapel Royal at Windsor and Hunnis was responsible for the Chapel Royal choral duties at Westminster. I differ from the usual assumption that the boys combined for performances and separated for chapel duties. The logistics of such an enterprise in London whilst still fulfilling their Windsor duties appear to me to rule out the Windsor boys taking an active role except in so far as boys may have been 'taken' for Windsor and relocated in London if their acting skills proved appropriate, their number at Windsor being made-up by taking further boys. It is possible that the

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<sup>122</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 47-48.

Whitehall Chapel undertook their Royal Chapel choral duties from Blackfriars but the journey on foot would take at least 30 minutes through the crowds of Fleet Street and Ludgate. From Hunnis's 1583 appeal for more funds it looks as though he had urgent need to find alternative accommodation for the boys as the Blackfriars lease was lost to him. It is entirely possible that Hunnis retained a number of mature choir boys and perhaps some of the younger ones in order to cast the plays whilst officially having an establishment of twelve choirboys. Certainly there was room at Blackfriars to accommodate larger numbers in the 2,200 square feet (212 sq.m.) leased in the Parliament Chamber and with other rooms for kitchen, and storage.<sup>123</sup>

When playing resumes again in 1600 Giles has the use of the second Blackfriars but his forces are based at Greenwich with only those required for Whitehall or other Chapel duties in London. Whilst he might well have returned to a practice of shared chapel and performance duties for his choir boys, any older members of the company are likely to be drawn from other resources and the case brought by Henry Clifton in the Court of Star Chamber on 11 March 1600 bears this out. He complains that Nathaniel Giles took three boys from grammar schools and four apprentices for use in the Chapel Choir but not to sing, and that instead, they were forced to undertake acting duties.<sup>124</sup> This impressment was upheld by the court. One of those impressed was the nine-year-old Nathan Field who was to become a very well-known actor in the succession of 'childrens' companies and finally with the King's Men. Here again the Parliament Chamber could have provided accommodation for the Chapel Children as the theatre took-up only 66ft (20.1m) of the 100ft (30.5m) length of the chamber.<sup>125</sup> The relationship between Henry Evans (lessee of the Blackfriars Playhouse) and

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<sup>123</sup> *EPT*, pp. 391-93, item 309.

<sup>124</sup> *ES*, vol. II, pp. 43-4.

<sup>125</sup> *EPT*, pp. 508-9, items 403 (a) and (b).

Nathaniel Giles is uncertain but the taking of older boys for acting suggests that Giles (or Evans) was in need of making up the company for larger cast plays, just as Westcote had done.

In 1602 the Court was again at Greenwich for the winter festivities and the Chapel Children do not present a play. I infer therefore that the Children of the Chapel returned to Greenwich and undertook choral duties that year. They are not heard of again as theatrical performers in their own name. In 1603, under James I, the Queen's Revels Children appear with Edward Kirkham as payee at Court and this company may have been the remainder of the older boys from Nathaniel Giles impressment augmented by boys borrowed or hired from St. Paul's, now under Edward Pearce. By 1605 Edward Kirkham is found as the payee for the 'Children of Paul's' at Court suggesting a close relationship, though as he was probably the Kirkham who was Yeoman of the Revels, he might be an authorised recipient for the Paul's company. Or the use of the Paul's Boys name may have simply represented a higher proportion of St. Paul's choir boys in an established combined production enterprise, used in this year as the 'Queen's Revels Children' were out of favour. In the following three years they present themselves at Court as the 'Children of Blackfriars'.

The death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603 closed all playing for a period of mourning and then there was a serious outbreak of plague that extended the closure to a year. Evans still had to pay the £40 rental and in 1603 (under threat of foreclosure by Richard Burbage) spent £11 on repairs to Blackfriars, all with no playing to give him income. Relief came from a partnership with Edward Kirkham, probably the Yeoman of the Revels, who must have helped to gain a patent from James I for the

new company, the Children of the Queen's Revels on 4 February 1603.<sup>126</sup> That patent is to Edward Kirkham, Alexander Hawkins (Evans's son-in-law), Thomas Kendall and Robert Payne and is given under the private seal, just as Elizabeth's patent to Leicester's Men.<sup>127</sup> I suspect that the Queen's Revels Children were a combination at arms-length (that is unacknowledged) of St. Paul's and new boys brought in under the authority of the new patent. The fact that under the patent the licensees obtained the right to take boys and began the path of subsequent companies, changing their name as Court favour (and disfavour), playing location and management changed. The history of the subsequent companies lies beyond my period and prevents me from considering the complexities of their subsequent history here.

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<sup>126</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 47.

<sup>127</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 49.

## Chapter Three

### *Henslowe's Diary and the Rose Theatre*

#### **Henslowe and the *Diary***

*Henslowe's Diary* is the only document we have from the sixteenth century that records the financial performance of an actual theatre, the Rose on London's Bankside. I have used the R. A. Foakes edition of *Henslowe's Diary* as an authoritative transcription of the Dulwich collection manuscript that follows on from the work of W.W. Greg in 1904, to which constant reference is made throughout the transcript.<sup>1</sup> Despite this 'two for the price of one' benefit in Foakes's edition I found it necessary, from time to time, to view the invaluable digital on-line version, with its imaging of the original manuscript, to understand the construct that Henslowe was using.<sup>2</sup>

Richard Foakes takes a fairly neutral stance on Henslowe's education and business attitude, standing between Fleay's 'illiterate money-grubber',<sup>3</sup> and Carol Chillington Rutter's image of an able business man, hesitant at first and growing into a confident and benevolent member of his community.<sup>4</sup> She takes the attribute of 'benevolence' from Henslowe acting as a pawnbroker at a time of plague when many items would not be redeemed; but pawnbrokers work not only on redemption but on re-sale, and Henslowe had a ready outlet in selling costume to the acting companies. Fleay's accusation of illiteracy is surely harsh, Henslowe's random spelling is merely typical of the period for a businessman educated only until he started his apprenticeship and at a time when the written word was very much an onomatopoeic

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<sup>1</sup> R. A. Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961, second edn. 2002), hereafter abbreviated to *Henslowe*.

<sup>2</sup> [Digital imaging of the Diary at www.Henslowe-Alleyne.org.uk](http://www.Henslowe-Alleyne.org.uk) accessed at various times.

<sup>3</sup> F. G. Fleay, *A Chronicle History of the London Stage* (London: Reeves and Turner, 1890), p. 117.

<sup>4</sup> Carol Chillington Rutter (ed.), *Documents of the Rose Playhouse* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, The Revels Plays Companion Library Series, 1984), pp. 6-7.

memorial of the spoken and remembered. We see, in leases of the period, boundaries recorded by memorial references to adjoining tenants, illustrating a similar approach to other written records. Life, it appears, was a remembered event and spelling was there to jog the memory. Regularised spelling has become so ingrained nowadays that any departure from the 'authorised' version is taken as incompetence or ignorance. In Henslowe's lifetime, regularity in spelling was not prized, the most educated men spelt quite randomly. The same is true of vernacular buildings and thus the Rose was not a regular building in 1587 and became positively misshapen when it was modified in 1592. Again, our expectation of regularity leads us, mistakenly, to expect symmetry in the theatres, but the archaeology shows this to be a false assumption. From the *Diary* one might think that Henslowe was casual about money, as we shall see he rounded his receipts from the Rose, especially in the early days of his records, and his addition is frequently inaccurate, though he could and did use accuracy checks occasionally.<sup>5</sup> Yet a man who made a success of his businesses was surely not inept in handling money. In looking at the *Diary* some care needs to be taken over the inherently conflicting implications that may be drawn from the entries.

Henslowe had taken responsibility for Joan Woodward, who became Henslowe's stepdaughter on his marriage to Woodward's widow, Agnes. It is generally supposed that he was also Woodward's heir financially, either through marriage or as a beneficiary of his will. Henslowe used the capital to set-up a property development business on Bankside. This business was well established when his diary starts in 1591. As Henslowe describes himself as a dyer, it is assumed that Woodward was also a dyer and his apprenticeship master but the extant Dyer's

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<sup>5</sup> *Henslowe*, pp. 16-17 (p. 7 in the original *Diary*) shows returns for plays in sums all rounded to the nearest 6d. By contrast p. 235 (235-v in the original *Diary*) shows several examples of summations checked by reverse addition.

Company records do not start until 1570 and his apprenticeship cannot be confirmed. The records for St. Olave, the easterly parish in Southwark, are not extant so even locating a dyer named Woodward is difficult if he lived in that more industrial part of the borough.

Henslowe was not short of money in 1591 when the *Diary* commences, but by then he had the benefit of four years of theatre income and for at least that time the income from his property rentals. The *Diary* records his support of other family members, taking on the administration of 'Edmond Hensley's' will in 1592 and bringing Edmond's children to live at his own house in 1595. He frequently helped his hopeless nephew, Francis, funding him as actor and probably as a pawnbroker and keeping him out of the clutches of creditors.<sup>6</sup> He made loans to actors and to people at Court, even to clerks in the Master of the Revels Office; all with no interest charges noted on the loan record. He accepted the duties of parish offices and enjoyed a status in his community (he is mentioned in several wills), but like most of us, failed to clean the ditches beside his property.<sup>7</sup> The picture that emerges for me is of a man moving through his life without too many cares, and financially able to sustain a variety of businesses. He was, I think, more chairman material than manager, presenting, one suspects, an approachable persona to those with whom he dealt; how otherwise could he have taken such care over the small pawnbroking deals on the one hand and the building development of tenements and theatres on the other?

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<sup>6</sup> *Henslowe*, pp. 175 and 300.

<sup>7</sup>For wills see E. A. J. Honigmann and Susan Brock (eds), *Playhouse Wills 1558–1642* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, Revels Plays Companion Series, 1993). For ditches see Julian Bowsher and Pat Miller *The Rose and the Globe – playhouses of Shakespeare's Bankside, Southwark, Excavations 1988–90* (London: Museum of London Archaeology monograph 48, 2009), p. 77. London Metropolitan Archives, show that the St. Saviours Sewer Commission make requirements to clean perimeter ditches in 1588, 1589, 1590, 1596, 1597, 1603, 1604 and 1605 when the bridge to the playhouse is noted.

**The nature of *Henslowe's Diary***

For scholars today, unfamiliar with handwritten office records before the decimalisation of our money in 1971, the *Diary* is particularly confusing. They see a line that might indicate a sub-total being taken but look in vain for the sub-total in the account. They are unfamiliar with the pre-decimalisation need to add columns of figures onto a piece of paper slipped down the page adding first pennies, converting them to shillings and pence and then adding the shillings column and converting that to whole pounds before finally adding the pound column. The resulting sub-total is thus recorded on a separate piece of paper and is transferred to the formal account book. Short lines in the left margin of the *Diary* indicate the weekly summations which would have been transferred. Today, with decimal money it is simple to add a column transferring units to whole tens and tens to whole pounds, the sub total is naturally written in the column. Previously, because addition was so cumbersome, offices depended on day-books in which payments were initially recorded, prior to transferring the sub-total sums to formal accounts. Some day-books were very formally kept, to record the throughput of many daily transactions, some, like Henslowe's, were a mix of estimates, *aide memoires* and curiosities. *Henslowe's Diary* is quite clearly an office day-book of the latter kind. There was almost certainly more than one such day-book in Henslowe's house as no domestic accounts are noted nor does the extant book cover all the transactions that would have been necessary for Henslowe in administering a substantial property holding with rents, repairs and the rent collection service he clearly made for remote property owners. We see glimpses of these rentals, when the *Diary* was the only day-book to hand rather than the appropriate day-book or formal account ledger. We should not be surprised therefore by the incompleteness of the entries in giving a coherent picture of a loan or any other transaction.

The folio size of the book (33.5 by 20.5 centimetres) and its bulkiness (127 leaves) suggest that it was kept in the office, and this is confirmed by entries made by Edward and Joan Alleyn, when presumably Henslowe was out of the office.<sup>8</sup> It appears to have been bound before its use by Henslowe (it was previously used by his brother to record his mining business) as the pages were numbered before it recorded theatre matters. Further evidence of binding before use is that, whilst Henslowe endeavoured to leave space for different groups of transactions, sometimes he had to stop a series of entries through lack of space and move to another part of the book to take up the sequence again. Were the book written on loose folded sheets it would be possible to insert additional pages where required and one would expect the additions to come in complete folds (pairs of leaves), rather than randomly placed.

Some loans and debts are acknowledged by the signature of the recipient, presumably attending the office to collect or pay money. Frequently witnesses signed the book to record that they will have memory of the transaction. The very first record is that of Joan Alleyn (born Woodward, Henslowe's step-daughter and wife of Edward Alleyn) receiving rents for the midsummer quarter 1593, and below it is recorded the costs disbursed whilst her husband 'went into the country' in 1593, that is, touring as the London theatres were closed by the plague.<sup>9</sup> I suspect that other loose sheets were carried by Henslowe when he went to do business outside the office. Some of these would be transcribed into the day-book, some into a formal account book directly.

As a day-book, a record in the *Diary* was also used to note some domestic events. The wedding of Joan Woodward to Edward Alleyn (written as 'alen') on 22

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<sup>8</sup> *Henslowe*, p. xvi.

<sup>9</sup> *Henslowe*, p. 5.

October 1592, precedes a note that the wainscot in Edward Alleyn's hall is 'three score & five yds & 3ft' at 2s, a yard, this is clearly an area measure of 588 sq.ft (18.4m<sup>2</sup>).<sup>10</sup> Even if the wainscoting is 9ft. high this gives a run of 65ft or a room of 21ft x 12ft (6.4m x 3.66m). Henslowe does not bother to calculate out that at 2s. per yard this represents a cost of £6.10s 8d. (that would be for the formal account book), or that this is about a third of a tradesman's annual wage. The modifications to the Rose in the period 23 June to 28 December in 1592 cost about £100. It might appear from these conjunctions that Joan Woodward brought to her husband not only a new or refurbished (rather grand) house, but also an enlarged theatre for his company to play. Indeed, the *Diary* itself may represent a father-in-law's interest in further understanding the business of his new family member.

Henslowe began the *Diary* on the second page with the purchase of a gilt goblet and a gilt beaker in June 1592 below which is the formal record of the wedding in October 1592 using a different and more faded ink and beneath this the record of the agreement to lease the *Foschen Soldier* in Grubb Street with underneath that very large initials AE & H. This page looks to be the celebration of a new member of the family and a new business partnership between Alleyn and Henslowe and rather like a family bible records the important familial events. Cups to celebrate the engagement, the wedding and the new partnership. Page four begins a record of costs for modifying the Rose in the autumn of 1592. All the other entries on pages one, two and three are for later dates, but significantly the further work on the modifications of the Rose in 1595 are on the reverse of page 2 to keep them close to the 1592 modifications. Over time the book obviously fell into more casual use.

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<sup>10</sup> *Henslowe*, p. 6.

The 1592/3 costs of adapting the theatre are on leaves four and five and thereafter the records return to 1591 with licence fees paid to the Revels office and the returns for the Lord Strange's Men from February 1591. Was there an earlier *Diary*? Or did the one we have represent a new interest in his future son-in-law's business success, and by extension, his daughter's welfare?

It is, I suggest, impossible to draw any firm conclusions about the loan support to the companies occupying the Rose. Not only are the records incomplete but the company loans and repayments are usually unrelated within the book. On page 235v of the manuscript *Diary* (the *Diary* was reversed and pages numbered again from 126v–238) there is a page of additions that might be an attempt to reconcile some of the accounts but the accounts to which they might relate are not at all clear. A point of interest is that in the top right-hand corner of the page, the following sum is accurately noted:

$$\begin{array}{r} 300-02-03 \\ - \underline{132-19-02} \\ \underline{167-3-02} \\ 300-02-03.^{11} \end{array}$$

Clearly Henslowe used an 'adding-back' check on his subtraction, a not uncommon system. Unusually Foakes has mis-transcribed some of the figures on this page making it appear that the arithmetic is inaccurate but the digital archive shows the sums to be correct. Foakes has included a deleted £9 in one column of addition and read 'for 2 in' at the foot of another where Henslowe has '+ r 2 in' indicating he has omitted 2s. as the sum of the pennies so he notes to add remainder 2 in to correct the sum. At the bottom the same page is the single word 'Booke' that Foakes notes may not be in the same hand. To me this and the short margin lines indicating sub-totals taken, is a clear indication that the day-book entries were transcribed to the formal

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<sup>11</sup> *Henslowe*, p. 235.

account book, and probably by someone else. From all of the above we can picture an office where Henslowe is the principal and jots down entries in the day-book, his daughter takes seniority in transactions (as the daughter of the owner), over a clerk who keeps the formal books. In short, a small but workable business office with sufficient personnel to cover the working day and internal checks and balances to ensure reasonably accurate records that, unfortunately, we do not have. Add to this Henslowe's 'soldier' or security guard and the domestic servants, together with children from a deceased relative, and the household must have been a busy one.

Foakes is at pains to point out that sometimes the book appears to have dates written earlier than the play and the receipts, and sometimes the registration of the date and the play have slipped with Henslowe drawing lines to link the relevant entries. This should not surprise us in a casual journal. Dating, however, is difficult to follow, Henslowe frequently changed the year on 1 January (Scottish style) rather than 25 March that the English Julian calendar used. Having started a new year number on the first day of January he sometimes reverted to the Julian year, but then continued it past 25 March, when the Julian year changed, often going well into April before correcting the year. Whether this is carelessness or a signifier of a later year-end for the summation of the annual accounts one cannot tell. Not unnaturally there are mistakes in the figures, corrected by Henslowe and these (following Foakes's example) I have ignored, using only his corrected data. There are four performances recorded for duplicated dates and these are difficult to re-allocate and so remain verbatim in Appendix One where the *Diary* entries for play returns are transcribed and extrapolated to give cumulative figures for both the Theatre owners and the acting company's returns.

A particular problem for the scholar working on the recorded 'half gallery' receipts is that many of the figures are in rounded shillings and occasionally even rounded pounds. It is inconceivable that exact shilling sums would be achieved so regularly in the collection of single penny payments. Was the actual return recorded elsewhere? Or perhaps that there was a random dispersal of small change to the money gatherers or the acting company to leave whole sums, or it may be that Henslowe was casual about the minor amounts and does not record them. He records 6d. amounts for a short period in 1594 and begins recording penny amounts in January 1596 when he begins to make loans to support the acting company. This strongly suggests that the previous rounded amounts are because the odd pennies are being donated to the company.

The great value of the book for the study of the business of theatre is the schedule of Henslowe's receipts from half the galleries in the Rose for the period from 19 February 1591 to 5 November 1597. These entries include the names of the plays and help us to understand the repertoire and commercial approach of the playing companies. These I have transcribed in appendices to clarify the information. In Appendix One I have extrapolated the recorded half gallery take by the calculated capacity of the Rose to give an approximation of the likely income to the acting company and the number of people in the audience. They are, of course, only approximations and should be regarded as such. The second appendix analyses the play titles to give a picture of the programming of the theatre by the acting companies. Appendix 3 shows the total return on each play title. From this it appears that the acting companies reviewed the overall return each play obtained and discontinued the play whenever the average return reached a lower threshold. The appendix records this as the half gallery take, recorded by Henslowe, rather than the acting company's income, but they can be assumed to be directly proportionate.

I do not sense that Henslowe was an active manager of the theatre programme in the period covered by the *Diary*. He was obviously an interested party but not, on the evidence, the directing mind. Were he to have been so he might have written the play titles with the dates, and before the cash record. Whilst he does apprentice three boys to himself and contracts with some players to work exclusively for the Rose there are no other indications that Henslowe had control of the acting companies in their make-up or repertory. In chapter five I note from the 'Sharer's Papers' of 1635 that the enterprises of the theatre owners of the Globe and Blackfriars theatre and the acting company, the King's Men, were kept very distinct, even when they were largely the same people. I see no reason to believe that Henslowe did not maintain the same position with his acting companies during the *Diary* period.

### **Theatre Buildings**

The first Rose receipts are recorded in the *Diary* from February 1591 until 22 June 1592. They do not start again until late December that year. The *Diary* records the phase two building costs as occurring in 1592 and this void in the record must be the time for the works to adapt the theatre. It is also, in October, the occasion of the marriage of Joan and Edward Alleyn. The modification works undoubtedly took longer than anticipated as the Rose did not open again until 29 December, missing the usually lucrative Christmas and Boxing Day performances.

The modifications themselves were largely done by re-using existing timbers with some new members framed elsewhere, probably Reading forest, and brought down river by barge. The first three entries in the accounts for the building modifications are for a barge, wharfing the timber and its 'bringing by water' whilst the fourth is for breaking-up and piling, this last being the preparation of the site for the new frames. From the order of the payments it would appear that the work was

carried out on one side first and then on the opposite side. I deduce this from the purchase of rafters on two occasions, widely separated in the schedule, and the late entry for bricklaying suggesting that the payment was made only after the second half was completed.<sup>12</sup> This order of work would have been natural to minimise the workforce and reduce confusion on site with different side members arriving and needing to be sorted. It would also have been a sensible safety precaution in keeping attention in one area during the structural changes when large timbers would be being moved overhead. The entry for 'wharfing' is likely to be for the storage of the timbers for one side whilst the others are brought to site and erected. Subsequent trades seem to follow on in like order.

The modifications to the tiring house are extensive. Not only did it move back, making the playhouse about 6ft. (1.83m) deeper, but it also flattens the curve behind the stage. In practice about half the building was taken apart and reconfigured. The carpentry skills required to adapt and match the curious resulting shape are impressive. I have not listed the items recorded by Henslowe as the Richard Foakes edition is readily available, but there are a very large number of entries for the purchase of nails, reading the list one gets the impression that there were more nails than timber! Nails are characterised by price (4d and 6d per hundred) or by purpose, 'lathe nails' for instance, which appeared as a 'half a some of lathe nails' and were not priced. Single and double 'tens' are also purchased from the ironmonger but it is not clear to me what the term 'tens' means. The list of materials is also given in MOLA Monograph 48 but without annotation as to the meanings of the unfamiliar words or indications of their use; a pity as the archaeologist's expertise would be very helpful here.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> *Henslowe*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>13</sup> *The Rose and Globe*, MOLA Monograph 48, pp.168-69.

The number of entries for nails, usually bought in hundreds, suggests that a time was required for manufacture and low levels of stockholding were maintained by local ironmongers. An alternative explanation may very well be that Henslowe was an interfering client, always fussing about the works and being a nuisance, was sent-off to buy a modest quantity of nails whenever his presence became intolerable. I have known this to occur on building sites today.

The *Diary* gives us information on the cost of changing the Rose Theatre layout which is evidenced in the archaeology; the work recorded took place in 1592 and was taken up again in 1595.<sup>14</sup> Unfortunately part of leaf five has been torn away and we cannot be certain of how much has been lost in the record as a result but on the evidence very little since Henslowe's summation is very close to the noted amounts. The extant record is also confusing: leaf 2 verso lists expenditure on the playhouse in Lent 1595 (lent ran from 25 February to Easter on 20 April in 1595), leaf 4 (both sides) lists costs on the playhouse in 1592 and this appears to run on to leaf 5 (recto) but page 5 (verso) begins with expenditures dated in six places as March and April 1591 and carries a subtotal of £103. 2s. 3d. before going on to list further items for the 'sealing the room over the tyrehouse' and 'my lords room' and for a pentice roof over the tiring house door. The top of 5 (verso) reads as though it was to suppliers for the settlement of outstanding accounts, if so the March and April 1591 dates must be the commencement of the account rather than the settlement date. On leaf 2v Henslowe notes another £8.19s.od but sums the total as £108. 19s. od. And this would seem to be a misremembered carry forward of his 1592 sub-total of £103. 2s. 3d. and does not include the £4.18s 0d. spent in the tiring house, which may be more as it is on the torn-off page, though it does not continue to the next

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<sup>14</sup> *Henslowe*, pp. 9-13 for 1592 and pp. 6-7 for 1595.

page. A James Borne is also paid at the end of the works for the 'use of Henry Adams' and this suggests a clerk of works to supervise the works. He was paid £3.8s.0d., perhaps ten week's work. It might well be that he was brought in to speed the work that was falling behind schedule.

In another entry Henslowe 'Paid unto my workmen for a week's wages £6'. This indicates that about twenty men were working on the site. He does not otherwise pay large lump sum wages and so this looks like a bonus week to speed the works, or possibly to celebrate his daughter's nuptial. It is too early in the schedule to have been a bonus for Christmas working but it might well have been a celebration of the family wedding. It is heartening to think that Henslowe experienced the same difficulties we experience today in getting builders to finish on time, but nicer to think of the father wanting to share his celebration of his daughter's marriage.

Altogether I think the account shows £103. 2s 3d in the main 1592 conversion contract and £13.17s. 0d in direct works including, in 1595 plain boarding the front of the lower gallery which he describes as 'calme bordes', designed no doubt to stop people climbing into the galleries.<sup>15</sup> From the different accounts we may read that the 1592 works drew heavily on cash reserves and that certain work was done using local tradesmen to save money or limit costs and the 1595 works were carried out when the playhouse was earning money again following the long 1593–1594 plague closure.

The *Diary* tells us nothing more about the building works but the Henslowe Alleyn collection at Dulwich College does have the building contract for the Fortune Theatre (muniment 22) with the principle dimensions and this is included in Foakes's

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<sup>15</sup> *Henslowe*, p. 6.

transcription of the *Diary*.<sup>16</sup> It gives some information on the stage which it says:

And which stage shall contain in length forty and three foot of lawful assize  
and in breadth shall extend to the middle of the yard of the said house.<sup>17</sup>

The sketches below show the Rose phase 1 (1587–1592), the Rose phase two (1592–*c.* 1601) and the Fortune Theatre (1600–1621). The archaeology of the west half of the Rose gives us a picture of the polygonal theatre, with external sides of about a rod in length (16ft 6ins or 5.03m). The second phase of the Rose is clearly moving towards the square shape of the Fortune contract as generally interpreted:

The frame of the said house to be set square and to contain fourscore of lawful assize  
everyway square without and fifty-five foot of the like assize every way within,<sup>18</sup>

This is usually taken at face value to represent a square building with a rectangular stage 43ft. (13.1m) wide by 27ft. 6ins. (8.4m) deep (less any projection of the tiring house). It is possible, however, that the term ‘every way’ is intended to convey a polygon measured across the sides rather than measured across the junctions of the sides and the term ‘square’ simply refers to the frame being made with the joints well-made, using square as a carpentry term. There is a palpable concern in the contract about the strength of the building:

[...] make all the said frame in every point for scantlings [width and thickness of timbers] larger and bigger in assize than the Scantlings of the timber of the said new erected playhouse called the Globe.<sup>19</sup>

This concern no doubt follows memory of the collapse of the Bear Gardens in 1583, and probably their experience of the extended Rose and its weaker overall structural shape. The phrase extend to ‘the middle of the yard’ is also usually taken literally but it might indicate a tapered stage, the sides being defined by lines at each end of the

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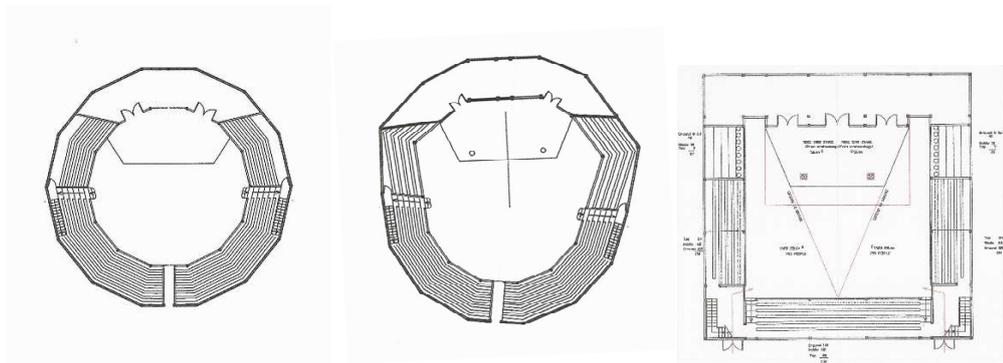
<sup>16</sup> *Henslowe*, pp. 306-15.

<sup>17</sup> *Henslowe*, p. 308.

<sup>18</sup> *Henslowe*, p. 307.

<sup>19</sup> *Henslowe*, p. 309.

43ft. upstage width and extended to the centre of the far side of the yard. This gives a stage shape and size very close to that of the second phase of the Rose and avoids the long narrow areas of the yard, only 6ft. (1.8m) wide either side of the rectangular stage. Only excavation of the Fortune will resolve the actual intent of the contract, which originally had a plan of the stage and tiring house (now lost) but the need for a plan might suggest a tapered stage as the rectangular one is self-evident from its dimensions.



*Fig. 12. Sketch plans of the Rose phase 1, Rose phase 2 and the Fortune. Author's sketch. More detailed plans setting out the seating and income calculations are given in Appendix 1.*

Seating capacities are calculated from the space allocations allowed in width and row spacing and for standing in the 1605 design for a temporary theatre at Christ Church Hall, Oxford.<sup>20</sup> The row to row dimensions are those of the 'second rank of seats' (below the Ladies and the King's servants): 1ft 6ins. (46cms.) enlarged by 1.75 inch (3cms) for a wider bench seat in response to the 'luxury' ascribed to the theatres. Width of seat allowed along the benches is 20.5 inches (52cms.), again slightly wider than that allowed for the second rank seats (46cms.). The wider seat allowance is because people in a theatre on a general occasion will space themselves further apart than for the 'special occasion' of a king's visit as at Oxford when the importance of being present might excuse some discomfort. The two-penny rooms allow 2ft.

<sup>20</sup> Foakes *Illus.*, pp. 58-61, item 27.

(61cms.) row to row and in seat width along the row. Standing is allowed at 3sq.ft of yard area (3.5 persons/sq.m.), the same as the 1605 temporary theatre. From this it is possible to estimate the capacities of the three theatres as:

	<i>2d. places</i>	<i>1d. places</i>	<i>groundlings</i>	<i>Total</i>
Rose, phase 1	120	798	413	1,331
Rose, phase 2	120	826	560	1,506
Fortune	80	760	795	1,635

Clearly the capacities are mostly enlarged in the yard with the later Fortune Theatre reducing the top price places, responding to the anticipated success of the large second Blackfriars offering many seats in an indoor setting for those who can afford it. Taking the theatre owner's income to be half the seating capacity and the acting company's income to be the balance of the galleries and 1d for everyone entering the theatre then the comparative potential incomes, per performance, are as follows:<sup>21</sup>

	<i>Theatre Owner</i>	<i>Acting Company</i>
Rose, phase 1	519d = £2. 3s. 3d.	1,850d. = £7.14s. 2d.
Rose, phase 2	533d = £2. 4s. 5d.	2,039d. = £8. 9s.11d.
Fortune	460d = £1.18s.4d.	2,095d. = £8.14s. 5d.

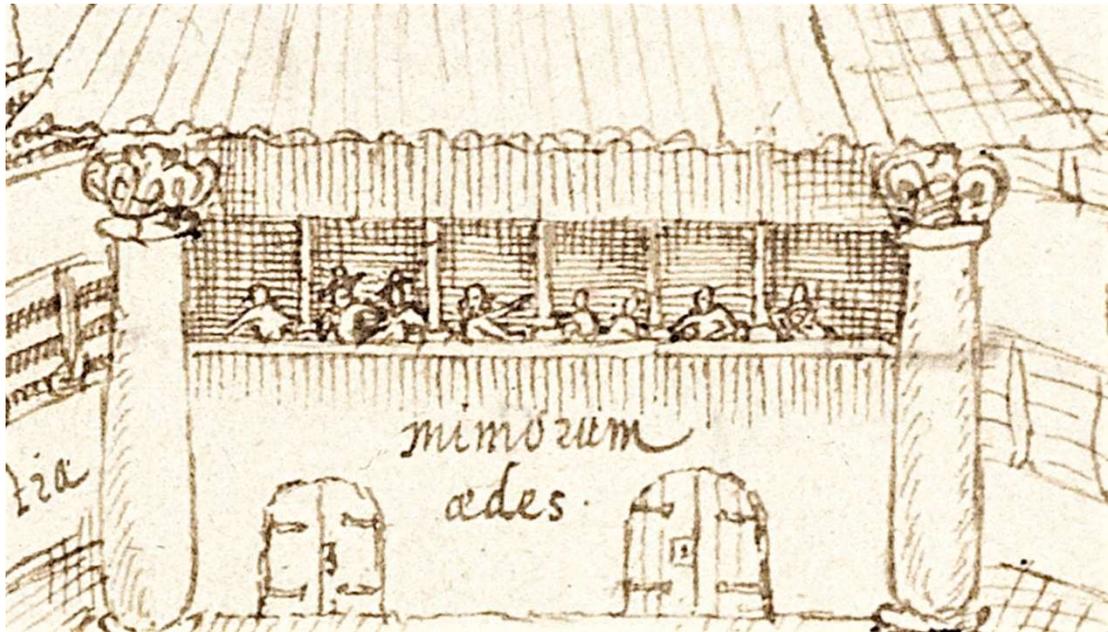
There are in addition perhaps eight seats in the 'gentlemen's rooms' but the cost of these places is variously given and there is no clarity as to whether that money was collected by the theatre owner of the acting company, or indeed if the seat was charged to a patron or friend of a patron. The 'lords' rooms' might add 2s.0d. or 4s.0d. to the owner's and to the company's potential receipts if charged at 6d or 1s. When a new play is introduced (or a revival after a long period of absence from the repertoire) and in the week following Easter and Whit Sundays the prices were

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<sup>21</sup> The sums paid and the allocation between the theatre owner and acting company are taken from the 'Sharer's Papers of 1635, *EPT*, pp. 616-19, item 475.

doubled and the Henslowe proportion of the take after 1592 was, therefore potentially £2. 4s. 5d or £4. 8s.10d. The combined potential income for the Rose, after 1592, is £10. 3s. 6d. within Samuel Keichal's estimate of £10–£12.<sup>22</sup>

The subject of the lord's rooms is complex. The Swan drawing clearly shows rooms with well to do patrons above and behind the stage, but the Hope theatre building contract specifies the 'gentlemens room's' as being in the lowest storey. I take the view that the Hope position may refer to the two-penny gallery or reflects the need in a baiting arena to be closer to the action and that the Swan position is the usual theatre position for the Lord's Rooms.



*Fig. 13. Swan Theatre 'frons scena' boxes two and six show better dressed persons.*<sup>23</sup>

Interestingly the second Rose only increased the standing space in the yard by 150 people and left the seating capacity almost unchanged. The Fortune theatre of 1600, that was more immediately Alleyn's theatre (it was built on his land and he was a partner with Henslowe in the building contract), appears to have been designed

<sup>22</sup> See page 150 in this chapter.

<sup>23</sup> Detail from A. van Buchell's drawing of the Swan theatre, courtesy of the University of Utrecht Library.

to have a similar seating capacity but an even larger yard for the groundlings, adding a further 230 people. These changes surely indicate that Alleyn's company liked to play to the groundlings and this is consistent with the fact that his company, even after his final retirement, did not create an indoor theatre unlike the Globe's King's Men who also had the Blackfriar's Theatre from 1609.

As we have found at the Globe reconstruction in Southwark, playing to the groundlings is easier and more immediate than playing to the gallery in these outdoor playhouses; more immediate and more readily enjoyed by the audience as a whole, but that it is sensitive to the level of occupation, forming a responsive group when people are close together and less responsive when space allows people to stand apart. This last point is important for it means that the acting company were confident of filling the larger yard to a level sufficient to ensure a responsive group. At the modern Globe the yard can hold 44% of the total capacity. Apart from my own experiment with the modern Rose theatre in Kingston, arranged in yard format in 2003, that theatre has never been tried with a standing audience but the stage, designed to fit productions from present day thrust forms, is rather smaller than the Elizabethan Rose stage and at Kingston the yard takes 36% of total capacity. Both the modern Rose and Globe are achingly empty with only a quarter of their yard capacity filled. It is clear that the early playhouses were aware of the danger of too big a yard. This is knowledge the playing companies would have gained from countless market-place stages and the need to draw audiences close to the stage, a technique still used by fairground barkers and market-traders today, in order to make the strongest connection to their audience. The fact that the second phase of the Rose and the Fortune theatre enlarged the yards suggests that these theatres were very popular with the groundlings, achieving a higher proportion of the standing capacity than the seated capacity. As these variations are impossible to estimate in Appendix

One extrapolations assume an equal capacity throughout the house derived from the proportion of the gallery capacity recorded in the *Diary*. It is therefore likely that the estimated acting company's take is marginally lower than their actual return.

### **The Rose Theatre Building**

In Appendix One I set out plans for the Rose in 1587 and as modified in 1592. The drawings show half the plan of the theatre at ground floor level with the patrons indicated and a section showing the sightlines on the centre line. The sightlines become steeper as one moves around the building towards the stage, as the vertical distant remains the same but the horizontal distance progressively shortens. Thus, in the top gallery to the side of the stage, only the front row could see the stage by leaning over the balustrade but on the centre line there is room for three rows of seats before headroom is obstructed by the roof beams. Similarly, the floor-to-ceiling height in the middle gallery limited the number of rows. The 1599 Fortune contract specified that the galleries of that theatre should contain 12ft (3.66m) in height in the lower or first storey, 11ft (3.36m) in the second storey and 9ft (2.75m) in the third or upper storey.<sup>24</sup> The same dimensions are given in the contract for the lowest storey of the Hope theatre of 1613 so that we can be reasonably sure that these were the dimensions also for the Rose.<sup>25</sup> From the sightline drawing it is clear that these were the obverse of the dimensions that one would use to maximise seating. Why were they adopted? The answer may be that they were typical dimensions for a London house, the lower floor being tall for the workshop and shop, the middle, comfortable for the family living space, and the top floor as sleeping quarters for apprentices and servants. In wooden houses of the period the kitchens were usually separate

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<sup>24</sup> Julian Bowsher and Pat Miller, *The Rose and the Globe playhouses*, MOLA monograph 48, p. 169.

<sup>25</sup> J. R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (eds), *Shakespeare's Globe Rebuilt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 185-6.

buildings, set apart from the house, so that a fire in the most likely source, the kitchen, did not burn down the whole house with it. One can see the same arrangement today in wooden Caribbean houses.

Henslowe's accounts for the Rose theatre on 24 February 1591 (seven days into Lent) showed receipts of 150d, for Easter Monday (27 March 1591) 660d, and for the day following 816d. The most Henslowe recorded is 864d for what looks to be a first revival performance of Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus* on Monday 30 September 1594. Prices doubled for new plays, at least by 1584, when Samuel Kiechel a German merchant wrote about the playhouses:

Comedies are given daily. It is particularly mirthful to behold, when the Queen's comedians act, but annoying to a foreigner who does not know the language, that he understands nothing. There are some peculiar houses, which are so made as to have about three galleries over one another, in as much as a great number of people always enter in to see such an entertainment. It may well be that they take as much as from 50 to 60 dollars [£10 to £12] at once, especially when they act anything new, which has not been given before, and double prices are charged. This goes on every day in the week; even though performances are forbidden on Friday and Saturday, it is not observed.<sup>26</sup>

Kiechel's 'peculiar houses' are presumably the Theatre and Curtain (possibly also Newington Butts) as the only playhouses in being in 1584, as far as we know.

Henslowe's 864d for a first performance would equate to an audience receipt of 432d on an ordinary day or 81% of my estimated capacity of 533d (£2. 4s. 5d). The figure of 564d appears five times in Henslowe's daily records and it is tempting to think that this might be the house owner's maximum financial capacity of the Rose at the lower prices. Perhaps they pushed more people onto the bench seating and had additional stools in the 2d. rooms? Or, if the Gentlemen's Rooms were also

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<sup>26</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 358.

shared with Henslowe the additional 2s.0d. would bring my estimated financial capacity to 557d, just seven people short of Henslowe's recorded 564d. In Appendix One I have taken any Henslowe record over £2.4s.0d. to indicate a 2d. entry price and of course any play marked 'ne' for a new play.

The company must have made any decision about the entry price in advance of posting the bills for the performance and I assume any gallery-take close to the maximum capacity was probably pre-advertised as to be charged at the higher rate, or there would have been a large number of irate potential patrons at the door.

There are references to the Elizabethan playhouses holding 3,000 people and one to the fencing school theatre in Nuremburg, also at 3,000.<sup>27,28</sup> In recent years, however, in a casual conversation with an Italian colleague at Warwick University, Leila Zammar, when she said she used the same '3,000 figure' to represent a large number. And that, I think, is what the 3,000 figure represents – an illustrative large number of people at the theatres rather than an actual capacity. The estimated house with yard and galleries full, held 1,331 people in the first Rose and 1,506, after 1592. Gurr points to references suggesting the actual figure for attendances at a performance was nearer a thousand, as recorded by John Davies a law student and strongly implied in a quotation from Middleton and Dekker's *The Roaring Girl*.<sup>29</sup> *The Roaring Girl* reference implies 1,000 people in the audience at the Fortune in 1611. Given that theatres were not always full this would seem to support an estimate of 66% attendance at the second Rose and slightly less as the Fortune (61%) was bigger in yard capacity. It also suggests a 75% capacity at the first Rose and surely the reason for the increase in phase two. An average of 64% of capacity is the mean

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<sup>27</sup> Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage*, p. 261.

<sup>28</sup> June Schlueter, 'The Earliest Nuremberg Playbill', *Theatre Notebook* 67 (3) (2013), p. 143.

<sup>29</sup> Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage*, p. 268.

figure achieved by modern day larger producing theatres, though the most successful in London average over 90%.<sup>30</sup> The Rose occupation figure drops to 55% of capacity during the second phase period of records, due to competition from the Swan theatre. The arrival of the Globe as well no doubt precipitated the building of the Fortune theatre in Finsbury, just north of the City.

The cost of the 1592 modification works was sub-totalled by Henslowe at £103. 2s. 3d. This figure includes that the unpriced ironmongery and timber items were carried forward on account and included in the settlement of those accounts at the top of the *Diary* page 5v. The merchant accounts and borrowing are equal to 15% of the total. The works involved changing about half the theatre but a great deal of the material was re-used. There were clearly some post-contract works for sealing the room over the tiring house and sealing 'my lords room'.<sup>31</sup> A penthouse shelter was also built over the tiring house door, typically using 'old timber' for the artists and backstage staff entrance, all theatres have a disparity between the quality of the backstage and front of house (public) areas. The further works were priced at £4.18s.0d. but the page is torn off at the bottom and the list may be longer. That 5% of the works should be outstanding after summation of the account in March and April suggest both a shortage of money and time pressures. Perhaps the most surprising aspect of the account is that Henslowe recorded only £1.6s 0d. for painters. It looks likely that there must have been further post-contract painting work and that this was recorded on the missing portion of the page. In 1595 Henslowe spent more money on his playhouse, including £4.10s.0d. on painting. The shortage of money is also attested in the main works account, for Henslowe has an entry for repaying his cousin 'adren' £29.10s.0d.

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<sup>30</sup> UK Theatre, analysis of sample theatre returns 2016/17 (unpublished industry figures).

<sup>31</sup> *Henslowe*, p. 13.

Three years later in 1595, in the period of Lent (the Rose was closed from 15 March to 19 April), Henslowe had further works carried out. For these he also scheduled his purchases, which consisted of the application of large quantities of Elm wood boards and spikes, painting and a new floor to the yard. I interpret the boards as paling in the lowest gallery and the spikes for the rail at the top, to prevent people climbing over the balustrade, in order to evade the gatherers at the entry to the galleries. The work was summed by Henslowe as costing £108.19s.0d., but addition of the component costs show an expenditure of only £8.19s.0d, I think the additional £100 is an imperfectly remembered cost for the 1592 works, in which case he perceived the 1595 work as completion of the improvements that he could not afford three years earlier. The account is followed by an entry for the cost of the carpenters' work making and installing the throne in the heavens at a cost of £7.2s.0d.<sup>32</sup> This must have been the machine by which gods were lowered to the stage or suspended magnificently above the mortals below.

The question as to why these expensive re-configuration works were undertaken at all needs to be addressed. Two objectives seem to be clear from study of the sketch section above. The first is the enlargement of the yard area, referred to above as being in the ethos of Alleyn's playing style and as a means of increasing the acting company's income without adding to Henslowe's. There is, however, because the stage was moved backwards, also a considerable improvement in the sightlines from a good proportion of the middle and upper galleries and there might have been an addition to the middle-price audience seating capacity by adding a short row between the roof beams in three bays of the top gallery opposite the stage. There would have been a small loss in audibility with the increased distance of the stage

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<sup>32</sup> *Henslowe*, p. 7.

from these spectators, about 5ft 6ins (1.68m). For comparison this longer distance is very close to that of the present Globe reconstruction. All versions of Elizabethan theatres, as far as we can tell so far, placed their audience within the distance in which a visual and audio signal (with very different transmission speeds) remain apparently in synchronisation to the human brain (about 20 metres). This is important to speech clarity as we use visual signals to interpret audio ones. It is a truism of theatre that if you cannot see, you cannot hear, at least with the same attention and comprehension.

### **The capital cost and finance of the Rose Theatre**

The Rose theatre is unique for us in having the contract for its capital financing. This document is in the Dulwich College collection of Edward Alleyn papers, where it is numbered Muniment 16. Here I have used Martin Clouts's transcription as printed in MOLA Monograph 48.<sup>33</sup> The agreement was between Phillippe Hinchley [sic] citizen and Dyer of London and John Cholmley, citizen and Grocer of London:

for the great zeale and good will that is between them and to the intent that they may the better increase their substance.

It is dated 10 January 1586 and confirms, under seal, a partnership agreement for eight years and three months from that date, of a lease for a parcel of ground 94ft x 94ft (28.67m x 28.67m) lying adjacent to a tenement in the possession of John Cholmley, lying by Maiden Lane with a right of access from Rose Alley. The tenement was used for the storage of victuals or other goods. The contract confirms Cholmley's tenancy of the tenement for the lease period, after which he is to vacate and have no further interest in the partnership or lease. It confirms that a playhouse was currently in framing by John Griggs and would shortly be erected on the demised parcel of land. The agreement required that the profits from the playhouse

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<sup>33</sup> *The Rose and the Globe*, MOLA monograph 48, pp. 164-66.

arising from 'any play or plays that shall be shown' were to be shared equally between them, and that John Cholmley was to have sole rights to the sale of food and beverages on the demised lands and playhouse.

The agreement stipulated that John Cholmley was to pay for a 'yearly annuity the sum of £816 pounds' in thirty-three equal quarterly payments of £25 10s. 0d. commencing on 24 June 1587. Henslowe was to repair all wharves and bridges on the demised parcel of land until 29 September 1587 and thereafter the cost of their maintenance of these and of the playhouse was to be shared between the partners. The agreement was to continue to heirs and administrators in the event of the death of either party but would terminate in the event of Cholmley failing to pay the required £25.10s within 21 days of the due date. Henslowe was to pay all ground rents required to the landlord and lord of the manor, no doubt to protect his longer-term interest in the property.

The contract is a mine of information. Cholmley was there to ensure repayment of the original annuity loan, that is a sum of money advanced to the borrower and to be repaid at a rate of interest and capital. The capital borrowed for the annuity was almost certainly £447 at an interest rate of 10% per annum on the capital sum, compound interest and reducing balance interest were not usually used at this time. Repayments on that sum would have totalled £815.15s.6d. over the period of eight years and one quarter, leaving a surplus of 4s.6d. which allowed for rounded sums for the repayments of £25.10s.0d. per quarter. The precision of the sum of £447 suggests that the annuity was entered into to meet the quotation by John Griggs for the fully finished playhouse 'with all furniture thereunto belonging or appertaining'.<sup>34</sup> The agreement was dated January 1586 assumes that the loan was

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<sup>34</sup> *The Rose and Globe Playhouses*, MOLA monograph 48, p. 165.

not drawn down until then or it would have been unsecured by Cholmley. Either Griggs did not require partial payment before that date though the agreement states 'now in framing' or that Henslowe was able to finance the first payment to Griggs on account. The latter seems much more likely given that the order for the framing had been placed before the partnership agreement guaranteeing the annuity was signed, and we know that, for the Fortune and the Hope theatres, part payments were made in advance. Whether the part payment was additional to the capital cost is not certain, but I think that a total cost of £447 was the likely contract sum for the theatre. The 1600 Fortune contract is for a simpler shape building at a cost of £440 but excluding plastering some rooms and any painting and the 1613 Hope contract is for £360 but with a quantity of second-hand materials (though it also requires kennels and bull pens to be built in addition to the theatre).

The Rose was anticipated to be completed by 29 September 1587 as from that date the partners were to share maintenance costs. The agreement also tells us that the partners jointly were to appoint the playing companies to use the playhouse and both had the right to issue complimentary entry to their friends. It is less clear on the division of the income from the playhouse between the players and owners, and here we must presume that the owners drew the half of the gallery income from information in the Burbages' disputes with the sharers, very much later in 1635. In that case Cuthbert Burbage said that in the early days of the Theatre the owners took all the galleries. Was that the position at the Rose? The agreement specified that the partners should appoint persons to 'collect gather and receive all such sums of money of every person and persons coming and resorting to the said playhouse'. The money gatherers were thus ostensibly the owners' agents rather than the playing company's. One suspects that this arrangement was modified in practice given the high proportion of the income belonging to the actors that was taken at the first entry. A

system by which the acting company collected the first penny (in which the owners had no share) and shared or policed the gathering of the second and third payments is more likely in practice. I shall suggest in chapter four that the change noted in the 'Sharer's Papers' from the theatre owner keeping all the gallery takings to division of the gallery receipts took place only when playing only on Sundays and holy days was changed to playing any day except Sunday (though both rules were probably ignored when possible). More frequent playing would have given more income to the owner to offset his capital investment so that the proportion of the money for the owner could be reduced on each performance whilst the playing company would receive more and could invest all its time in the theatre rather than trying to find additional money from evening performances during the week.

The figures recorded by Henslowe, compared to the estimated capacity, suggest that by 1591 the actors and Henslowe alone were sharing the gallery take or that Cholmley was silently sharing half the galleries post Henslowe's recording of the gallery take. The agreement between Cholmley and Henslowe would have ended on 29 September 1595 and there was no sudden increase in Henslowe's returns, rather the reverse, they seem to be lower. I believe this may be due to the opening of the Swan theatre 400 metres away at Paris Garden where there was also a far better Thameside landing place. I shall return later to the Swan as competition.

Philip Henslowe had purchased the lease of the Little Rose estate, on which the theatre and other properties were to be built, on 24 March 1584 (effectively 1585 as that year started the next day) with twenty-and-a-half years remaining on the lease at a rent of £7 per annum.<sup>35</sup> Within 21 months he had negotiated the capital loan and its guarantor and contracted for the playhouse. At some time in 1585 the news of

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<sup>35</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 406.

Henslowe's intention to build a playhouse might have been a contributory reason for the Theatre and the Curtain theatres, in north London, to pool their takings in anticipation of a fragmentation of audiences and revenues.<sup>36</sup> We do not learn of that agreement until a legal dispute in 1592 and the reason for the arrangement is never stated but the association of events seems significant. The information, no doubt, reached the Burbages through John Griggs the carpenter for the Rose, and possibly also the carpenter for the Theatre. A John Griggs, in 1592, gave evidence in the Miles versus Burbage case about the funding of the construction of the Theatre. Griggs would have been 26 years of age in 1575 (from his deposition evidence) and, he said the Brayne hired workmen to build the Theatre and that he, Griggs, had known Burbage for some years before that time. If Griggs was a carpenter working on the Theatre he would have been the natural choice for Henslowe when he came to order the Rose twelve year later.

John Cholmley was presumably chosen to act as a substantial guarantor as security for the capital loan secured by an annuity. It is noteworthy that two Grocers are associated with the more successful theatre enterprises, here at the Rose and, earlier, John Brayne at the Theatre. A Richard Hicks is also a freeman of the Grocers Company and the name appears as the leaseholder of the Newington Butts theatre, though no association can be proven. A Richard Hicks is also a tenant on the Curtain estate where the Curtain Theatre was to be built. John Hyde who provided the mortgage for the Theatre was a grocer. John Hemmings of the Lord Chamberlain's Men appears as the administrator of that company and he, too, was a grocer.

Why grocers should be seen to have an especial security is not immediately clear. It could stem from the fact that food is a basic requirement for all, and they are

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<sup>36</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 402.

therefore proof against many of the risks of retailing fluctuation in less essential commodities. However, there is a possibility that the grocers identified in the theatre business were from the spice and apothecary wing of the Grocers' Company. The Society of Apothecaries did not get its separate patent until 1617 and a few years later was to have their hall in the building that formed the first Blackfriars Theatre, still the site of its hall today. Spicers and apothecaries dealt in products with extensive shelf-lives and very high profit margins. Their capital was thus very stable and their available cash reserves likely to be substantial. In the days before banking they must have been a readily available source of risk capital. The spice and apothecary merchants wing of the Grocers' Company were particularly prevalent in a street called Bucklersbury and we know that John Brayne lived in that street but it is impossible to know if the other grocers identified were also spicers and apothecaries.

John Cholmley may have been a particularly strong guarantor. The name is common and was found all over the country in a variety of spellings, the most common being Cholmeley. This spelling was generally used by the north Yorkshire branch, where in 1609, Sir Richard Cholmeley permitted a play containing 'much poperie'.<sup>37</sup> There was one Cholmley family in London at St. Martin's, Ludgate, and residing in Old Bailey, Ludgate, where I think we can find our John Cholmley. He was a distant relative Sir Roger Cholmley, Recorder of London, and founder of Highgate School in 1565. Sir Roger in turn was the bastard son of Sir Richard Cholmeley of Yorkshire, grand-uncle of the play-giving Sir Richard mentioned above. What makes him particularly likely as the John Cholmley of the Rose is that he died young, writing his will on 12 December 1587. The will is bound about by conditions in his father, William's, will which is very concerned that all his heirs are

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<sup>37</sup> Siobhan Keenan, *Travelling Players in Shakespeare's England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 72.

in their minority. John Cholmley in turn appears to have died young leaving his estate to two under-age siblings, one of whom may be made a ward. Probate is not given until 1589 when one of the siblings Thomas is granted probate and has presumably reached his majority. If he is the John Cholmley of the Rose then his death in 1587 might reasonably excuse the lack of mention of Cholmley in the Henslowe papers. Two young men in their minority could not be expected to take on the food and beverage concession and I suspect the family opted out of the annuity guarantee agreement, possibly even before the September 1587 payment if John was ill. It is likely therefore that the annuity would be supported thereafter by Henslowe's proven record of success at the Rose though there is no evidence in the *Diary* to confirm this.

Why would the Cholmleys assist Henslowe and support John in what must have seemed a very risky venture? A particular association may be indicated in a transcript in the *Camden Miscellany*, volume two. It is of a petition from William Cholmley to King Edward VI in 1553.<sup>38</sup> In the petition, requesting that more woollen cloths are dyed in England rather than exported to the continent for dying, William Cholmley describes himself as a grocer in spices but says that some four years before he set up a dying works with a partner in Southwark and had developed a technique by which cloths may be dyed to the same quality and colour of those dyed in the Low Countries. He never mentions which parish in Southwark, or his partner's name, but he does mention that the dying works uses Thames water so we can be sure that it was beside the river or close to it. If we could find that his partner's name was

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<sup>38</sup> William Cholmeley, 'The request and suite of a true-hearted Englishman', ed. W. J. Thoms, *Camden Miscellany*, vol. II, 1853.

Woodward (or Henslowe) we would have the direct link for the capitalisation of the Rose. So far, however, I have been unable to establish that link.<sup>39</sup>

When John Chomley died, in 1587, Henslowe, now with a fully operational theatre, may have persuaded the lender that he should guarantee the annuity payment directly, or possibly a guarantee by mortgage was substituted. It would appear from the *Diary* records that Henslowe recorded the full product of the moiety of the galleries rather than the half of the moiety he would have enjoyed were the partnership still in existence. On the other hand, there are no records of catering income which Henslowe would surely have recorded alongside the box office returns

In modern terms we might expect a theatre with good catering facilities to generate a food and beverage turnover approaching that of the box office. I wonder if the acting company undertook the food and drink concession? Food and the noise of service in the auditorium are always a problem and I think the actors would prefer to have had control of the sellers so that a good scene did not get spoiled by too much noise. Looking at Appendix Three, the average play return is close to the break-even point and the additional catering income would have allowed the accumulation of capital that seems to have been experienced by the sharers in the acting companies. The outdoor playhouses seem to have had a catering unit built close-by, there is a house to the south of the Swan Theatre that looks similar in location to the Cholmley property at the Rose,<sup>40</sup> Hemmings owned a tavern on the Globe land, the original Theatre had a vintner in residence in the long barn beside it. One of the control issues for the theatre operator must have been people wanting to leave the theatre for refreshment or ablutions. In marshy Southwark the drainage ditches around each

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<sup>39</sup> Julian Bowsher and Pat Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, MOLA monograph 48, p.15 identify several dye-plant seed findings on Bankside and speculate that Henslowe may have bought the Rose site initially to grow such plants.

<sup>40</sup> Swan survey drawing (LMA SC/GL/PR/S2/PAR:GAR p5399478).

theatre ensured a secure containment and the 'Ingressus' found at the Rose may be to allow for these functions to take place outside the playhouse in the surrounding grounds and returning customers assumed to have paid. However, this method is unlikely in the dryer north London Theatre and Curtain and service within the auditorium would seem to be essential. The problem of going to the lavatory was amusingly dealt with by Walter Hodges who sketched a urinal trough in front of the stage and drained by the timber drain discovered at the Rose, surely this was not the actual solution adopted? The Rose ingressus is at the furthest point on the property from one of the surrounding ditch drains and seems an inappropriate location for this facility. The bridge entry to the Rose, under the watchful eye of a gatherer might be more appropriate, if far from our modern sense of propriety. It is of course possible that those who served the food and drinks also dealt with the piss-pots.

### **The Playhouse owner's revenue**

Here we have near certainty of information, subject only to Henslowe's rounded amounts in the record. For a limited period from February 1591, through the dreadful plague years of 1593 and 1594, until November 1597, Henslowe recorded his returns performance by performance, giving both the title of the play performed and his receipts for that performance. 'Near certainty' because on two occasions in January 1592 and four occasions in July 1596 dates are repeated but with different performances. The recorded payments are marked in orange in the date column of Appendix One. In most cases there were sufficient non-playing days nearby to assume that the dates were simply mistakes but the playing companies are generally recorded as taking one day off in a week or ten-day period. The 1592 mistake might simply require re-dating the last three days before the long closure for alterations to the Rose. The first in 1596 might require only correcting the second entry for 22 June to the 23 June and transposing that day to the apparently non-playing day on 24 June.

This would have given the actors a continuous ten days of playing, within their normal compass, and it was followed by three days of non-playing, so there was plenty of time to recover. Performances on 4, 5, 7, and 8 July appear to form an additional part week repeating previous dates and with no room to reposition them to non-playing days. It is possible that the dates from 9 July to 18 July were all mistakes for dates a week later. The record is suspended from 18 July until 26 October for a summer inhibition. Chambers notes an inhibition from the Privy Council to Middlesex and Surrey magistrates dated 22 July which suggests strongly that Henslowe simply confused the dates and actually ceased playing on 22 or 23 July.<sup>41</sup> From November 1597 Henslowe recorded returns without titles at, roughly, weekly intervals until July 1600 when one assumes that the Rose ceased to play, and the company moved to the new Fortune theatre. The table below, drawn from Appendix One, gives the totals of Henslowe's recorded returns:

<i>Julian Year</i>	<i>Playing weeks</i>	<i>Yearly total</i>	<i>Average weekly</i>
19/2 to 25/3/1591	5	£ 43.25	£ 8.65
26/3 to 22/6/1592	13	£139.38	£10.72
Modified playhouse			
29/12 to 1/2/1592	5	£ 48.95	£ 9.79
27/12/93 to 6/2/1593	6	£ 50.45	£ 8.41
1/4/94 to 14/3/1594	43	£368.55	£ 8.60
20/4/95 to 27/2/1595	37	£322.13	£ 8.71
12/4/96 to 22/3/1596	33	£226.46	£ 6.82*
28/3 to 4/3/1597	41	£193.72	£ 4.72
2/4 to 24/2/1598	46	£306.42	£ 6.66**
26/3 to 23/3/1599	33	£221.30	£ 6.71
30/3 to 13/7/1600	16	£ 96.90	£ 6.06

\*Henslowe begins to loan money to the acting company 24/1/1596

\*\*Henslowe notes he is getting the full return from his galleries 29/7/1598.

*Table 12. Henslowe's average weekly earnings from the Rose theatre, expressed in decimal pounds.*

In appendix 1 is a transcription of Henslowe's records which is then

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<sup>41</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 319, item civ.

converted to decimal (for ease of manipulation) and, using the seating capacities determined in the plans, are extended to give indicative incomes for the acting company and the number of people in the audience for each performance.

Henslowe's income is summed weekly on a Sunday (inclusive of any Sunday performance) and an annual cumulative figure carried to the March year end date or nearest period of closure of the playhouse. Henslowe appears to have summed his records at approximately weekly intervals on the Monday, but not always on regular days.

From 24 January 1596 until 5 November 1597 the Diary carries five columns of figures rather than the three (£. s. d.) before and after that time. Gregg noted that the fourth and fifth columns appeared to be entered at a different time as the ink or writing were different to the first three columns. The five columns are, I think, Henslowe's retained portion of the galleries, recorded in the first three columns and a loan to the company in the last two. The last two columns (shaded blue in Appendix One) were always lower in value than the first three and sometimes nil. Henslowe notes in July 1598 that he was again receiving the full return from his galleries but we cannot tell how much he loaned the acting company in his weekly records, after November 1597, as he does not record the information.

The extrapolated company receipts averaged £33.67 a week until the loan period but then averaged £24.96 until the end of the individual play receipts. The ten pounds a week average difference represented the borderline between a workable acting company (in this case the Admiral's Men) and one that was not meeting its operating costs. At the end of the individual play title records they had borrowed (if my interpretation of the five column entries is correct) more than £38 from

Henslowe's portion of the galleries and the Admiral's Men have amalgamated with Pembroke's Men.

<i>Julian Year</i>	<i>Playing weeks</i>	<i>Yearly total</i>	<i>Average weekly</i>
19/2/91 to 25/3/1591	5	£ 154.47	£30.89
26/3/92 to 22/6/1592	13	£ 487.69	£37.51
Modified playhouse			
29/12/92 to 1/2/1592	5	£ 187.11	£37.42
27/12/93 to 6/2/1593	6	£ 191.09	£31.85
1/4/94 to 14/3/1594	43	£1,387.09	£32.26
20/4/95 to 27/2/1595	37	£1,262.94	£34.13
12/4/96 to 22/3/1596	33	£ 911.03	£27.61*
28/3/97 to 4/3/1597	42	£ 908.09	£21.62
2/4/98 to 24/2/1598	46	£1,172.05	£25.48**
26/3/99 to 23.3.1599	33	£ 846.47	£25.65
30/3/1600 to 13/7/1600	16	£ 370.64	£23.17

\*Henslowe begins to loan money to the acting company 24/1/1596

\*\* Henslowe notes he is getting all his galleries 25/7/1598

*Table 13. The acting companies' estimated average weekly earnings from the Rose expressed in decimal pounds.*

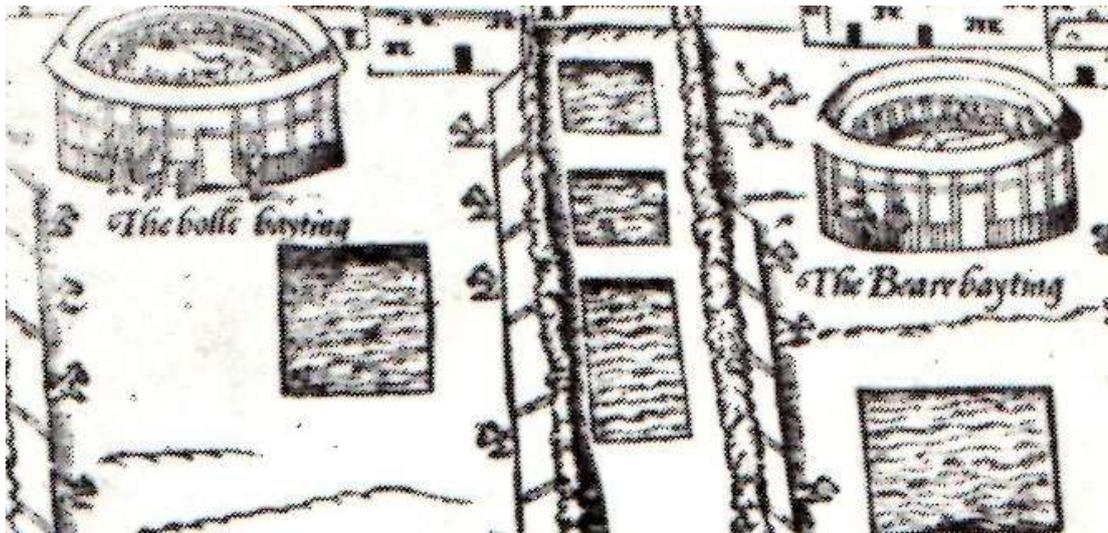
Though unrecorded, it is clear that the loan went on with the combined company until July 1598. From April to July 1598 the Admiral's company paid Henslowe £56.20, presumably for the accumulated debt, both the £38 recorded and the un-recorded loans in the latter part of 1597. It can be estimated from the level of the recorded loan (£38 pounds accumulated over 26 weeks) that the cost of the company must have been about £25 a week when playing. These figures seem rather higher than the £3 a day, £18-21 a week) estimated by the King's Men in the 'Sharer's Papers' dispute of 1635 but the Admiral's men at the Rose were not drawing stipends from the Court as the King's Men were, nor did they enjoy so many appearances at Court during the winter festivities. It is also possible that the 'sharers' were estimating theoretical returns across a full playing year rather than the Admiral's Men who frequently faced summer inhibitions.

### **Competition on Bankside**

When the Rose was built the bankside entertainments consisted of animal baiting and walking in the fields, a relief from the bustle of London. We forget how much people walked, the crowded streets of London were not provided with a taxi service such as that provided by the watermen on the river so that most journeys in London were on foot. Henslowe kept a horse, it was sent to grass (retirement?) in the spring of 1600, but the use of a horse in London (especially if you lived south of the river) was probably more tedious than using a wherry across the river and walking.<sup>42</sup> In a similar way we tend to ignore how much time people spent standing. To us sitting is the normal condition at home and in much of our work. Chairs are designed for comfort in repose or to support the back during office work. In the sixteenth century most sitting was done on benches or stools, only the most senior people in a home or workplace would sit in a chair with a back and with arms. When the galleries in theatres are described they are described as 'standings' rather than sitting spaces, and they might be just that, benchless raised platforms (presumably tiered). In the additional 1d. 'quiet standing' we do hear of a seat with a cushion, but we can comfort ourselves that the Swan drawing appears to show bench seating in the ordinary galleries and the Fortune building contract confirms that benches were provided through all the galleries. The bear baiting arenas may not have been so well furnished. In the Agas drawing the one or two persons in the stands are literally standing. The figures shown standing outside must be representational of the inside as, given the depth of the building (evidenced by the pitched roof), no-one could actually see from the outside. People appear to have stood against a paled, quite high balustrading.

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<sup>42</sup> *Henslowe*, p. 53.



*Fig. 14. Detail from the 'Agas' map Civitas Londinum showing the baiting areas  
(Foakes Illustrations, p. 7)*

This makes sense as they had to be able to see the whole arena to follow the action, peering at the dogs just in front of them as well as those on the other side of the arena. The galleries would have been narrower to help the spectators get close to the front rail. An archaeological anomaly in the partial excavation of the Hope theatre shows three foundation walls in parallel, suggesting a narrow forward standing position for baiting events and a deeper theatre gallery. When the theatres were described as 'luxurious', the principal thought might have been that one could sit during the entertainment, just as courtiers did at masks.

The map below, drawn by John Norden about 1600, shows the Swan, the Bear Garden, the Globe and the Rose (incorrectly labelled the 'Stare'). The major landing places on Bankside were Paris Garden Steps, the Falcon and St Mary Overie. Paris Garden Steps had a large landing stage to give a dry and convenient landing place at any state of the tide. The Falcon, was equipped with mooring posts and, I presume, a shingle or boarded path, and St Mary Overie was a stair and dock. The Bear Gardens and Bank End are more likely to be less formal places. It may have been possible to land elsewhere (Horse Shoe Alley to the right of Bear Gardens for example) but it would have been likely to be a muddy scramble up the embankment

except at high tide. Paris Garden Steps was the most important landing place for Bankside as it was closest to the Temple and the other Inns of Court, just left of Whitefriars on the north bank.

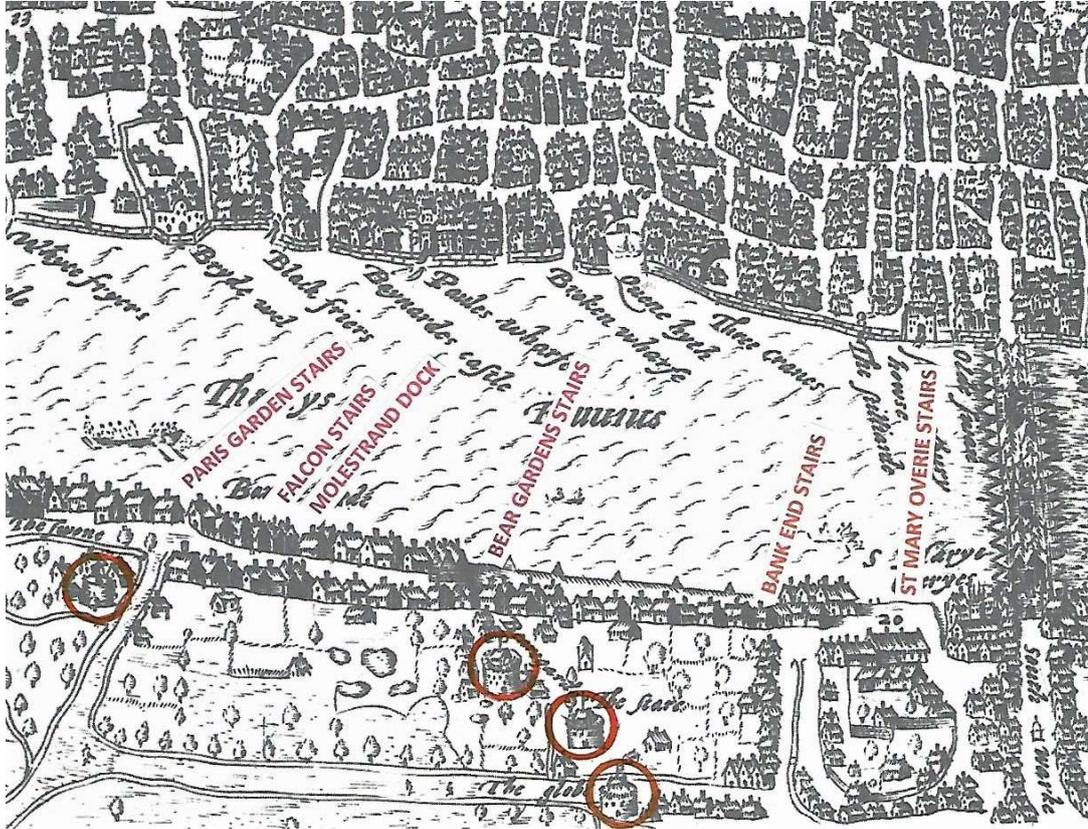


Fig. 15. Bankside showing the Swan, bear garden, Rose and Globe theatres and landing places.<sup>43</sup>

Westminster and the main courtier houses lay further west on the bend of the river, just seen to be beginning at the left end of Bankside. These were the shortest crossings, beloved of watermen as they were the shortest ‘pull’ for the oarsman. To the right side is London Bridge and beyond this the turbulent waters of the bridge in full ebbtide flow. Passing under the bridge was dangerous in the extreme, except at the top and bottom of the tide, when the inflowing sea water balanced the flow of the river and for a short while the waters were calm.

<sup>43</sup> Foakes *Illus.*, p. 13. Vignette from the inset on the John Norden Map Civitas Londini, 1600.

*Henslowe's Diary and the Rose Theatre*

Week	Year	1591	1592	1593	1594	1595	1596	1597	1598	1599	1600
1			East 15.70								3.90 East 11.70
2			8.85		East 13.50			East 8.65		3.38 East 2.10	6.10
3			10.00				Swan Opens	5.15	2.85		3.40 5.50
4			10.42				East 8.40	5.45	6.18		13.35 6.70
5			13.60			East 13.30	4.35	6.15	East 2.63		13.80 4.50
6			10.13			11.05	9.90	8.25	4.13		11.25 4.35
7			Whit 14.35			11.65	8.40	7.00	5.65		8.50 4.75
8			13.73				11.55	9.30	4.90		9.00 Whit 12.20
9			10.70		Whit		10.30	11.00	Whit 11.50		3.23 Whit 11.55
10			4.10				11.15	3.30	8.25		2.63 10.40 4.85
11						3.30 Whit 16.50	Whit 14.00	11.00	5.83		16.60 6.35
12			12.15			4.45	9.80	8.55	9.05	Whit 3.80	3.65
13			9.30			10.65	3.60	8.55	5.75		5.35 7.10
14			5.25			10.10		10.65	5.45		5.91 5.40
15						7.48		4.15	5.70		2.58 4.60
16						11.45		4.50	8.05		4.60
17						10.60		6.20	4.60		
18						10.45		8.20	2.50		10.70
19						9.56			2.11		7.50
20						12.22					9.45
21						10.00					8.60
22						7.95		9.10			8.10
23						7.95		13.40			8.70
24						9.83		12.50			9.15
25						9.30		7.80			6.90
26						9.55		9.55			8.10
27						6.93		11.10			5.70
28						7.25		7.15			6.15
29						6.05		7.50			7.75
30						7.80		9.45			4.00
31						8.85		6.55			5.00
32						7.35		7.50			4.70
33						10.50		6.70			6.55
34						8.10		3.78			5.25
35						5.90		7.25			2.43
36						7.60		4.15			1.95
37						4.95		6.40			3.50
38						4.30		2.10			4.70
39						4.75		9.80			5.70
40						8.40		11.15			7.75
41						9.65		8.05			7.00
42						7.15		8.60			4.60
43						10.60		7.45			9.30
44						5.20		6.65			8.65
45						12.15		2.60			8.70
46								4.50			9.90
47											12.00
48											8.75
49											8.30
50											5.00
51											8.30
52											1.45
53											
Year			1592	1593	1594	1595	1596	1597	1598	1599	1600
Key			£1 - £4.99	£5 - £9.99	£10 - £14.99	£15 +					

Table 14. Graphic illustrating Henslowe's recorded weekly take at the Rose, expressed in decimal pounds.

The Rose was built in 1587 and had a unique position as a playhouse in sight of the City. Its competition was the Bear Gardens until the Swan was built by Francis Langley, goldsmith, in 1596. The Lord Mayor of London wrote to the Privy Council in November 1594 to warn them of the theatre that Langley intended to build and from this it is generally understood that the Swan opened in 1595. Looking at the returns for the Rose, I believe that we can date the opening at Easter 1596. The usual high returns (red and orange colours) do not appear at Easter 1596 in the graphic above and the explanation is almost certainly that the Swan opens in

competition in that week.<sup>44</sup> The Swan was surely not in competition the previous Christmas as the returns show a steady green and look similar to previous years. By Whitsun, 1596, seven weeks later, the orange returns to show an increased income, but they last only a short time. The available south bank audience had learnt to choose between the theatres and the total audience had probably grown a little with more places available and a choice of venues.

A plague inhibition prevented playing in mid-July until late October and there is another void in the *Diary* records of ten days in November 1596 after which Henslowe resumes the record with the words 'In the name of god Amen' a phrase he usually used only after a plague. The second, ten-day, gap in the records looks to be a period in which the Admiral's Men took stock of their new situation, for the incomes in the last part of October and the first weeks of November still only average £22.77, below the likely operating costs, though one expects that these had been trimmed as far as possible over the summer. From 17 January 1596, Henslowe makes loans to the company out of his share of the galleries, in varying amounts to make-up the operating shortfall each week. Perhaps the fragmentation of the acting company to form the new Swan company and the competition, caused the Admiral's Men to consider very carefully whether to continue at the Rose, hence Henslowe's 'thanks be to god' records both the end of the summer plague inhibition and the stability of his enterprise with its new weekly loan facility. It is just possible that the Swan opened in 1595, the weeks before lent look thin for the Rose compared to previous years but this was also a year that the Thames froze and this may have inhibited travel, or provided yet another entertainment to draw people away.

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<sup>44</sup> See Appendix 1, p. 16.

Returns fluctuated wildly in the period from Easter 1596 to Whitsun 1598, presumably depending on the relative popularity of the plays being presented at the two houses. We do not know by which company, in fact we know little about the Swan as there are few law cases that give us a description of the operation of that playhouse. We do know that, in February 1596 Pembroke's Men went to play there and demanded that Langley provide them with costumes and make improvements to the playhouse.<sup>45</sup> They confirm that Langley retained half of the gallery take, just a Henslowe did for the Rose. Pembroke's served Langley poorly: on 28 July 1597 they played a scurrilous play called the *Isle of Dogs*, it prompted an immediate response from the City and the same day from the Privy Council. The result was a requirement to the magistrates of Middlesex and Surrey to stop all playing and pull-down the Curtain playhouse: the latter requirement was not, of course, obeyed.<sup>46</sup> The Rose was shut for ten weeks, and one assumes that the Swan closed for at least the same time.

When playing resumed, the Rose attracted its usual October audience, a little tentative at first, but in the second week of November, returns plummeted. I suggest that the Swan remained closed until that time, though Robert Shaa and Gabriel Spencer, imprisoned in the Marshalsea for *The Isle of Dogs*, were released on 8 October.<sup>47</sup> They did not immediately begin playing and Langley sued them for non-performance of their undertaking to play for a year at the Swan. The case came to court in November 1597 and went on until May 1598 when the Court Ordered the case to cease. Langley must have found another company because the returns at the Rose are dire from November 1597 until the 19 July 1598. Henslowe then ceased to support the company revenues because the Rose has returned to profitability for the

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<sup>45</sup> *EPT*, pp. 441-46, item 355.

<sup>46</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, pp. 322-23, item cx.

<sup>47</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 323, item cxii.

acting company. The returns remained buoyant until the summer inhibition of 1599, and when this ended on 29 September, the Globe opened too and profitability is again uncertain. The difference though, is that the Lord Chamberlain's Men brought their own London following to add to the total audience. There is far less white on the chart in these weeks than when the Swan was the competition. This may be because of the advantage to the Swan of the Paris Garden steps as a landing place. The Rose and Globe being so close have a balance in accessibility and the playgoer's choice would be for the play or the actor they favoured.

Henslowe ceased to record plays and individual day receipts in November 1597, and this would accord with the time at which Edward Alleyn retired from acting.<sup>48</sup> It seems likely that the detailed interest in the individual plays and, perhaps in the playhouse itself, waned in Henslowe's mind as it ceased to be the daily stage for his son-in-law. Both he and Alleyn turned their minds to the competition they had experienced and looked to find an audience in another part of London. As the Swan closed the Globe made ready to appear, leaving unsatisfied the north London audience that the Burbages had so long entertained. What would have been more natural than to look at the north London audience and to provide the Fortune theatre to serve it? The Fortune playhouse was contracted on 8 January, 1599 on land whose lease Alleyn had purchased only on 22 December 1599 (17 days before). Clearly the experience of the Swan as competition, half a kilometre to the west, was nothing to that of the Globe, whose front door was barely 40 metres east of the Rose. When the Globe arrived, in mid-1599 speed was of the essence in finding a new home for the company.

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<sup>48</sup> Andrew Gurr, *Shakespeare's Opposites: The Admiral's Company 1594–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, paperback edn 2012), p. 19.

## **The Programme**

There has been an assumption from Samuel Kiechel's letter, that new plays were charged at twice the usual entry fee.<sup>49</sup> He does not seem to have enjoyed the play in 1585 but made a very good estimate of the income the Theatre generated. What is clear from Appendix One is that double prices were charged on many more days, holidays, notably Easter, Whitsun and Christmas weeks, when 2d entries appear to have been the rule, though usually at least one play was presented at the penny rate. Double prices were also regularly charged after a plague inhibition. In the period in which the *Diary* identifies daily receipts 194 appear to be charged at 2d. entry and 717 at 1d. The 194 plays charged at the higher rate were occasioned by only 106 different plays recorded over the same period, and not all of those were new to the repertoire.

How the audience knew what price they would be paying before setting out to go to the theatre is not at all clear. There is no indication, in the playbills that Tiffany Stern identifies, of any information as to price, the playgoer seems to have had to pay the rate at the door without preparation.<sup>50</sup> Even then one asks how did the company and the playhouse owner know and agree the entry price appropriate to the day and the play? One answer may be the size of the crowd assembling ready for the doors to open, but as Tiffany Stern points, out many bills were posted days in advance and so some pre-planning seems to have been essential. A new play would surely be advertised as such and the two-penny entrance assumed or stated. Easter, Whitsun and Christmas weeks would usually be assumed to be at the higher rate and the odd day at only 1d. a pleasant surprise. But what about the random 2d. days? Imagine arriving and finding the entry price twice what you expected. In the early days,

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<sup>49</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 358.

before the Swan and the Globe set up in competition, 2d. days were common. In 1591, 1592 and 1594 some 25% of all performances were at 2d and in 1595 this rose to 30% of performances. When competition set in the level dropped to 19%, or proceeds dropped to the point that the premium entry is not recognisable from the returns.

Appendix Two gives the Henslowe information analysed by play and here one can see certain plays were brought back confident of their popularity, or of the likely audience because of the holiday on which they were to be played. More obvious are the plays that fail to find appreciation from their audience and, despite a respectable first 2d. showing, never appear again. *The Mack*, *The Jealous Comedy* and *The Paradox* each afforded Henslowe an income of more than £2 but appeared only once. By contrast *Jeronymo*, *Bellendon* and the *Jew of Malta* played more than thirty times in the recorded period returning to the repertoire at 2d. for their first showing and at holidays. New scenes or topical references probably excused the 'new' appellation. Many of the plays must have been unable to recover their capital cost of at least £4 to £6. Plays that were successful were run until the audience grew tired and Appendix Three shows that some plays survived for very few outings or ran until their average take (for Henslowe) was between £1.50 and £2.00. One has to remember that the acting company return was of the order of four times the revenue that Henslowe records so that an average return for a play of £1.57 in the *Diary* would mean that the acting company would have achieved £30 in a five-show week and £36 in the usual six-show week.

Like the average attendance, the similarities in the pattern of weekly income are very similar to modern theatre with peaks at Christmas and at Easter, though in the sixteenth-century theatre the Easter and Whitsun peaks were higher, as opposed

to the enormous Christmas peak nowadays and rather lesser improvements at Easter. The difference is no doubt attributable to both the cold at Christmas in an outdoor playhouse and to the modern phenomenon of the pantomime or Christmas show that will contribute as much as half the year's total income for a theatre. It is notable that the 'dead month' of November in modern theatre returns was also true for the Elizabethans. There are notably fewer 2d. shows in that month. The first weeks of December show many fewer performances and this would appear to be to give rehearsal time for the competition to be chosen to play at Court. The Court returns were not worth, in themselves, more than the typical popular performance in the playhouse but the reputational advantage was enormous. There may also have been non-monetary rewards at Court in invitations to perform in private houses. Gifts, from their patron and courtiers enthusiastic about the performance, may have been given in the form of costume, armour or weapons as well as welcome monetary rewards of which we have no records.

In 1594 when there was only one short inhibition or break in playing, the Rose presented 239 performances to about 200,800 people with an average attendance of 840, 56% of capacity. It is a record of which any theatre in Britain today might be proud, especially when one considers that the London population was about 150,000 – 200,000 people. In 1600 there were about 6,500 places in theatres in London, one for every 31 people. Today there are about 133 people for every central London theatre place and one for every 63 people across the metropolitan area.

The similarities of operating pattern are remarkable. What is most different is that the 1d. of 1594 is calculated by the Bank of England inflation calculator to be worth £1.30 today and the cost of the average theatre ticket today is twenty times that outside London and up to one hundred times that in London's West End. The trend

to higher entry prices was already evident at the end of Elizabeth's reign with indoor theatres charging six and twelve times the 1d. entry at the Rose. The audience was already beginning, at St. Paul's and Blackfriars, to become more educated thus more middle class with a higher spending potential, as I shall show with the story of the Burbage enterprise.

## Chapter Four

### The Burbage–Brayne Enterprise 1576–1587

James Burbage was the leading player in the story of the theatre for the adult companies. He can be identified as the leading actor in the first royally licensed company and as the first builder of a purpose-built permanent theatre in London in the early modern period. His two sons, Cuthbert and Richard, became theatre owners in succession to him and, whilst Cuthbert managed the enterprises, Richard was to become the leading actor. They were fortunate also in having Shakespeare as one of their playwrights as the enterprise grew. It is this family that created share-holding in theatre buildings, drawing, no doubt, on a long-established sharer structure in acting companies.

James Burbage was born about 1531<sup>1</sup> and possibly, according to Mary Edmond in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, in or near Bromley in Kent where the Burbage name forms a cluster and where Cuthbert Burbage, his son, was subsequently to own a house.<sup>2</sup> Others suggest he was born in Warwickshire largely to imply an association with Shakespeare as well as with the Earl of Leicester's household at Kenilworth Castle.<sup>3</sup> There is another cluster (with a spelling variant) in Northamptonshire, whilst Stopes finds the name widely across England.<sup>4</sup> There were many families recorded as Burbadge, Burbedge and Burbidge (spelling then was onomatopoeic) in the City of London and there is no reason to suppose that our

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<sup>1</sup> Mary Edmond, 'Burbage, James,' in *DNB*, published on-line on 23.9.2004 and updated on 3.1.2008, Accessed online 8.3.18, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 305 records that Malone suggested a John Burbadge, bailiff at Stratford-upon-Avon in 1555 as a possible ancestor of James Burbage of the Theatre.

<sup>4</sup> C. C. Stopes, *Burbage and Shakespeare's Stage* (London: Alexander Moring Ltd. De La More Press, 1913), p. 6.

Burbage came to London from the country. As always it is difficult to identify individuals from official records, due to the paucity of supporting information, the variability in spelling and, at this time, the sheer lack of sufficient surviving records for London. There is a further difficulty in that in the sixteenth century there are relatively few given names in use and almost never a middle name so that it is easy to confuse family with family. One has to proceed with extreme caution.

James Burbage is entered on the St. Stephen, Coleman Street register twice in 1559 as a joiner.<sup>5</sup> This could mean that he was by trade a joiner (a cabinet maker in modern terms, not as generally supposed, the same as a carpenter). Or it could mean only that he was a freeman of the Worshipful Company of Joiners to which he could have been elected by apprenticeship to a joiner, by patrimony (if his father was a member of that company), or even by fee if he were a man of standing in his community. Unfortunately, the extant records of the Joiners (held at the Guildhall Library, City of London) only begin in 1571 when the company was chartered and thus James's entry to the livery is unrecorded. Robert Miles of the George Inn in Whitechapel says that Burbage was working as a joiner, but getting little money from that trade became a common player.<sup>6</sup> The date of James's birth is established from a court case of 1591 in which James deposed that he was 'sixty or thereabouts' so even that year must be uncertain, though 'or thereabouts' was the usual format and does not necessarily imply doubt.<sup>7</sup>

The parish of St. Stephen, Coleman Street is to the north of Cheapside just east of the Guildhall (see map below). The parish included a large part of the fields known as Moorfields and Coleman Street itself leads to the City Wall a few yards

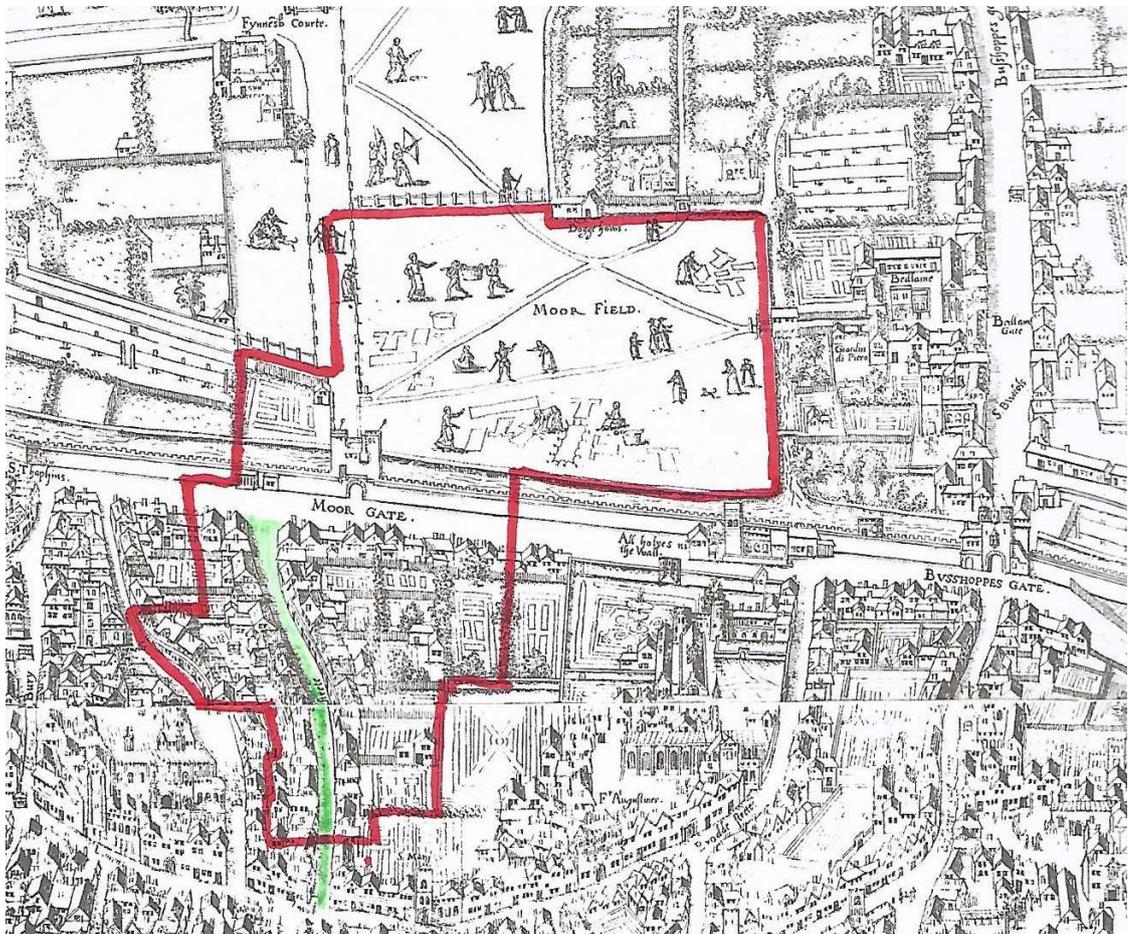
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<sup>5</sup> Mary Edmond, 'Burbage, James,' in *DNB*, (2004, revised 3.1.2008), p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Charles William Wallace, 'The First London Theatre, Materials for History', *The University Studies of the University of Nebraska*, vol. XIII, Nos. 1, 2 and 3 (1913), pp. 141-42.

<sup>7</sup> Wallace, 'The First London Theatre, Materials for History', p. 61.

west of Moorgate. The fields to the north of the City and west of Bishopsgate, besides which the Theatre was to be built, would be familiar to the Burbages. The parish lay, immediately to the north of the wealthiest parts of the City of London with above-average family incomes.<sup>8</sup> The Copperplate Map (possibly surveyed in 1557) shows Coleman Street itself as having large houses with extensive gardens that suggest wealth in an increasingly urbanised London.<sup>9</sup>



*Fig. 16. The parish of St. Stephen, Coleman Street (Coleman Street in green) taken from the 'copperplate map' in 'The A to Z of Elizabethan London'.*

There is very little certain and documented evidence about James Burbage.

We have some records from St. Stephen, Coleman Street that, from the combination

<sup>8</sup> See the map on page 46, for the distribution of wealth in London.

<sup>9</sup> Adrian Prockter and Robert Taylor, compilers, *The A to Z of Elizabethan London* (London: London Topographical Society, publication No. 122, 1979), pp. 30-31, CP1 and CP2.

of his children's names in the parish register, looks to be the first place we can identify, with any confidence, the James 'Burbage' with whom we are concerned. Later the parish register of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch provides similar confidence for his residence there after about 1576. Cuthbert Burbage (or at least a 'Culbert Burbidge') was christened at St. Stephen's on 15 June 1565. His brother Richard (that is to say a 'Richard Brigge') was christened 7 July 1568 in the same parish, but in both cases their father was 'James'.<sup>10</sup> James married Ellen Brayne at St. Stephen's on 23 April 1559. She was the daughter of Thomas Brayne, a tailor and a freeman of the Girdlers' Company.<sup>11</sup> She was also the sister of John Brayne, grocer, who was to be a substantial funder of the Theatre.

It might, in fact, be argued that John Brayne was the first person to purpose-build a public theatre, for in 1567 he had a scaffold and stage built in the courtyard of a farmhouse called the Red Lion in the fields to the east of Whitechapel in the parish of Stepney. We know of this from a dispute between Brayne and William Sylvester, carpenter, over the quality of the work on the scaffolds (presumably the tiering or galleries for the audience), resolved by a hearing at the Court of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters held on 15 July 1567.<sup>12</sup> The sum agreed was £8.10s. of lawful money to be paid by Brayne on completion of the work to a satisfactory standard, to be adjudicated by appointed carpenter arbitrators. We do not know if this was the total cost of the work or only an outstanding amount. The latter is more likely unless the tiering was very small. The following year at the court of King's Bench, Brayne was again in dispute with a carpenter, this time the one he contracted to erect the stage at the Red Lion.<sup>13</sup> In this case he claimed that the carpenter, John

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<sup>10</sup> Parish Register of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London Metropolitan Library Microfilm.

<sup>11</sup> Mary Edmonds, 'Burbage, James,' *DNB*, p. 1.

<sup>12</sup> *EPT*, p. 291, item 199.

<sup>13</sup> *EPT*, p. 292, item 200.

Reynolds, had failed to honour a bond in the sum of 20 marks (£13.6s.8d.). The case gives us the first dimensions for a public playhouse stage. It was to be 40ft (12m) in length north to south and 30ft (9m) in breadth east to west and to be 5ft (1.5m) high and boarded with a hole through which a timber turret was to be built 30ft (9m) high from the ground and to contain a room 7ft (2.1m) below the top of the tower, which was to have compass (curved) braces on top, presumably for decoration as the tower was to be braced throughout.<sup>14</sup> We must presume that the tower was also the tiring house, if so it is significant that it was to be built within the overall stage. This accords with later building contracts that state that the tiring house is to be ‘set within the frame’.<sup>15</sup> The bond is presumably a performance bond to ensure the works were carried out by the date set in the contract. Reynold’s defence is that he did carry out the work as contracted but that it was late because Brayne prevented him from entering the site to set up the stage, though it was brought to site in time. Brayne’s rebuttal of the defence is to say that he did not prevent the works and that the work was not done as he required, and he claims £20 in damages. This indicates at least one performance lost due to late completion of the work. There is, unfortunately, no documentation on either side to confirm or deny the allegations. The case was referred for jury trial in Westminster but there is no record of the subsequent trial and it is probable that the case was settled privately or simply allowed to lapse.

From these cases Andrew Gurr deduces that the open-air tiering and stage were temporary since Brayne was apparently trying to recover money from the carpenter a year later with no reference to a current building, and because we hear

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<sup>14</sup> *EPT*, pp. 291-94, item 200.

<sup>15</sup> J. R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring, *Shakespeare’s Globe Rebuilt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 180 for the Fortune Theatre contract.

nothing more of the Red Lion.<sup>16</sup> Was the project not a financial success? Given the small sums involved in the court cases was the timber only rented for a period? Julian Bowsher, archaeologist at MOLA, points out that materials were expensive but labour cheap in this period. Certainly, the specification for the tower suggests a particular scenic design rather than a framework for successive plays. In the Carpenters' Company arbitration *The Story of Samson* is named as 'the play' and when it 'has been played' then Brayne is to return William Sylvester's bond, presumably a performance bond retained during the run of the play in case of defects in the scaffolds. Andrew Gurr suggests, too, that Brayne may have built the Red Lion venue as a place for his brother-in-law, James Burbage, to perform *The Story of Samson* with, one presumes, Leicester's Men, since he was leading them five years later. Gurr is surely correct in presenting this as the beginning of the partnership in theatre that was to last for twenty more years until Brayne's death in 1586. The family relationship thereafter was to end in rancour and the courts.

There is a tacit presumption in many histories that Burbage and Brayne formed a legal partnership with an equal share before the lease was signed but there is no direct evidence in any of the subsequent court case documentation to suggest that the agreement was other than a monetary one. A case in King's Bench in 1568 in which James Burbage and John Brayne attempted to recover a loan of £60 made to Richard Dycher, a lorimer, confirms that the brothers-in-law were working together in financial dealings in the year following the Red Lion experiment.<sup>17</sup> It may well be therefore that there was a well-established familial financial partnership long before the Theatre was contemplated. However, when a public disturbance is brought to

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<sup>16</sup> Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, fourth edn., 2009), p. 141.

<sup>17</sup> William Ingram, *The Business of Playing: The Beginning of the Adult Professional Theater in Elizabethan London* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), p. 40.

Middlesex Magistrates' Court on 21 February 1579, Brayne and Burbage are summoned together, clearly acknowledged as joint owners of the theatre.<sup>18</sup>

Leicester's company is first recorded in a letter written in June 1559 from Lord Robert Dudley (who became Earl of Leicester in September 1564) to the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord President of the North, as Lord Lieutenant of Yorkshire asking that Shrewsbury licence Dudley's players, as other nobles have done before.<sup>19</sup> The company are reported by Chambers as having been in Norwich in 1558–1559 and many other places thereafter. Whether Burbage was amongst them is unknown, but we do know he was leading the company in 1572 when Leicester's players wrote to their patron:

May it please your honour to understand that foreasmuch as there is a certain Proclamation out for the reviving of a Statute as touching retainers, as your Lordship knows better than we can inform you thereof: We therefore, your humble Servants and daily Orators your players, for avoiding all inconvenience that may grow by reason of said Statute, are bold to trouble your Lordship with this our Suit, humbly desiring your honour that (as you have been always our good Lord and Master) you will now vouchsafe to retain us at this present as your household servants and daily waiters, not that we mean to crave any further stipend or benefits at your Lordship's hands but our liveries as we have had, and also your honour's License to certify that we are your household Servants when we have occasion to travel amongst our friends as we do usually once a year, and as other noblemen's Players do and have done in time past [...] signed: James Burbage, John Perkinne, John Laneham, William Johnson, Roberte Wilson and Thomas Clarke.<sup>20</sup>

The letter is undated, but the sense of urgency is apparent. It must therefore, refer to the *Act for the Punishment of Vagabonds and for the Relief of the Poor and Impotent*, of 29 June 1572 prohibiting common players, not belonging to a person of the rank

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<sup>18</sup> *EPT*, p. 341, item 264.

<sup>19</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 85.

<sup>20</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 86.

of Baron or above.<sup>21</sup> James Burbage's role as leader of the company can be deduced from the fact that his is the first name in a list of names in non-alphabetic order. The conjunction of Leicester's letter promoting his playing company in 1559 and Burbage's wedding to Ellen in the same year suggests a sense of financial stability for James Burbage began in that year.

On 10 May 1574, a unique Royal Patent was granted by Elizabeth I to Leicester's Men in a Licence to perform throughout the country granted 'pro Jacobo Burbage & alis de licencia spaciali' and here the players are named as the Earl of Leicester's servants: 'James Burbage, John Perkyn, John Lanham, William Johnson and Roberte Wilson'.<sup>22</sup> Two years later again, on 13 April 1576, James Burbage signed a lease with Giles Allen for land in Holywell Priory on which to build the Theatre.<sup>23</sup> In 1583 when the Queen's Men were formed from the best actors James Burbage was not amongst them despite having led Leicester's Men, the most successful company at Court.<sup>24</sup> I conclude therefore that he may have ceased to act before this date, or, that he had obtained the patronage of Lord Hunsdon. Secretary Walsingham instructed the formation of the Queen's Men in one of the Earl of Sussex's periods of illness.<sup>25</sup> Hunsdon may have been temporary Lord Chamberlain at the time, he certainly was acting Lord Chamberlain in 1582 and was made Lord Chamberlain in his own right on 4 July, 1585.<sup>26</sup> Hunsdon could have prevented the 52 year old Burbage being dragooned into the new Queen's Men.

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<sup>21</sup> *EPT*, p. 62, item 29.

<sup>22</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 87.

<sup>23</sup> *EPT*, pp. 333-36, item 252.

<sup>24</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 106.

<sup>25</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 104.

<sup>26</sup> *ES*, vol. I, pp. 40-41.

The date of this change of patron might have been in the winter of 1577. In September that year the Earl of Leicester, Robert Dudley was preparing to go to Holland to lead an English army and in November Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, was made a Privy Counsellor.<sup>27</sup> It is possible that Hunsdon was also made a Middlesex Justice of the Peace in 1577 as he settled into Court life. Certainly in 1580, he is addressed as such in a letter from the Privy Council.<sup>28</sup> Burbage had built and opened the Theatre but was deeply in debt and needed the strength of a strong patron both to support his credit and to ensure that the Theatre was able to operate in the face of City objections. Leicester was a favourite of the Queen's and well respected in the City but Hunsden was the Queen's first cousin. On 11 February 1577 the Earl of Leicester's Players presented themselves at Court to play, as appointed, but were prevented by the Queen's command and a play was presented by the Countess of Essex's players instead.<sup>29</sup> The Countess of Essex was Lettice Knollys whom Leicester married in the following September. Leicester had been in an affair with Douglas Sheffield, *nee* Howard, the dowager Lady Sheffield since 1570 or 1571 and in 1574 she bore him a son who was called Robert Dudley. However Leicester was unable to marry Douglas because of the Queen's likely reaction, or perhaps because he never intended to, certainly he wrote to Douglas saying he could not marry her at some time before 1574 (the letter is undated).<sup>30</sup> The sudden change of the performing company might signify Elizabeth's displeasure at the break-up of Leicester relationship with Douglas Sheffield or her displeasure at a future liaison with Lettice Knollys. In either case it might occasion Burbage to seek patronage

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<sup>27</sup> Wallace T. MacCaffrey, 'Cary, Henry, First Baron Hunsdon' in *DNB* published 23.9.2014.

<sup>28</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 280, item xlv. A letter from the Privy Council 'to the Lord Wentworth and Lord Hunsdon and the rest of the Justices of the Peace in the county of Middlesex' dated 17 April 1580.

<sup>29</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, Appendix B, p.153.

<sup>30</sup> Simon Adams 'Dudley, Robert, Earl of Leicester' in *DNB* published online and in print 2004, revised 24 May 2008.

from a first cousin of the Queen, rather than the uncertainty of her favourite's future and his planned absence from London. Given James Burbage's ability to charm (as evidenced by Fleetwood's letter below) I wonder if Burbage continued to lead the Leicester's Players company even when he was Hunsdon's man, just as Edward Alleyn was the Admiral's Man whilst travelling with Strange's Company in 1593.<sup>31</sup> Or possibly, like Edward Alleyn, he withdrew from acting as the Theatre and its debts took-up more of his time.

### **James Burbage**

I pause here, as James Burbage transitions from player to playhouse owner, to consider for a moment what we may infer about James as a person. To lead a company of actors requires a strong personality (and one hopes an above average ability to act), but it also requires a person with sufficient personality, charm and pleasant demeanour to sustain the whole company in good times and in bad. From personal experience I know that Sir Laurence Olivier, as the leader of the National Theatre Company, had just such a presence, by turns frighteningly dominant and incredibly charming. Similarly James must have had the ability to charm not only his audiences, but also to be accorded with both Leicester's approval and to receive that special licence from the Queen.

In most commentaries James Burbage is portrayed as a ruffian and a bully, dishonest and disrespectful in his business dealings. This picture comes from the alleged behaviour reported in much later court cases by the opposing side's witnesses, but we should temper their statements by the overall stance they were taking. I would suggest that in 1559–1574, at least, James was seen as a strong and

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<sup>31</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 296, 'Edward Alleyn'.

dominant personality, liked and respected by those with whom he has to deal and the company he led. This is consistent with the James Burbage we hear about from the City Recorder, Fleetwood, in a letter to Lord Burghley of 14 June 1584. Fleetwood had obtained a letter of authority from the Privy Council to suppress all playing and to pull down the Theatre and the Curtain playhouses. Fleetwood describes Burbage as ‘a stubborn fellow’ by reputation, who when taken by the under-sheriff to Fleetwood, was reported to have ‘stouted [braved] me out very hasty’ but when shown Hunsdon’s signature (James’s patron) on the letter ‘became more quiet’.<sup>32</sup> James even charmed Fleetwood into letting him appear at court under his own recognizances the following day rather than being imprisoned overnight.

When considering James’s conduct as evidenced in the legal papers it is important to remember that from 1578, when Brayne and Burbage agree an arbitration over the capitalisation and profit distribution of money taken at the Theatre, until 1586, when Brayne died, there are no records of a legal falling-out between them, though we know both took readily to litigation. We have no reason to believe that the relationship was not, at least, workable over that time though it clearly deteriorated after Brayne’s death as family tensions grew.

The court cases subsequently undertaken by John Brayne’s widow, Margaret, were for her to continue receiving a share in profits from the Theatre. The Burbage family said these were not due to her because John Brayne had undertaken to leave his share of the Theatre to Cuthbert and Richard Burbage on his death.<sup>33</sup> On her husband’s death, Margaret’s position was desperate. John Brayne had bought (in a

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<sup>32</sup> *EPT*, pp. 345-46, item 273, part of a letter to Lord Burghley in which Fleetwood, having taken a high hand with Burbage appears much mollified by the end of their meeting and allows Burbage his way in answering in court the following day.

<sup>33</sup> Wallace, ‘The First London Theatre’ pp. 39-44. James Burbage’s Bill of Complaint, Michaelmas 1588.

similar loose financial partnership with Robert Miles) the George Inn in Whitechapel in 1579 with the intent of making it into an inn-playhouse. In this he was probably aware of the Earl of Oxford's intended purchase of property in the area.<sup>34</sup> Perhaps Brayne saw an opportunity to repeat the success of the Theatre in a newly developing suburb where the Earl of Oxford, a patron of theatre, had seen commercial opportunities. He may have been motivated to do so out of a sense of being excluded from the practical management of the Theatre by Burbage, and now more financially secure as a result of the arbitration agreement in 1578 and the mortgage of 1579, he wanted to show Burbage that he was an equal in theatre management. The George was one of three inns in the Whitechapel area that had presented plays in the past, the notable one being the Boar's Head. Jan Cole suggests that the name The Boar's Head theatre implies, by association with Oxford's coat of arms, that the Earl may have had a role in that theatre, but it seems a rather long stretch, given the popularity of the name for inns across London. That Oxford's company, with Worcester's, occupied the Boar's Head in 1602 is known, but probably has no direct relevance.<sup>35</sup>

Whether Brayne became ill or whether the refurbishment costs of the George were much more than he had anticipated, and could finance, is not known, but when he died in 1586 John Brayne was in debt to perhaps as much as 500 marks (£333.6s.8d). Worse still for his wife Margaret, whilst John Brayne had died apparently childless, she was already pregnant. She was however her husband's executor under the will dated 1 July 1578 that she entered for probate.<sup>36</sup> It was usual for the will to be written days before death and presentation of an eight year old will must have led to suspicion in the Burbage family that there was a later one reflecting

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<sup>34</sup> Jan Cole, 'Oxford's 1580 purchase of land and property 'east of Aldgate'', *de Vere Society newsletter*, January 2016, 1-22. For the reference to the name see p. 5.

<sup>35</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 444.

<sup>36</sup> *EPT*, p. 349, item 277.

Brayne's expressed desire to leave his interest in the Theatre to Cuthbert and Richard Burbage. Two years later they claimed in their Bill of Complaint against Margaret that John Brayne had thought himself childless and said that he wished to leave his property to the Burbage sons. There was also a suspicion that the father of Margaret's baby was Robert Miles, James called her 'another wife', though Margaret maintained that her only surviving child, Katherine, was Brayne's, even in her will.<sup>37</sup> The grounds for a family dispute are clear though it must be accepted that two independent observers Henry Lanham and John Alleyn, in their evidence, expressed concerns over James Burbage's treatment of Margaret Brayne.<sup>38</sup>

Robert Miles, was first sued by Margaret for barratry [persistent litigation, in marine law the placing of a n owner at risk by actions for personal gain] but he later joined her in litigation against the Burbages to try to obtain £400 in bonds issued by James Burbage as security for his obligations under the 1578 arbitration agreement.<sup>39</sup> Margaret had collected some share of the Theatre and Curtain money as an owner after her husband's death in 1586, though Henry Lanmen attested to the fact that the sums were less than the amount she was due in equity as her husband had funded the Theatre.<sup>40</sup> After Margaret's death in 1593, Miles continued making these claims in a series of court cases. It is the rancorous argument in these cases, transcribed by Charles Wallace and his wife, which has led to the general consensus that Burbage was a bully with a temper to match. It must be remembered that the dispute is, essentially, a family argument and these are notorious for becoming entrenched battles, with no quarter offered.

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<sup>37</sup> Wallace, 'The First London Theatre', pp. 100-105.

<sup>38</sup> Wallace, 'The First London Theatre', p. 100 for John Alleyn's testimony and p. 150 for Lanman's.

<sup>39</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 390.

<sup>40</sup> Wallace, 'The First London Theatre', p. 42.

Henry Lanman testified in 1592 that at Michaelmas 1585 Burbage and Brayne had approached him to pool the profits of the Theatre and Curtain playhouses and divide them between the parties. Lanman confirmed that John Brayne received his share until his death but thereafter James Burbage withheld or abridged Margaret Brayne's portion of the profits. Lanman said that he had many times spoken to James, saying that his treatment of the widow was unjust, considering that Brayne's money had enabled the Theatre to be built, and surely the rewards should be due to her in right of her husband.<sup>41</sup> He does not say anything about the Burbages' claim that the Brayne share of the Theatre was to have been left to the Burbage sons and that, as a result, they felt justified in retaining the profits but he is not asked that directly.<sup>42</sup>

James Burbage had, as far as one can tell, operated the Theatre and managed the outstanding loans against the building costs, here a personality and charm would be a considerable advantage. But it was Brayne who must have obtained a fellow grocer, John Hyde, as a mortgagor in 1579 in order to consolidate the debts.

Burbage had defended the Theatre against Edmund Peckham's claim on the freehold in 1582, coped with the changes in the acting companies with the formation of the Queen's Men in 1583, and he had struggled to extend the lease for the Theatre in 1585, with no success and probably felt justified in retaining a larger portion of the profits. Burbage may also have resented John Brayne's intent to build a competing theatre-inn not too far away and have taken the view that Robert Miles, Brayne's

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<sup>41</sup> Wallace, 'The First London Theatre', pp. 149-50.

<sup>42</sup> Wallace, 'The First London Theatre', p. 42. The Burbage Bill of Complaint against Margaret Brayne, Michaelmas Term 1588, maintains that John Brayne said '[...] (for he had no children...[text rotted away]...premisses) to your Orator the Children aforesaid whose advancement he then seemed greatly to tender And further promised to your said Orator that his bonds should be [... text rotted...] of your said Orator James Burbage'.

partner in the George Inn and a goldsmith, was well able to finance the deficit on that project himself. Later in this chapter I shall try to give a wider picture of the financial position of the Theatre at the time of Brayne's death.

### **The Lease for the Theatre**

The lease, we know from court cases between Giles Allen and Cuthbert Burbage in 1599 and onwards, was to run from Lady Day (25 March) 1576 for 21 years until Lady Day 1597. It was signed, as leases frequently were, after the start date of the term, on 13 April 1576. When attempting to extend the lease Burbage said that it ran until 13 April 1597, either by mistake or from a desire to extend his period for negotiation. The lease was offered for a fee of £20 and a rental of £14 per annum (payable in quarterly instalments) for an area of land and buildings in the ownership of Giles Allen and situated within the walls of the old Holywell Priory in St Leonard's, Shoreditch, Middlesex.<sup>43</sup> The property had sitting tenants who were listed, the buildings included a mill house and a Great Barn, one of two on the Holywell Priory estate. The second barn, called the Oat Barn, lay to the south and was owned by the Earl of Rutland. The area of land between the two barns was in disputed ownership, Giles Allen thinking it was his and the Earl of Rutland claiming it also.<sup>44</sup> The Theatre lease included a covenant for a new 21-year lease to be granted within the first ten years, subject to, the satisfactory observance of the lease and conditional on James Burbage spending £200 on the improvement of existing properties and the provision of new tenements.<sup>45</sup> Giles Allen and James Burbage each provided a bond of £200, for their performance of the terms of the lease so as to

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<sup>43</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 387.

<sup>44</sup> Raoul Bull, Simon Davis, Hana Lewis *et al*, *Holywell Priory and the development of Shoreditch to c1600* (London: Museum of London Archaeology, MOLA Monograph 53, 2011), pp. 86-7.

<sup>45</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 387.

secure Burbage in his expenditure and Giles in the improvement of his property. The lease extension was not granted by 24 March 1585, the expiration date for the covenant to extend it. Allen claimed that Burbage had not spent the required £200 on improvements and additional tenements despite Burbage bringing two independent assessments of the value of the works that had been completed.<sup>46</sup>

Presumably with no agreement in sight for a lease extension and the possibility of a threat of foreclosure, on the grounds of failing to undertake the required expenditure on the tenements, James Burbage and John Brayne proposed to the Curtain Theatre owner, Henry Lanman, that they pool and share the profits from both houses. This agreement must have been to ensure that Burbage had an operating interest in the Curtain in case the Theatre lease was foreclosed. Not only did he need to secure some revenue but he would also have had obligations to provide a playing space for companies with whom he had agreements. 1585 is also the year in which daily weekday playing become the norm and there would have been a sensible concern about the division of the audience over so many days between the two theatres. It is possible, too, that both theatre owners knew of the planned Rose theatre and were fearful of their audience being drawn to the new venue. Sharing returns, would be a way of ensuring that they did not have to compete between themselves in the face of the outside competition. This pooling was still in operation in 1592 and it is likely that it continued thereafter.<sup>47</sup> With no agreement for an extension, the Theatre's lease ran to its full-term initial term of 24 March 1597. Giles Allen, when pressed for a renewal, countered with a lease, extending the period for a further twenty-one years but for a substantially increased rental at £24 per annum and a fee

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<sup>46</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 398.

<sup>47</sup> Wallace, 'The First London Theatre', p. 149, deposition of Henry Lanman gent. aged 54, taken 30.7.1592.

of £100, together with a condition that after the first five years of the lease the Theatre must not be used as a theatre but for some other purpose. This was clearly unacceptable to the Burbages, now James and Cuthbert.

Chambers says that, after the Privy Council summer inhibition of 28 July 1597 (presumably terminating on 29 September), playing was transferred to the Curtain.<sup>48</sup> This seems unlikely to me for surely if the Theatre had been vacated Allen would have seized the building, he was reportedly preparing to do so at Christmas 1598 when the Ellen Burbage and her sons forestalled him by removing it themselves. Furthermore in the 1600 Giles Allen versus Cuthbert Burbage case for damages, Allen's witnesses say that the rent was paid, at the old rate, for a further two years. As the lease had expired surely the Burbages would not be paying rent if the building had no utility for their operation. In the autumn (Michaelmas Term) of 1598, the lease negotiations finally fell apart and it is, perhaps, then that the Theatre closed but if so neither Allen nor the Burbages moved to recover their property until Christmas.<sup>49</sup> Here the rental quarter days may be of importance, negotiations continuing until Michaelmas when the Quarter's rental was paid in advance, the demolition taking place on the Christmas quarter day ensured the property was Burbage's until its demolition and no further rent was then due.

The lease is curiously unworldly, looked at from today's vantage. It is clearly intended that Burbage should improve the residential properties so that at the end of the lease the ground rents would be greater than they were at the commencement of the lease and that this work should be done within the first ten years. Burbage was to spend 'the sum of £200 [...] at the least [...] the value of the old timber and stuff as should be employed and bestowed thereabouts to be

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<sup>48</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 398.

<sup>49</sup> Wallace, 'The First London Theatre', pp. 220-21.

accounted parcel of the said sum of £200'.<sup>50</sup> Later in the lease it was stated that Burbage may take down and carry away all such buildings that he has erected in excess of the expenditure of £200, either for a theatre or playing space or any other lawful use.

It would seem that the benefit to Giles Allen was that he was guaranteed £200 of capital investment in a property that, at the end of 21 years, would have ground rents that were greater than they had been at the commencement of the lease, though he was not to enjoy those increased ground rents during the tenancy. For Burbage, he had ground on which to build a theatre and the right to remove it and sell or reuse the materials of the theatre and thus they would not fall to the landlord at the end of the lease, as is usual under English property law.

We must assume that Giles Allen carried out due diligence before granting the lease in April 1576. If so, he would have had the example before him of inn-yard playing spaces within the City of London where the profits from plays might be difficult to disaggregate from the profits from food and beverage sales. The only example of a playhouse outside the City, as the Theatre was to be, had been the Red Lion, operated by the same proposed tenants, and that appeared to have been unprofitable and to have been short lived (the second theatre at Newington Butts was not leased until Lady Day (25 March) 1576).<sup>51</sup> Allen, then, might reasonably conclude that the Theatre would exist for only a short time and be unprofitable in which case the right for Burbage to remove his materials was not unreasonable and might even benefit Allen by clearing the ground for subsequent use. The condition of improvements to the residential properties in the first ten years might well reflect

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<sup>50</sup> *EPT*, pp. 334-35, item 252.

<sup>51</sup> *EPT*, p. 323, item 242 (a).

Allen’s anticipation of the Theatre’s failure within that time and the falling-in of the lease. When it came to the possible extension of a lease with no likelihood of the anticipated early termination Giles Allen, naturally, felt cheated of his expected gain and have strongly resisted any extension.

### **The ‘partnership’ agreement to build the Theatre**

We know something of the course of events following the granting of the lease to James Burbage from the long drawn out legal battles with Margaret Brayne and Robert Miles beginning in 1588. Certain facts appear not to be in dispute in these cases. It is worth summarising these here – all the notes are drawn from C.W.

Wallace’s transcription of the court documents which were checked and extended by Herbert Berry.<sup>52</sup> David Mateer further checked Wallace and added previously unknown cases for recovery of debts from Burbage and Brayne.<sup>53</sup>

- a) That the lease of the site from Giles Alleyne was granted from 25 March 1576 to James Burbage alone and that they exchanged bonds for performance of the covenants and Burbage made all the lease and rental payments, none were made by Brayne.<sup>54</sup>
- b) That in the same year John Brayne agreed to provide half the capital for the Theatre, which James Burbage estimated at £200, against a share of half the profits from the theatre and tenements.
- c) That on 9 August 1577 William Nicoll (notary public) drew up an indenture to convey half the lease from James Burbage to John Brayne as had been

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<sup>52</sup> Wallace, ‘The First London Theatre’, 1913, checked and extended by Herbert Berry in *Shakespeare’s playhouses* (New York, NY: AMS Press, 1987).

<sup>53</sup> David Mateer, ‘New Light on the Early History of the Theatre in Shoreditch’ *English Literature Renaissance*, vol. 36, (3), (2006), 335–375.

<sup>54</sup> Wallace, ‘The First London Theatre’, p. 75, deposition of Gyles Allen of Haselye in the county of Essex, gent. aged 58, taken 3.11.1591.

intended by their prior agreement. The indenture was not signed by James Burbage because the lease was then at pawn as security for debts.

d) That on 22 May 1578 William Nicoll drew up a bond for £400 to be given by Burbage to Brayne as a guarantee to perform the transmission of half the lease to Brayne and that Burbage signed and sealed this bond in the presence of him, William Nicoll, and it was witnessed by John Gardner. That at Nicoll's shop Brayne complained that Burbage was defrauding him by taking money from the money collection box to which Burbage had had a second key made and that they fell to blows.

e) That on 12 July 1578 arbitrators Richard Turner and John Hill signed and sealed an arbitration between the parties. That the arbitration acknowledged that Brayne had funded the building to a greater extent than Burbage and that the following calls were to be made on the profits arising from playing at the Theatre on Sundays:

*The first call* on receipts was 10s for Brayne and 8s for Burbage weekly for their housekeeping.

*The second call* was for the settlement of debts.

*The third call* was for money to be paid to Brayne until the amount he had invested in excess of Burbage (£239. 6s 6d.) had been recouped.

Thereafter profits were to be distributed equally between Brayne and Burbage.

f) That on 26 September 1579 Brayne and Burbage together mortgaged the lease to John Hyde, grocer, for £125.8s.11d. Brayne, Burbage and John Prynne (the Broker) each signed a bond for the repayment of the mortgage in the sum of £200.

- g) That Brayne leased the George Inn in Whitechapel in January 1579 for 24 years to make it once again an inn. This time his agreement was with Robert Miles, goldsmith, but again (as far as we know) not made in writing.
- h) That on 27 September 1581 the lease of the Theatre was forfeit to John Hyde, but the latter agreed Burbage could operate the Theatre provided monies began to flow to Hyde. All the subsequent monies towards the mortgage redemption were paid by Burbage.
- i) Michaelmas (29 September) 1585 Brayne, Burbage and Henry Lanman (or Laneman) agree to pool receipts from the Theatre and the Curtain.
- j) John Brayne was buried 15 June 1586 at St Mary Matfellow, Whitechapel.<sup>55</sup>
- k) 7 June 1589, Cuthbert Burbage purchased from John Hyde the lease of the Theatre for £30 (representing the outstanding debt) plus an unknown ‘consideration’.
- l) 2 February 1596 James Burbage was buried in Shoreditch.

These facts help to frame the cases that followed from 1588 to 1601. There is a huge disparity between the claims on either side in interpretation and in the sums of money claimed which vary wildly. The principals in the dispute and most of their witnesses are in their fifties and sixties in 1592 when the disputes came to court. James Burbage was 44 years of age when the Theatre’s lease was signed 16 years before and Giles Allen was then 43, whilst Robert Miles, who supported Margaret Brayne in her case against James Burbage, was 40 years old.

It is clear from the disputes that arose, in the case of the Theatre, that Burbage had effective control. It may be read into this that the Theatre was a Burbage project within an established partnership. Brayne, having had prior

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<sup>55</sup> Herbert Berry, ‘Brayne, John’, *DNB*, published 13.9.2004.

experience in his own name at the Red Lion, may well have been reluctant to join fully in another theatre venture; Miles asserted in 1592 that Brayne had been loath to join in the enterprise but had succumbed to the ‘continual persuasion’ of his brother-in-law.<sup>56</sup> Under the agreement, as evidenced in the court cases, Brayne undertook to provide half the funding for the enterprise, including the cost of the housing improvements, in return for half the profits of the Theatre and the tenements during the lease period.<sup>57</sup> The agreement was, presumably, on the basis of James Burbage’s estimate that the theatre would cost not more than £200, according to Robert Miles in his 1600 suit against Cuthbert Burbage.<sup>58</sup> Some caution must be exercised over evidence in a court case taken some twenty-four years after the original events and when the original parties were long dead. Miles went on to state that when the costs had reached £500 Burbage said, ‘it was no matter’ and that the profits ‘would shortly quit the costs unto them both’. Whether this was encouragement to a waning enthusiasm on Brayne’s behalf or confident advice to a consistent financial partner we cannot know. It must be remembered too that Miles was seeking to recover about £400 in debts from the Brayne estate’s (incurred on the George Inn, Whitechapel) through this claim on the James Burbage’s bonds. The sums may well be overstated. It was common for bonds to be issued in a sum that was twice the principal debt (half for recovery of the debt and half as a penalty and redress for the costs of recovery) but that the debt was often quoted as the total sum now due. Thus, Miles’s claim that he was owed £800 or £900 pounds may be discounted by half.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Wallace, ‘The First London Theatre’, p. 139.

<sup>57</sup> *EPT*, p. 373, item 296, Robert Miles’s evidence April-May 1597.

<sup>58</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 387.

<sup>59</sup> William Ingram, *A London Life in the Brazen Age: Francis Langley, 1548–1602* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1990). Ingram deals extensively with bonds in the context of Langley’s developing fortune.

Evidence given in the several court cases would suggest that Burbage made little direct investment himself and had even pawned the lease (that only he had signed) to borrow money.<sup>60</sup> Here the bond given by Giles Allen, a substantial landowner, for performance of the covenants would have considerably enhanced the security offered by the lease against any loan to improve the tenements. Later Burbage and Brayne had mortgaged the lease, effectively taking away from Brayne any opportunity of a formal record of his partial ownership by an indenture on the lease. There would appear to have been a history of mutual trust between Brayne and Burbage that only came under stress when the loan burden became too great and inhibitions reduced the income. In 1577 there was a call from Brayne to add an indenture to the lease to secure his capital investment, supported by a bond of £200 from Burbage. In 1578, when there was a dispute over the alleged theft by Burbage of money from the Theatre's box office there was a bond from Burbage for £400. Probably that trust continued throughout Brayne's life, given Lanman's evidence that the receipts were shared at least until Brayne's death. It is only when the expenditure has exceeded expectation that Burbage's and Brayne's interests are determined, in an arbitration, as being more like a proper partnership with an equitable interest in the capital and the returns derived from the Theatre. John Griggs, carpenter, in testimony stated that he thought John Brayne had hired the workmen and supplied the timber for the Theatre at a cost to himself of 1,000 marks (£666.13s.4d).<sup>61</sup> As Griggs was 43 years old when testifying in 1592 he must have been 27 in 1576, too young to be the contractor in his own name but was perhaps on the team building the Theatre. Griggs built the Rose in 1587 and, if my interpretation of the Henslowe-Cholmley contract

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<sup>60</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 388.

<sup>61</sup> Wallace, 'The First London Theatre', pp. 133-36.

is correct, did so for £447. It seems to me that Griggs was extrapolating from the cost of the Rose and the £200 expenditure required on the tenements to come up with a rounded figure as an approximation.

If the ‘partnership’ was so inequitable one has to ask why Brayne continued to pour money into the project? It is a familiar problem for an investor in a business where capital costs have been underestimated. The investor has two choices, firstly to abandon his investment as a dead loss or, to provide more funds in order to produce the anticipated revenues. Brayne clearly took the latter course and here Burbage’s assurance that, ‘no matter what the cost, the profits would flow’ sounds remarkably like support for a flagging investor.<sup>62</sup> It must not be forgotten that Brayne had built the Red Lion and might be presumed therefore, to have been predisposed to the concept of a theatre. The fact that it was always so inequitable in investment and in the practical control of Burbage throughout John Brayne’s life must say something for their relationship. Whether he was charmed or in awe of the great actor, or supportive of a brother-in-law’s enterprise, or simply in love with theatre, we shall never know.

Brayne’s investment in the Red Lion appears to have been without Burbage, for we know that they appear together at King’s Bench attempting to recover a loan together in Hillary Term 1568 at the same time as Brayne alone is trying to recover money from the Red Lion venture.<sup>63</sup> The George Inn in Whitechapel that Brayne leased in 1579 ‘to bring back to an inn’ may have been with the intention of making it a playing inn. The George Inn was active as a playing place from 1580 to 1586, years that accorded exactly with Brayne’s enjoyment of the premises.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Wallace, ‘The First London Theatre’, p. 140.

<sup>63</sup> Janet S. Loengard, ‘An Elizabethan Lawsuit: John Brayne, his carpenter and the building of the Red Lion Theater’, *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 34 (3) (1983), retrieved electronically 2.6.2018, p. 304.

<sup>64</sup> Jan Cole, ‘Oxford’s 1580 purchase of land and property ‘east of Aldgate’’, p. 11.

I suggest that the relationship between James Burbage and John Brayne was primarily a familial one linked by siblings John Brayne and Ellen Burbage (nee Brayne). John's wife, Margaret (nee Stowers) may not have been as deeply seated in the family affections and, when John died, apparently childless, may have found difficulty in sustaining the familial relationship. I think it is clear that the Burbages regarded John's posthumous daughter, Katharine, as illegitimate since they made no attempt to support her as far as we know.<sup>65</sup> Brayne's 1579 lease of the George Inn and loose partnership with Robert Miles resulted in debts, some of which resulted in James Burbage meeting creditors' claims as a guarantor for Brayne. Thus, we have an undefined financial relationship between Burbage and Brayne in which Burbage is the partner under financial stress and who may have stolen money from the communal receipts in 1578 and later Brayne getting into difficulty in 1579, with a debt of '£20 or thereabouts' due from Miles and Brayne to a carpenter named Noble for work on the George Inn without Aldgate.<sup>66</sup> Noble's widow (now Mrs Gascoyne) recites how her second husband (Whyte) sought to collect on the debt from the guarantors James Burbage and one Gardner. Wallace goes on to say that he had found numerous documents regarding the relationship of Burbage, Brayne and Miles, but that he was not including them in his present volume. David Mateer has identified one other loan, that James Burbage and John Brayne became bound to Thomas Blagrove, of the Revels Office for the sum of £100 each on 29 June 1577. The debt was to be repaid on demand and in the spring of 1598 Blagrove sued each of the defendants to recover his money.<sup>67</sup> David Mateer suggests that Blagrove, disappointed at not achieving the post of Master of the Revels, reconsidered his loan

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<sup>65</sup> William Ingram, *The Business of Playing*, p. 216.

<sup>66</sup> Wallace, 'The First London Theatre', pp. 88-89.

<sup>67</sup> David Mateer, 'New Light on the Early History of the Theatre in Shoreditch', p. 338.

to consolidate his financial position rather earlier, surely, than the original loan intent. In his submission to the court Blagrove states the damage to him is £40 in each case (Burbage and Brayne) and that suggests a loan of £40 each with a penalty in the bond of £60 each. It is indicative of a desperation on the part of the borrowers that such a large premium would be offered. Undoubtedly this loan was urgently needed to settle creditors accounts and complete the theatre capitalisation, When the court enforced the repayment on 30 May 1578 (just after the profitable Whitsun holiday) the Theatre is likely to have earned the partners about £180 (see appendix 3) and it must be doubtful that Burbage and Brayne had the £200 (£100 each) promised in the bonds. I suspect that Blagrove settled for his original loan and an additional amount as interest, but this would not be recorded in the court records.

In the same paper David Mateer evidences another form of ‘loan’ in the long-delayed payment of sums due to creditors. In this case one John Hynde, Haberdasher, whose sons were hired to play from Sunday 13 October 1577 until Sunday 6 April 1578 but whose fees were not paid to Hynde until a court judgement in Michaelmas Term 1579.<sup>68</sup> The case is interesting because all references to playing in London and their resulting weekly payments are to be made between four and five o’clock on the Sunday evening, From this we can presume that playing was on Sundays and that the play was finished before four o’clock, so that payment could be made from the box office receipts.<sup>69</sup>

### **The business of the Theatre**

The early 1570s clearly saw an increase in the activity of playing companies performing in public and this was met by the authorities with equally rising controls.

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<sup>68</sup> David Mateer ‘New Light on the Early History of the Theatre in Shoreditch,’ pp. 369-375.

<sup>69</sup> David Mateer ‘New Light on the Early History of the Theatre in Shoreditch,’ p. 366.

The 1572 ‘rogues and vagabonds’ Act is indicative of the need to limit companies and to find some method of control through a more limited number of patrons. The City was faced with frequent performances at inns in its very heart and, as the main playing inns were on the principal north south thoroughfare from London Bridge to Bishopsgate, travellers were tempted to the plays, spreading the word of (as the City saw it) ‘A spectacle and school for all wickedness and vice’ and the irresponsible expenditure of money on dubious pastimes.<sup>70</sup> The Bell Savage Inn, just outside the City wall’s Ludgate and on the way to the Court at Westminster, was operating from at least 1575 as a playhouse but had played provosts prizes from 1568. By 1576 the pressure from the authorities to limit playing, and probably the competition for permitted playing places within the city, had grown to the point that the idea of playhouses outside the City Corporation’s direct control looked to be very desirable. The audience may have to travel further but the experience of enjoying a play had now become firmly implanted in the public mind and demand was such that the journey outside the city to see a play was likely to be an acceptable part of playgoing.

Burbage was not alone. He signed the lease for the Theatre to run from Lady Day 1576 (one assumes to give Leicester’s Men a base) and Jerome Savage signed a lease to run from the same Lady Day 1576 for the Newington Butts theatre, presumably primarily for Worcester’s Men.<sup>71</sup> We have no record of the lease for the Curtain (and it may well have been an existing building) but its use as a theatre is almost exactly contemporary with the Theatre, certainly it is strongly indicated that both were operating by August 1577.<sup>72</sup> The first Blackfriars Theatre lease ran from

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<sup>70</sup> *EPT*, p. 337, item 256(b). Excerpt from Northbrooke’s, *A Treatise wherein Dicing, Dauncing, Vaine playes... are reprovved by the Authoritie of the word of God* (1577).

<sup>71</sup> *EPT*, p. 320.

<sup>72</sup> *EPT*, p. 324, item 242, (b) for Newington Butts and p. 256 (b) for the Theatre and the Curtain.

Michaelmas 1576 for the Children of the Chapel Royal and at the Almonry House the Children of St. Paul's Children were already performing.<sup>73</sup> The year 1576 presents a major change in theatre provision but the cause is probably the Act of the Common Council for the regulation of performances of 6 December 1574.<sup>74</sup> This identified the social issues of petty theft and disorder and particularly the corruption of minors in 'secret places adjoining to their open stages and galleries' and sought to control them by forbidding all plays and shows that have not been perused and permitted by the appointed officers of the Lord Major and Alderman and that no play or show shall be presented until the until the City Chamberlain has received such sureties for the keeping of good order and licensed the playing place.<sup>75</sup> All forfeitures of bonds and fines were to go to the relief of the poor in the hospitals of the City. Nothing in the act was to apply to private performances in houses or lodgings of noblemen, Citizens and gentlemen provided that no money was obtained by common collection. During 1575 this Act must have become an issue for theatre entrepreneurs and an additional cost that persuaded the players to move out of the City and into liberties where the City's writ did not apply and so in 1576 there was a blossom of new theatres.

We know from the Fortune contract of 1599 that the cost of the frame of that, larger, building some 23 years later than the Theatre was £440.<sup>76</sup> That contract excluded the sealing (plastering) of some internal walls and all the painting. Edward Alleyn states that the Fortune theatre cost £520, the additional £80 being, presumably, plastering and painting but may also include some land purchase and

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<sup>73</sup> *EPT*, p. 390, item 309 for the Blackfriars Lease and pp. 306-309 for the beginning of St. Paul's.

<sup>74</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, pp. 273-76, item xxxii.

<sup>75</sup> *ES*, vol. II, pp. 273-276, item xxxii.

<sup>76</sup> J.R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (eds), *Shakespeare's Globe Rebuilt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 182.

legal costs.<sup>77</sup> The perimeter of the Fortune (a square building) was 320ft (97.6m) whilst that of the Theatre (a 14-sided polygon) was about 231ft (70.4m). It would seem likely that the Fortune theatre was therefore the more expensive to build. By the perimeter measure ratios the Theatre should have cost £375 but is likely to be more than that simple ratio to account for single items that are not proportionate – the tiring house facade, the stage, entrance doors, more complicated angled joints and so forth. We can ignore the costs of inflation, which in wages over the period was almost nil and in material costs had hardly varied (see Table 7, p.66). On the other hand, the Theatre was the first of its kind and there were probably some false starts or changes of already built parts as the project took shape. It would be an exceptional theatre, in my experience, if there were no changes during construction. Even the modern Globe replica was altered during construction and three stages were built to explore possible solutions to sightline, decoration and playing issues.

So, we could assume that the cost of the Theatre building was of the order of £450, fully completed with all internal divisions and painted. If we add to this the cost of the works, as valued, on the improvement of the tenement buildings at the mean of the two 1585–6 valuations, £230, the overall cost of the enterprise ought to have been about £680 on completion.<sup>78</sup> This is very close to John Grigg's estimate of 1,000 marks (£666.13s.4d.). We have some circumstantial evidence confirming the cost of the theatre in that Henry Bett, a Middle Temple lawyer, resident in St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, who saw and sometimes copied Burbage's books of account. He said that Brayne stated to him in 1582 that his total cost on the Theatre was £239.6s.6d.<sup>79</sup> If this sum is half the cost then the Theatre, in all cost £478.13s 0d. The

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<sup>77</sup> *Henslowe*, p. 302.

<sup>78</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 398.

<sup>79</sup> Wallace, 'The First London Theatre', p. 86.

evidence of Bett seems very precise but it begs the question of the cost of the works on the tenements. It would seem likely that the cost of the tenements was either additional to this sum or that Brayne did not finance them. Bett in his evidence says that Burbage claimed to be owed half of the cost of the tenements which would support the assumption that Brayne did not finance them and that the overall cost was about £680. We must remember that Brayne had anticipated his investment to be half of £200 so the overcall on the Theatre alone was almost £140 more than his first commitment. It is not surprising that he was loath to commit a further £115 as his share of the works to the tenements, especially as he planned, or already had, substantial commitments at the George Inn.

On 12 July 1578 there was an arbitration between Brayne and Burbage adjudicated by Richard Turner and John Hill, ‘two gentlemen of esteem’. This was more than a year after the Theatre opened and was presumably to draw a line under the costs of the finished building and apportion a scheme of recovery acceptable to the two sides. Ralph Myles, the son of Robert Myles, in a deposition of 26 April 1592, said that he remembered that Brayne was to be allowed 10s.0d weekly from the profits for his housekeeping and Burbage 8s.0d weekly and that any amount above this total of 18s.0d. was to go to discharge the debts accrued.<sup>80</sup> When these were satisfied, Brayne was to receive all the profits until they amounted to the sum Brayne had invested in excess of Burbage.<sup>81</sup> Robert Myles in his deposition of 30 July 1592 confirmed that the arbitration resolved on the equal division of profits but added that it included apportionment of profits arising both from the Theatre and the tenements. He also stated that the arbitrators further confirmed that if the parties

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<sup>80</sup> Wallace, ‘The First London Theatre’, p. 119.

<sup>81</sup> *EPT*, p. 339, item 258 (b).

decided to mortgage the lease, to settle outstanding debts, then the mortgage must be a joint one and all profits must go to the redemption of the lease.<sup>82</sup>

The difference in the housekeeping sums awarded may not be true, for Ralph was 27 years of age when he deposed in 1592 and so 13 years old at the time of the arbitration and he is also the only witness who refers to this housekeeping money. Ralph Myles's evidence is based on a reported sight of the arbitration document, but he is a witness against the Burbages, which might colour his memory. The housekeeping differential, if correct, might possibly have been to reflect a differential in capital funding. If it related only to the Theatre, then we can deduce by proportions that Brayne invested £250 and Burbage £200. Were it to relate to the whole enterprise (Theatre and tenements) then the sums were £378 and £302. In practice because there were debts outstanding (as the arbitration confirms) the sums were more likely to be a mix of money and loans on individual recognisances. If the mortgage is taken as the outstanding borrowing managed by Burbage, the later may have only found £88 from his own money. Brayne would have been the better security as a member of the grocers' livery. John Hyde who gave the mortgage was a grocer and so this is likely to have been obtained through Brayne's network of contacts.

On 22 May 1578 (before the arbitration) Burbage gave Brayne a sealed bond for £400 in recognition of a moiety of the lease and moiety of the profits from the theatre.<sup>83</sup> This was the evidence of William Nicoll, notary public, in his deposition of 31 July 1592. This would suggest that half the Theatre and tenements together with their accumulated profit were, in 1578, valued at £400. If the theatre and tenements did cost the projected £680 then the value of the anticipated profits might have been

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<sup>82</sup> *EPT*, p. 338, item 258 (a).

<sup>83</sup> *EPT*, pp. 337-38, item 257.

£120. It is more likely that the bond was assessed on a £200 capital and £200 penalty cost, the usual arrangement for the time in case of non-payment. The bond would therefore reflect a difference in outstanding commitments between the parties of £200, quite close to the arbitration figure of £239. 6s. 6d.

### **The Revenue Capacity of the Theatre**

At this point it is necessary to form some estimate of the theatre owner's returns from a performance. The recent archaeology has established the probable size of the Theatre and Julian Bowsher suggests, very credibly I believe, that the first phase of the Rose Theatre replicated the Theatre as the extant example for the carpenters to follow.<sup>84</sup> The external dimensions so far discovered at the Theatre are extremely close to those of the more fully excavated Rose. Julian Bowsher makes a very convincing case for the successive theatres to follow each other's design, changing little. We must remember that structural engineering was not known and buildings developed by craft experience rather than design initiative. We can therefore take the revenue of the Theatre to be roughly equivalent to the Rose and draw on the analysis of the Henslowe returns from the previous chapter.

A point that will be of value shortly is that the arbitrators' talk of the profits from plays upon a Sunday. Given the absolute commitment to settling debts and recovery of capital it cannot be that they made a special exception for the arbitration to apply only on Sundays. It must be, therefore, that the Theatre played only on Sundays though, presumably, on holidays as well. Against this it is recorded that one Edward Harvie played his Provost's Prize at the Theatre on 25 August 1578 and that was a Monday.<sup>85</sup> St Bartholomew's Day (24 August) was the day before; was this

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<sup>84</sup> Julian Bowsher, *Shakespeare's London Theatreland*, p. 58.

<sup>85</sup> *EPT*, p. 340, item 260.

Monday therefore a holiday in lieu or did prizes not count as plays and therefore could be played on any day? How many such events there were and how much was received at these swordplay displays or whether only a rent was paid for the Theatre is unknown making any complete extrapolation of income impossible. David Mateer in his examination of the John Hynde case notes that the boys were contracted for two days playing a week as there is special provision for more than two days.<sup>86</sup> From this he concludes that playing was normally two days a week but in fact most weeks in the contracted period have one festival holiday in them and some, over Christmas have more than one holiday. I interpret the contract therefore to cover one Sunday and any additional holiday in a week with special provision for more than one such day. It is worth noting that the clock was reset everyday at noon and that on the shortest day there are just eight hours of sunlight so that it would be dusk at 4.0pm.

Another unknown is the opening date of the Theatre. The lease was signed in April 1576 but was to run from the preceding Lady Day. Discussions about the lease must have been going on for some days but there is no evidence that Burbage ordered the framing in advance. Indeed, the evidence of Robert Miles was that Brayne ordered the timber and most of the building materials and labour.<sup>87</sup> As the lease was undertaken by Burbage, Brayne would not have placed orders before it was signed and exchanged, framing might thus have been begun by May 1576. There is no direct evidence as to when the Theatre actually opened. With a May 1576 start for the framing the Theatre could have been ready by March 1577, based on the time scale for the Rose. The Theatre was, however, the first of its kind with no model to follow and it would surely have been slower to build. Easter Sunday in 1577 was on

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<sup>86</sup> David Mateer, 'New Light on the Early History of the Theatre in Shoreditch', p. 352.

<sup>87</sup> Wallace, 'The First London Theatre', p. 141.

7 April and I think that this is probably the day that the Theatre opened. Easter week included a two-day holiday and the income would be much needed to repay some of the more pressing creditors. Whitsun was on 26 May and the following week was also a holiday week and it is likely that the references to Theatre being unfinished when it opened, surely, refers to this initial Easter opening, with completion by Whitsun. By 1 August the Privy Council knew it was operating and, when the inhibition closed the Theatre on that day and the income abruptly ceased, John Brayne looked to secure his part of the asset with the indenture to include his name on the lease and this was signed a week later.

### **Evaluation of the potential revenue account**

The archaeological evidence indicates that the first Rose theatre was built as a copy, or near copy, of the Theatre.<sup>88</sup> We may assume therefore that its capacity was similar to the Rose as calculated in the preceding chapter and set out in Appendix 1. In 1576 we can assume that the owners retained all the gallery take and the acting company the first penny for entry to the yard for this is how the history of the theatre owners and acting companies division of income began, as stated in the ‘Sharer’s Papers’.<sup>89</sup> Thus the owners retain in that first year from the opening at Easter 1577 to the arbitration a year later the playhouse owners should have collected about 1,038d x 60% of capacity filled = 623d (£2.11s.11d.) for each performance. Given the fact that performances took place on Sundays and holidays and were therefore less frequent in these early days I suspect that occupancy was higher than 60% for the years until playing became daily. The 60% occupancy figure is modern experience

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<sup>88</sup> Julian Bowsher, *Shakespeare’s London Theatreland* (London: Museum of London Archaeology, 2012), p. 70.

<sup>89</sup> *EPT*, p. 226, item 162 (4).

and relates to the Monday/Saturday occupancy differential. With less frequent performances the occupancy will be dependent on advertising and we have little information on this. Did a parade of trumpets and drums through the City to the playhouse give sufficient information to attract an optimal audience? As the Theatre was a new entertainment experience and might well have done far better in the first year (this was my experience at the modern Globe) so we might speculate that it might have achieved a higher average.

How many performances? The *Book of Common Prayer* published in 1569 lays down as holidays the 22 saints' days, and Ascension Day, all Sundays and the Monday and Tuesday following Easter and Whitsun. In addition, a civil day's holiday was taken on the monarch's Accession Day.<sup>90</sup> These total 80 days a year and if all were played the Theatre owners could expect £208 at an average receipt of £2.11s.11d (60% capacity). There was however an inhibition from 1 August 1577 until after Michaelmas so that nine performances were lost, if the Theatre obeyed the inhibition. This would reduce the return to £185.

From the income we must deduct £14, the lease rent, to give £171 for completion of the theatre and redemption of loans. There would also be a payment for the parish (rates in today's terminology) and there may have been payments to the justices for distribution to hospitals. This last was certainly in place in 1579 so we might assume it was in 1577–1578. A weekly playhouse license fee of 5s.0d. for each playing week was being paid to the Master of the Revels by Henslowe in 1591.<sup>91</sup> That regular licence fee was created after Tilney was appointed Master of the Revels in December 1581 and so his charges would not apply in the first years. The

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<sup>90</sup>*Book of Common Prayer* (London: Robert Backer, 1615), Guildhall Library, Pamphlet 8342.

<sup>91</sup> *Henslowe*, p. 15.

City required the licencing of playing places from 1574 but no fixed fee is noted.<sup>92</sup> Fines or fees for sewage might also apply and the magistrates might impose a fine for a public disorder, there is a record of concerns from local freeholders in October 1577, suggesting congestion or disorder and Burbage and Braines were indicted by the Middlesex Justices for disorder at the Theatre in February 1580.<sup>93</sup> These unknown costs for the ownership and operation of the theatre might be of the order of, say, £20 per annum so the net return for this first year would be about £151. From this, no doubt, Burbage and Brayne would draw some income or return for their services. The arbitration in September 1578 sets down 8s. a week for Burbage and 10s. a week for Brayne, and this would reduce the return on capital by a further £46. 16s. 0d. to leave a little over £104 for the completion of the building and repayment of capital loans.<sup>94</sup> Given the level of debt it is likely that these ‘housekeeping’ fees were not charged until after the arbitration.

We can also anticipate that it was difficult for the playhouses in the fields to attract audiences in the winter when the tracks and pathways were muddy and the journey cold. In October 1594 the Lord Chamberlain wrote to the Lord Mayor advising him that his players need to play in the winter within the City at the Cross Keys in Gracious Street, that instead of playing at four o’clock they will play at two o’clock and make contributions to the poor.<sup>95</sup> The 1590’s were a very cold period (see bread prices as a reflection of harvests on p. 67) and so this emphasis on winter playing within the City may not be typical.

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<sup>92</sup> *EPT*, pp. 73-7, item 35.

<sup>93</sup> *EPT*, p. 337, item 257 for the 1577 report and p. 345, item 264 for the 1580 indictment.

<sup>94</sup> *EPT*, p. 339, item 258 (b).

<sup>95</sup> *EPT*, p. 304, item 218.

There are no more records of Privy Council inhibitions for plague before the arbitration of May 1578 but, from mid-August to the end of October 1578, the burial records of the parish of All Hallows by the Wall (one of the four surviving parish records that identifies deaths from plague) had a severe outbreak, in common with St. Botolph without Aldgate, one of the poorer parishes.<sup>96</sup> Thus in the first months of opening the plague inhibitions and people's natural concern to avoid infection either closed the Theatre or reduced the revenue to the owners. It is no wonder that tempers became frayed and that Burbage and Brayne even came to blows in the shop of the notary William Nicholls, when Burbage was trying to resolve the inequity of their respective capital funding. On a brighter note it was clear that the Theatre had also been rented for Masters of Fencing displays and so presumably for acrobatic displays and other shows. From this we learn that at least fencing displays were played outside the statutory holidays, and also that the inhibition either did not apply to fencing or was being ignored (from the evidence of the Edward Harvie bout 24 days after an inhibition was announced). Given the casual observance of the law generally, I think we can assume that plays were generally restricted to holidays but the inhibition, as it was not directly addressed to the Middlesex Magistrates, was not being observed. We have no record of the rents charged by the Theatre for these prize fights, probably the arrangement was identical to that of the players, that is the door take of the first pennies.

### **The capital funding**

I have estimated that the building cost £680 including improvements to the existing buildings. The first priority of the principals will surely have been to build the

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<sup>96</sup> London Metropolitan Library, microfilm of All Hallows by the Wall, Parish Register, Burials, St. Botolph without Aldgate, Parish Register, Burials.

Theatre and to leave improvements of the existing buildings until later, after all they had ten years in which to do that but some immediate repairs ensure that the current rental income would continue. The Theatre was operating in summer 1577 so that at the date of the arbitration (July 1578) it would be safe to assume that all the theatre building costs of £450 had been expended and a lease fee of £20 and that two rental payments of £14 had been made totalling £48. There will have been other unknown costs (including immediate repairs to existing tenements to ensure that receivable rents were paid) so that this sum might be rounded up to £550.

If Brayne had put in the £239 and Burbage a further £50 (as stated by Myles in the court case of 1592) then a total of £289 in money had been contributed by Brayne and Burbage and there was also a loan from Thomas Blagrove, Clerk of the Revels. David Mateer provides evidence for this loan from the court case that followed when Blagrove pressed for payment.<sup>97</sup> The Blagrove loan is evidence for the theatre industry, actors and perhaps some patrons, rallying to support Burbage in the venture, the theatre tends to form interdependent communities due to the financial vicissitudes of the business. Burbage's borrowing capacity must have come from this community, in contrast to Brayne's liquidation of assets. Blagrove's loan brought the cash committed to £389, leaving a shortfall of unpaid bills and small loans of about £171, assuming £10 work had then been done on the tenements. In the autumn of 1578 Blagrove required the return of his money under the bonds signed by Burbage and Brayne on 29 June 1577. The bonds were for £100 from each and the cases were parallel but distinct claims, on which judgement was made enforcing payment to be made on 30 May 1578. Mateer assumes that the loan was half the

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<sup>97</sup> David Mateer, 'New Light on the Early History of the Theatre in Shoreditch' in *English Literary Renaissance* (2006), 335–375.

bond, as this was the usual arrangement, however the bill of complaint from Blagrove in support of his claim is that the ‘damage’ to him was £40 in each case so that the total loaned may have been only £80. The cases were undefended so the full value of the bonds £200 together with £1 costs was awarded by the court, possibly swallowing-up more than the first two seasons’ profits. It seems likely that Burbage and Brayne agreed with Thomas Blagrove that, as the loan was to be repaid in less than a year (surely earlier than they had anticipated), they would the original £80 loan plus the costs of £1 and a small consideration – I would suggest a total of £100. This would not be recorded in the court records of course.

In Easter term 1578 John Hynde sued for a debt of £20 for the fees for two of his sons to play before the Lord Howard in 1577. This case was defended by a countersuit and resolved in Hynde’s favour in June 1579 together with £5 in costs. Burbage was subsequently arrested by the sheriff and paid the outstanding amount of £5. 1s. 1d. If Burbage and Brayne were paid by Howard for the boys’ services, then they had effectively borrowed (had the use of) £20 for a year.<sup>98</sup>

The June 1578 arbitration resolved that Brayne’s contribution should take prior call on the income until the imbalance was corrected. Further the arbitrators suggested a joint mortgage of the lease, the repayments of which were then to have first call on receipts. A mortgage was duly entered into with John Hyde, grocer, for a sum of £125.8s.11d. on 26 September 1579, a year after the arbitration. Allowing for capital repayments from the proceeds of performances, the mortgage may be seen as a consolidation of the smaller debts and this is supported by the fact that shortly after Brayne signed the lease for the George Inn in Whitechapel, a further substantial commitment.

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<sup>98</sup> David Mateer, ‘New Light on the Early History of the Theatre in Shoreditch’.

### **Impacts on receipts as a result of the plague**

Why the year's delay in obtaining the mortgage? The parish of All Hallows by the Wall lies between the Moorgate and Bishopsgate exits from the City towards Holywell. Fortuitously it recorded plague deaths in most years from 1575 to 1600 and these records survive. It is therefore a very good barometer of the influence of plague on journeys to the Theatre, as opposed to the City and Privy Council edicts requiring closure, dependent as they were on city-wide statistics, and modulated by the City's desire to keep playhouses closed for as long as possible. On 1 August 1577 the Privy Council called for plays to cease until after Michaelmas.<sup>99</sup> All Hallows parish register shows two plague deaths in September and two in October 1577. Plague deaths in All Hallows rose in August 1578 and continued until mid-December with a total of thirty-seven deaths. On 10 November 1578 the Privy Council minutes note that plays are being performed in Southwark and seek their immediate cessation, implying that other areas had ceased playing.<sup>100</sup> All Hallows shows no plague deaths in November 1578 and it is possible that the total City deaths had fallen, perhaps excusing playing. All Hallows register shows plague deaths rising sharply again in early December 1578 but ceasing on 16 December. On 24 December 1578 the Privy Council permitted playing by the Lord Chamberlain's, Warwick's, Leicester's and Essex's together with the Children of Pauls so as to practice for the Queen's entertainment.<sup>101</sup> On 13 March 1578 the Privy Council instructed the City's Lord Mayor and the Magistrates of Middlesex that all playing should cease during lent and for Easter week, though the Middlesex and Surrey

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<sup>99</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 276, item xxxiv.

<sup>100</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 277, item xxxviii.

<sup>101</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 278, item xl.

Magistrates were required only to prevent plays during lent, allowing playing on the important Easter week holidays to the playhouses in the fields.<sup>102</sup>

It would surely have been impossible to mortgage the lease on a property containing, in these early days, poor quality tenements and a theatre, in itself a largely unknown asset type, that was frequently incapable of operating due to the plague, from before the arbitration in September 1578 until after Easter (19 April) 1579. Allowing for time to show current receipts from the Theatre over the summer, September 1579 would be the first appropriate time to arrange a mortgage. John Hyde was a fellow grocer and quite probably, like Brayne, a spicer and apothecary, then a more profitable subgroup within the Worshipful Company of Grocers.

#### **Annual Reports 1577 to 1586**

The history of the operation of the Theatre deserves sequential description rather than the forays into the records, illustrated above. I have set-out below the projected yearly returns as one might see them in annual accounts and the whole sequence of figures is consolidated and slightly expanded in appendix 4. They are, of course, speculative but are based on the available evidence of inhibitions and from the subsequent court cases. To continue the operating history of the Theatre I set out below something akin to the annual report that might accompany the accounts in a modern company. The records of inhibitions and the orders of the Lord Mayor and Privy Council give some flavour as to the trading conditions from year to year and, coupled with the plague deaths, indicate what proportion of the year was available for playing. In the years for which *Henslowe's Diary* gives us records of playing days these have been used to assist estimation. Seasonal weather variations are ignored for lack of information and on the assumption that, whilst there may have

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<sup>102</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 278, item xli, note dated by Chambers in modern (Gregorian) form as 1579.

been fewer plays presented in the winter because of the weather, there will have been fencing, tumblers and others presenting in the Theatre of which we have no record.

**Speculative Report for year-end 24 March 1576**

[25 March 1576 to 24 March 1577 in modern calendar].

*Following the City's increasing attempts to control and profit from paid performances in December 1574, Mr. Burbage sought a site for a permanent purpose-built theatre outside the City's control. In April 1576 he was able to secure a lease for a vacant plot and some tenements in the western part of the old Holywell Priory grounds. The lease is to run for 21 years with provision for a 10-year extension on or before Lady Day 1586, subject to improvements to the value of £200 being made to tenement properties. At the end of the lease period the timbers and materials of the theatre and other buildings in excess of the £200 may be removed. Mr. Brayne as Mr. Burbage's brother-in-law and longstanding financial partner agreed to finance half the £200 estimated costs of the new building which is to be called the Theatre. The building works are nearing completion and it is planned to open the Theatre (though it won't be completely finished) on Easter Sunday 1577. Costs have exceeded the anticipated sum and several creditors remain unpaid and loans have had to be taken out. No trading income was possible this year though tenement rents were collected. The Lease Fee and first year's rent was paid by Mr. Burbage in addition to his contribution to the building works.*

*Revenue Account 1576*

Playing days achieved	Income	Operating Costs	Housekeepers	Repayments of Loans	Profits dist. to owners
0	£2	£34	£0	£0	£0

*Capital Account*

Theatre costs	Tenement costs	Total cost	Funded by Mr. Burbage	Mr. Brayne	Creditors & loans	Mortgage	Net assets
£400	£0	£400	£50	£239	£111	£0	£289

**Speculative Report for year ending 24 March 1577**

*The Theatre opened at Easter, 7 April 1577 with playing permitted on Sundays and holidays (potentially 80 days a year). Playing was inhibited from 1 August to 29 September.<sup>103</sup> The agreed division of income with the acting company is that the Theatre owners receive all the gallery receipts, the acting company receive all the first 1d. from everyone entering at the doors.<sup>104</sup> The occupation at the Theatre for this first season averaged 75% or 778d. (£3.25). Cost of gathering, night watchmen and cleaning £30.<sup>105</sup> Fees, rates and charges £20 [as noted above]. The rental was £14 so total operating costs represent £66 per annum.*

*Between Easter (7 April) and Whitsun (26 May) a further £50 was spent on the Theatre to complete the works.<sup>106</sup> A sum of £10 was spent on the existing tenements to keep them in occupation and a small increase in rent was obtained. In June £80 was borrowed from Thomas Blagrave to major settle many of the creditors' accounts and all the profits of the operation were directed to the same end. On 9 August Mr. Burbage gave a bond to Mr. Brayne to secure his joint interest in the*

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<sup>103</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 276, item xxxiv. Privy Council minute dated 1.8.1577 requires an inhibition to playing and notes the 'theater and such like' in the minute. It may imply the Curtain was also open.

<sup>104</sup> *EPT*, p. 621, item 478.

<sup>105</sup> Alwin Thaler, 'Minor Actors and Employees in the Elizabethan Theater,' in *Modern Philology*, vol. 20, No.1 (Aug. 1922) 49-60, p.56, suggests gatherers were paid 18d a week or 1/18<sup>th</sup> of the gallery take at the Red Bull in 1607. Assuming the 1/18<sup>th</sup> is for all gatherers this suggests about four gatherers. An unskilled man's wage was 4d. a day with food and 6d a day without food.

<sup>106</sup> Estimated cost of painting and plastering internal walls taken from Fortune theatre being the difference between the contract sum for the Fortune £440 and Edward Alleyn's statement of cost of £520 but sums reduced to reflect the difference in building size and finish as discussed earlier in this chapter and referenced from *Henslowe*, p. 309 and p. 302.

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*lease but as it was in pawn the indenture could not be added.<sup>107</sup> On 10 October 1577 a contract was entered into with John Hynde for the playing services of his two sons until 6 April 1578. The fees due being retained to help with cash flow.*

*Revenue Account 1577*

Playing days achieved	Income	Operating Costs	Housekeepers Drawings	Repayments of Loans	Profits dist. to owners
49	£162	£66	£0	£96	£0

*Capital Account*

Theatre costs	Tenement costs	Total cost	Funded by Mr, Burbage	Mr. Brayne	Creditors & loans	Mortgage	Net Assets
£450	£10	£460	£50	£239	£171	£0	£289

**Speculative Report for year ending 24 March 1578**

*In July the plague rose in the parish of All Hallows by the Wall and continued through September and October only to start again for the first two weeks in December. The Theatre closed in late July. The Newington Butts playhouse played in November, as the plague lessened, but was quickly restrained by the Privy Council.<sup>108</sup> On 24 December the Privy Council required some companies to practice: ‘the Children of Her Majesty’s Chapel, the servants of the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Leicester, the Earl of Essex and the Children of Paul’s and no companies else.’<sup>109</sup> In 13 March the Privy Council forbade all plays in Lent.<sup>110</sup> With the reduced number of playing days the occupancy remained high but only 43 playing days were achieved, though gathering costs reduced, the saving being taken-up by legal and arbitration fees. A further £10 of repairs to existing tenements was undertaken to maintain rents receivable.*

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<sup>107</sup> *EPT*, p.336, item 254.

<sup>108</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 277, item xxxviii, A Privy Council minute of 10 November 1578 makes order to restrain playing in Surrey. This suggests that Newington Butts was playing despite a more general restraint.

<sup>109</sup> *ES*, p. 278, item xl.

<sup>110</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 278, item xli.

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*In April 1578 Thomas Blagrove reclaimed his loan of £100 with a court judgement of £201 against the bonds.<sup>111</sup> As the loan repayment was well before the anticipated due date a composition was arranged in June that repaid Blagrove’s loan together with interest and his legal costs, this amounted to £100. On 22 May 1578 Mr. Burbage bound himself to Mr. Brayne in the sum of £400 in earnest of his desire to redress the imbalance of their investments from the receipts.<sup>112</sup> This was unsatisfactory to Mr. Brayne and on 12 July the matter was submitted to arbitration.<sup>113</sup> The arbitrators decided that, after deduction of 10s.0d. a week for Mr. Brayne and 8s.0d. per week for Mr. Burbage in respect of housekeeping [management] of the Theatre all receipts would go to repaying debts and thereafter to Mr. Brayne until the capital investments of the two parties were in balance and thereafter the profits to be divided equally. Further it was advised that, if the lease were to be mortgaged, that mortgage should be a joint one and the receipts, after deduction of the housekeeping allowances should go to redeem any mortgage.<sup>114</sup> It was resolved that a mortgage be sought.*

*Revenue Account 1578*

Playing days achieved	Income	Operating Costs	Housekeepers	Repayments of Loans	Profits dist. to owners
46	£155	£66	£26	£63	£0

*Capital Account*

Theatre costs	Tenement costs	Total cost	Funded by Mr, Burbage	Mr. Brayne	Creditors & loans	Mortgage	Net assets
£450	£20	£470	£50	£239	£188	£0	£289

<sup>111</sup> David Mateer, ‘New Light on the Early History of the Theatre in Shoreditch,’ p.p. 359-60.

<sup>112</sup> *EPT*, pp. 337-8, item 257.

<sup>113</sup> *EPT*, p. 359, item 258.

<sup>114</sup> *ES*, vol. II, pp. 388-39.

**Speculative Report of the year ending 24 March 1579**

*Playing in Lent was again forbidden at the beginning of the year (4 March to 18 April) but because companies had been playing beyond the 4 March, in the City the inhibition was extended to include Easter week, an important loss of revenue as there would otherwise have been Easter Sunday and the two following holy days in which to play.<sup>115</sup> The Middlesex and Surrey magistrates were required only to hold the inhibition until the end of Lent. This gave the Theatre, Curtain and Newington Butts playhouse an advantage over the City Inns and helped to raise their profile at the start of the season.*

*A mortgage was arranged with Mr. Hyde, grocer, to consolidate and pay-off the outstanding loans as they stood at the date of the arbitration. Bonds for £200 to secure the mortgage, together with the lease were jointly undertaken by Mr. Burbage, Mr. Brayne and Mr. Prynne (broker for the mortgage) and the lease and Giles Allen's bond on signing the lease were deposited with Mr. Hyde, the mortgage sum was £125, 8s. 11d.<sup>116</sup> As Mr. Brayne had entered into the purchase of the George Inn in Whitechapel and was in urgent need of capital it was agreed to vary the terms of the arbitration and rather than pay the mortgage back to Mr. Hyde at the year end, surplus moneys after payments to creditors would be paid to Mr. Brayne to reduce his investment in the Theatre, releasing money for his new investment.*

*An indictment by a Middlesex Jury held that on 21 February (a Sunday in Lent) and on other days Brayne and Burbage illicitly presented a play, the cause of*

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<sup>115</sup> *ES*, p. 278, item xli.

<sup>116</sup> *EPT*, p. 340, item 261.

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*an ensuing disturbance of the peace.<sup>117</sup> The infringement was necessitated by the losses incurred the previous years and the need for the Theatre owners and the acting company to gain immediate revenue as their usual income from private hires for weddings and extravagant entertainment are lower in Lent.<sup>118</sup> The year was almost free from plague and no other inhibitions than the Lenten closure were issued though All Hallows had one plague death on 8 April, a fortnight before Easter.*

*In Michaelmas Term 1579 John Hynde finally obtained a court judgement (after a countersuit) for the services of his sons in 1577 and a payment of £25.10s. Id. was made to settle the outstanding debt.<sup>119</sup>*

*Revenue Account 1579*

Playing days achieved	Income	Operating Costs	Housekeepers	Repayments of Loans	Profits dist. to owners
65	£216	£68	£46	£22	£80

*Capital Account*

Theatre costs	Tenement costs	Total cost	Funded by Mr, Burbage	Mr. Brayne	Creditors & loans	Mortgage	Net assets
£450	£20	£470	£50	£159	0	£125	£345

**Speculative Report for the year ending 24 March 1580**

*The year began badly. Easter Sunday was 3 April, but three days later there was an earthquake that killed two apprentices in a church near Newgate. The earthquake occurred about six o'clock, on Wednesday evening, with aftershocks that night at nine and eleven o'clock. A further aftershock occurred on Sunday 1 May though the shock is not generally reported in London but only as close as Gravesend.<sup>120</sup> The*

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<sup>117</sup> *EPT*, p. 341, item 264.

<sup>118</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 278, item xlii.

<sup>119</sup> David Mateer, 'New Light on the Early History of the Theatre in Shoreditch,' p. 370

<sup>120</sup> Ian West, [www.southampton.ac.uk/~imw/earthquakes-south-of-england.htm](http://www.southampton.ac.uk/~imw/earthquakes-south-of-england.htm). Version, 7 April 2017.

*earthquake triggered a series of pamphlets against theatre. One, by Anthony Munday, ‘A second and third blast in retrait (sic) from plays and theatres’ said, ‘At the play-houses, the people ran forth surprised with great astonishment’.*<sup>121</sup> *Fortunately it had not been intended to play in Lent beyond the day of the earthquake. On Sunday 10 April 1580 there was another public disturbance at the Theatre, this time between the Earl of Oxford’s Men and gentlemen of the Inns of Court.*<sup>122</sup> *The Lord Mayor called all to appear before him for examination but as the offence involved an Earl and the Inns of Court the matter was investigated by the Privy Council. Private warnings and admonitions were issued.*

*The serious disturbance coupled with the earthquake resulted in an inhibition from 17 April until Michaelmas in the City and Middlesex.*<sup>123</sup> *On 13 May the inhibition was extended to venues within Surrey and the Justices were rebuked for not implementing the April order. It seems likely that Newington Butts was so far from town that they hoped to escape attention. There were no plague deaths recorded in All Hallows and the City is not thought to have had sufficient plague deaths outside these months as to invoke an inhibition.*<sup>124</sup> *It may well be therefore that the ban on playing throughout the summer was a sign of Privy Council concern about the public brawls and the public concern that the earthquake was a sign from God. The Privy Council also reminded the magistrates and City authorities of the Rogues and Vagabonds act, no doubt to try to reduce the City’s plethora of actors, tumblers and entertainers of all sorts. The City would have noted that the serious brawls had happened on Sundays rather than holidays. The trumpets and drums*

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<sup>121</sup> Cited in C. C. Stopes, *Burbage and Shakespeare’s Stage*, p. 31.

<sup>122</sup> *ES*, p. 279, item xliii.

<sup>123</sup> *EPT*, p. 341, item 265. Finlay, *Population and Metropolis*, p.15, table A1.1 shows 128 plague deaths in the City and Liberties for 1580 so the inhibition may be more for the affray than the plague.

<sup>124</sup> *EPT*, p. 342, item 267 (a).

*parading through the streets to call people to the plays was always a subject of complaint on Sundays, because of the temptation to abandon the church for the playhouse.*

*On 28 September 1580 the mortgage of the lease was repayable plus the interest. Because Mr. Brayne's debts on the George Inn were so pressing there were insufficient funds to repay the capital sum and only an amount equal to interest at 10% was paid. John Hyde was appraised of the situation and agreed to extend the mortgage provided that he received £5 a week until the principal was repaid and a 'reasonable consideration' for the extension.<sup>125</sup>*

*Revenue Account 1580*

Playing days achieved	Income	Operating Costs	Housekeepers	Repayment of Mortgage	Profits dist. to owners
55	£189	£58	£46	£0	£85

*Capital Account*

Theatre costs	Tenement costs	Total cost	Funded by Mr, Burbage	Mr. Brayne	Creditors & loans	Mortgage	Net assets
£450	£20	£470	£50	£74	£0	£125	£345

**Speculative Report for the year ending 24 March 1581**

*Easter was early, and the Theatre was able to play from 26 March until an inhibition was issued on Monday 10 July until Michaelmas.<sup>126</sup> All Hallows had no plague deaths after 19 September until the following mid-March but the City suffered terribly from the plague this summer with over 1,140 deaths, about 1% of the population.<sup>127</sup>*

*After playing resumed at the end of September the Lord Mayor issued a new order on 14 November requiring Aldermen to prevent bill posting for plays,*

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<sup>126</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 281, item xlvi.

<sup>127</sup> Finlay, p. 155, table A1.1. 1,140 plague deaths are estimated for the Gregorian year and an estimated population in the City and Liberties of somewhere between 105,000 and 125,000.

*interludes or prizes [fencing matches] to be held within the City or within two miles around.<sup>128</sup> With no play bills to announce their performances, the players were driven to longer marches with trumpets and drums through the City to attract their audience, which the authorities disliked more. On 18 November the Privy Council interceded by authorising playing again ‘having careful regard for continuance of such quiet orders in the playing places as [here]tofore you have had’.<sup>129</sup>*

*The bill posting restriction and the attitude of the authorities caused the players to present a petition to the Privy Council on 3 December asking to be able to play on weekdays and holidays but refrain from playing on Sundays. Whilst attendances on ordinary weekdays would be lower than on Sundays the greater number of playing days would more than compensate. It was hoped, too, to avoid the brawls that occurred on Sundays when everyone was free to drink through the day, always a stimulus to public brawls. The proposal would also prevent the trumpets and drums sounding through the City on Sundays to the disturbance of sabbath church services. The Privy Council duly recorded agreement to the petition.<sup>130</sup>*

*The Privy Council responded, more circumspectly, on 24 December by issuing a new patent to Edmund Tilney, Master of the Revels. This patent enforced his writ over all parts of the Realm of England including all its liberties and franchises. His powers included the co-option of costume and property makers, scenery makers and wagon makers for employment in furnishing the Queen’s entertainments ‘at reasonable wages’.<sup>131</sup> Furthermore the patent required all places, plays and players be licenced by Tilney or his officers. The City had hitherto reserved these taxes for themselves and the royal patent undermined the City’s*

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<sup>128</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 283, item lii.

<sup>129</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, pp. 283–4, item liii.

<sup>130</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, pp. 284–85, item iv.

<sup>131</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, pp. 285–87, item lvi.

*authority and much of its power of practical control. For the playhouse owner and playing company it gave a royal appointee, the Master of the Revels, a financial interest in close alignment with their own because fees were related to performance weeks and to plays required for these performances. The licence fee charges Tilney established however, were not dissimilar to those that the City had charged for many years.<sup>132</sup> The Privy Council has achieved an ‘arm’s length’ distance from the problem of and hopes to ease relationships with the City by reducing conflict with church attendance and public brawls.*

*It was the change that followed, playing on weekdays and not on Sundays, that really enabled the London theatre to become a business. On tour and in the City playing had been intermittent. The companies in London however enjoyed benefit of the well-paid private performance market for weddings, celebrations and simply as a demonstration of wealth by the commissioning Lord, Inn or Merchant. It must be remembered that the public performances in London are also an advertisement for a company’s private ones. When travelling it was difficult to build a business in private houses and generate high fees for weddings. For the theatre owner the increased number of playing days increased costs and wear and tear but soon achieved an increase in income, though at a lower rate per performance.*

*When playing restarted payments against the mortgage were made when there was income from performances, but Mr. Brayne and Mr. Burbage needed to route surplus revenue to repay the capital investment and only a little was paid.<sup>133</sup> On 27 September 1581 the mortgage became forfeit but Hyde still allowed Burbage to operate the theatre in order to retain both some value in his resulting leasehold*

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<sup>132</sup> *EPT*, pp. 73-7, item 35. 6 December 1574 Act of Common Council that playing places should make payments to the hospitals.

<sup>133</sup> *EPT*, p. 342, item 267 (a). Hyde’s deposition in court on 8 December 1590.

*and in the hopes of regaining his capital. A further £10 of work was carried out on the tenements.*

*Revenue Account 1581*

Playing days achieved	Income	Operating Costs	Housekeepers	Repayment of Mortgage	Profits dist. to owners
49	£169	£60	£46	£20	£43

*Capital Account*

Theatre costs	Tenement costs	Total cost	Funded by Mr, Burbage	Mr. Brayne	Creditors & loans	Mortgage	Net assets
£450	£30	£480	£46	£46	£0	£105	£375

**Speculative Report for the year ending 24 March 1582**

*Lent began on 28 February in the previous year and so this year’s playing should have begun at Easter, 15 April. But it was again a difficult start to the year. Edmund Peckham’s estate (he is a Royal Ward) claimed ownership of Giles Allen’s Holywell property and attempted to regain possession by force. It was necessary for the Theatre to employ additional watchmen to prevent the property being taken over by Peckham’s servants.<sup>134</sup> Both players and audience were reluctant to enter into the prolonged scuffles and tension and some playing days were lost. Rent was withheld from Giles Allen to offset these additional costs as Allen did not undertake the defence of the property himself.*

*The Lord Mayor on 3 April issued a precept to the Worshipful Company of Ironmongers, charging them to instruct all freemen of the company and their staff not to attend plays.<sup>135</sup> On 11 April the Privy Council wrote to the Lord Mayor requiring that plays be allowed ‘for honest recreation’.<sup>136</sup> The Privy Council’s letter*

<sup>134</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 385 and Bull, Davis and Lewis *et al*, MOLA Monograph 53, p.86. *EPT*, p.343, item 269 defines the defence against Peckham as ‘spring 1582’.

<sup>135</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, pp. 288-89, lix. The reference refers to the Ironmongers Company but was surely issued to all the worshipful companies.

<sup>136</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, pp. 287-88, item lx.

*significantly widened the benefit of playing from only the ‘solace of her majesty’ to the general ‘honest recreation’ of the audience. The letter was ambiguous and the City interpreted it as restricted playing to saint’s days and holidays not including the Sabbath and this severely restricted the number of playing days. The Lord Mayor, clearly sensing an opportunity to finally quash playing responded, on 13 April, emphasising that playing was to be only on holidays, not being a Sunday, but pointing out that the playhouses let the audience in during the time of evening prayer and thus prevented people attending church. If he restrained them until later, then the plays finished at an inconvenient time of the night. The Lord Mayor concludes by informing the Privy Council that the plague is returning.*

*In fact, the rise of the plague this year was very great, there were three plague deaths in All Hallows Parish before Easter (15 April) followed by a lull and was very active again in August until October and then less virulent in January when All Hallows suffered nine plague deaths and two more in March. There were over 3,000 plague burials in the City and Liberties in the year, almost 3% of the population.<sup>137</sup>*

*The Master of the Revel’s patent of December 1581 has resulted in a licence fee for each playing week and this added to operating costs and made playing only one day a week impossible. Many days were played illicitly at the Theatre, especially when there were lulls in the plague in May and June and again in February.*

*In June John Hyde had James Burbage arrested in an attempt to obtain repayment of the mortgage capital. Burbage explained that the lack of funds was due to the impossibility of playing, but he was forced to give Hyde £20.<sup>138</sup>*

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<sup>137</sup> Finlay, *Population and Metropolis*, p. 155, Table A1.1.

<sup>138</sup> *EPT*, p. 144, item 270.

## *The Burbage–Brayne Enterprise 1576–1587*

*In the autumn the City published Acts enforcing the issuing of fines to people who fail to attend church, the proceeds to make payments to parishes and hospitals. Finally, on Sunday 13 January some scaffolds at the Bear Gardens collapsed killing eight and maiming many people. A misfortune duly reported by the Lord Mayor to Lord Burghley.<sup>139</sup> Burghley's reply was to agree 'it was convenient to have both that and other profane assemblies prohibited on the Sabbath day' and suggested that some other day of the week be appointed.<sup>140</sup> This was not ideal because weekday audiences would be smaller and there were to be no more playing days than before with which to address the increasing costs of licences. Several days were played before lent.*

### *Revenue Account 1582*

Playing days achieved	Income	Operating Costs	Housekeepers	Repayment of Mortgage	Profits dist. to owners
70	£225	£67	£46	£20	£92

### *Capital Account*

Theatre costs	Tenement costs	Total cost	Profit to Mr. Burbage	Profit to Mr. Brayne	Creditors & loans	Mortgage	Net assets
£450	£30	£480	£0	£0	£0	£85	£395

### **Speculative Report for the year ending 24 March 1583**

*The plague of last year continued well into this year being virulent in All Hallows by the Wall parish in April and May and in St. Botolph without Aldgate through to September. The City were particularly active in seeking the inhibition of plays (and now of course bear baiting) even extending their efforts to try to prevent archery and other sporting events and attempted to get the Privy Council to instruct magistrates in Middlesex and Surrey to follow the City's precepts in dealing with playhouses*

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<sup>139</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 292, item lxiv.

<sup>140</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 292, item lxv.

outside the City.<sup>141</sup> The inhibition continued until the Privy Council allowed playing again on 26 November but limited playing to ‘not done upon Sundays, but upon some other week days’.<sup>142</sup> The City, rather gleefully, limited playing only to holidays and one day a week, until 1 December when Sir Francis Walsingham wrote to the Lord Mayor that the permitted playing was to include all work days.<sup>143</sup>

Concern over the short period of time left to achieve the necessary expenditure on the tenements and the uncertainty of the performances achieved each year caused the owners to spend £50 on improving and adapting the tenements now that their investment had been recouped..

*Revenue Account 1583*

Playing days achieved	Income	Operating Costs	Housekeepers	Repayment of Mortgage	Profits dist. to owners
154	£235	£65	£46	£15	£109

*Capital Account*

Theatre costs	Tenement costs	Total cost	Profit to Mr. Burbage	Profit to Mr. Brayne	Creditors & loans	Mortgage	Net assets
£450	£80	£530	£30	£30	£0	£70	£460

**Speculative Report for the year ending 24 March 1584**

Easter was 19 April this year, giving a late start to the season. On Whit Monday (8 June) there was a small fight between some gentlemen and apprentices in the fields near the Theatre and Curtain.<sup>144</sup> The next day the apprentices threatened to assemble to confront the gentlemen and the watches were called out. On the Wednesday one Browne, a common criminal, went to the Theatre and beat some apprentices near the door, wounding one, an affray followed in which Browne slipped away. William Fleetwood, the City of London Recorder, and a constant

<sup>141</sup> ES, vol. IV, pp. 294-95, item lxx.

<sup>142</sup> ES, vol. IV, pp. 295-96, item lxxi.

<sup>143</sup> ES, vol. IV, pp. 295-96, item lxxi and p.296-7, item lxxii.

<sup>144</sup> ES, vol. IV, pp. 297-98, item lxxiv.

*complainer about plays, spent three days finding and committing Browne to Newgate gaol. On Sunday the Lord Mayor sent two alderman and Fleetwood to the Privy Council with a letter to Lord Burghley asking that the Theatre and Curtain be suppressed and playing in the City should cease. All the lords except the Lord Chamberlin (Lord Howard of Effingham) and the Vice-Chamberlin (Lord Hunsdon) agreed and William Fleetwood obtained a letter ordering the suppression.<sup>145</sup> The Queen's Men and Lord Arundel's Men were summoned that Sunday night and 'willingly' obeyed the Lords' letters'. That is presumably to cease playing in their city inns, and the leader of the Queen's Men (John Dutton) advised Mr. Fleetwood to send for Burbage and to bind him too, but Burbage refused to come saying he was Lord Hunsdon's Man and would answer only to him. Fleetwood threatened to arrest him, but James Burbage persuaded him that he would attend the Court of Oyer and Determiner the following day.<sup>146</sup> Fleetwood says that he felt unable to arrest Burbage as he was a Councillor's Man. The Theatre and Curtain thought it sensible to remain closed for a period whilst the matter was on everyone's lips.*

*In November the Queen's Men petitioned the Privy Council to be able to play again in London 'the season of the year being past for playing at any of the houses without the City'.<sup>147</sup> In response the City set out their reasons for keeping all the playhouses closed but offered a compromise related to the number of deaths each week in London. The deaths in London, they stated, when there is no plague are between forty and fifty so that the City proposed that only when deaths have fallen below fifty for two or three weeks should playing be allowed.<sup>148</sup> Whilst this may seem*

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<sup>145</sup> *ES*, vol. 1, pp. 40-41. Chambers says he identified the Lord Chamberlain and Deputy from manuscript records. For Fleetwood's record of events in a subsequent letter to Burghley see *ES*, vol. IV, pp. 297-98, item lxxiv.

<sup>146</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, pp. 297-98.

<sup>147</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 299, item lxxv (1).

<sup>148</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, pp. 298-302, item lxxv, 2(b).

*generous, as the population of the City increased daily, it would not be long before the number of deaths reached fifty every week and then they could allow no playing at all. Mr Fleetwood asked that the Theatre and Curtain be pulled down but there is no sign that the Privy Council agreed and playing outside the City continued as the year was largely free of plague until October and November.*

*It was this year that the playing week was firmly established as Monday to Saturday, following Sir Francis Walsingham’s letter to the Lord Mayor of the previous December confirming all workdays and with a plague free summer to give many days of playing. With it there came a considerable change in the nature of the acting companies. Playing every weekday meant less dependence on private house performances and the ability of the company to be in London virtually all the time and so less touring. But it also meant more plays, or otherwise the old ones would have to be repeated too often. New plays refreshed the audience and maintained income. More plays however meant more costs, not only for the play texts but also for costumes and properties with which to furnish them. Therefor, with their investment fully recouped and the mortgage reducing this is the year in which the theatre owners agreed to give half the gallery receipts to the acting company to cover their increased costs.*

*Revenue Account 1584*

Playing days achieved	Income	Operating Costs	Housekeepers	Repayment of Mortgage	Profits dist. to owners
181	£289	£80	£46	£10	£153

*Capital Account*

Theatre costs	Tenement costs	Total cost	Profit to Mr. Burbage	Profit to Mr. Brayne	Creditors & loans	Mortgage	Net assets
£450	£210	£660	£41	£41	£0	£60	£600

**Speculative Report for the year ending 24 March 1585**

*Easter was 11 April this year and there was no plague so that the year became the first full year of playing. The ability to play every weekday (274 days, excluding Lent) meant that the players had to attract the same audience several times more often and that meant more plays and more licences for the plays. Audiences also had to be wooed with more costumes and effects so that the cost of production went up. The housekeepers, by contrast had more performances over which to spread their costs and needed a lower proportion of the daily take. During this year the housekeepers consolidated their agreement with the players that the acting company should take not only the first penny at the door, but also half the second and third pennies (in the standings and the quiet rooms). The company now stayed in residence for most of the year to keep up with the constant rehearsal and performance programme. Performances for weddings and other festivities had to be fitted in to Sundays and playing in the late evening or by making gaps in the performance schedule, most weeks the company played five performances. With more reliable quality of product from a company no longer moving from venue to venue and with regular performances through each week, the habit of theatregoing became a regular one for audiences. Companies were able to store costumes and properties in their theatres which made their residence more certain but also meant that the theatre owners were less likely to be able to change companies and even one-off sword fighting and acrobatic events might become difficult. This year an arrangement was made with Mr. Lanman at the Curtain to co-ordinate the programme and pool takings at both venues so as to give more freedom to fit in one-*

*off fencing matches and other shows and guard against lower daily returns with playing activity expanding to weekdays.*<sup>149</sup>

*With the Theatre beginning to be a substantial business the Theatre owners looked to take up the opportunity to extend the lease for a further 21 years from Lady Day 1586. The tenements were overhauled ready for inspection and in November a new lease to run from 1586 was written in the same terms as the original, but without the extension provision, and prepared ready with the wax for sealing.<sup>150</sup> Giles Allen, however, refused to sign the new lease claiming unpaid rent (£28 had been withheld for the cost of defending against Peckham's attempt to gain the property and we may assume that Allen is adding interest to the sum). Allen also claimed that the extension was not due as the housekeepers had failed to spend £200 on the improvements to the property.<sup>151</sup> Burbage obtained a valuation of the improvements but to no avail.<sup>152</sup> It was difficult to understand Allen's motivation, when offered a new fee of £20, surely, it was prudent to sign? It is possible that he was concerned about public disturbances on or near his property, he owns all the north side of the old Holywell Priory with forty or more houses in rent and his own house was only metres away from the Theatre. It is possible too that as Holywell at this time is becoming ready for new development, an extension of the lease would delay making those gains.<sup>153</sup> Extending the lease would delay redevelopment whilst the case for ownership of the property made by Edmund Peckham rumbled on*

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<sup>149</sup> *EPT*, p. 349, item 276 (c).

<sup>150</sup> *EPT*, p. 346, item 274.

<sup>151</sup> *EPT*, pp. 379-82, item 302 (b).

<sup>152</sup> *EPT*, p.348, item 275.

<sup>153</sup> Raoul Bull, Simon Davis, Hana Lewis, *Holywell Priory*, MOLA monograph 53, p. 102.

*threatening Allen with eviction if he lost. Allen had won the case in 1581 [but George Peckham was to prepare another in the Court of Wards in 1592.]*<sup>154</sup>

*There was some plague this year, All Hallows by the Wall recorded two deaths in May and one in August but there was only the usual early summer inhibition.*<sup>155</sup>

*Revenue Account 1585*

Playing days achieved	Income	Operating Costs	Housekeepers	Repayment of Mortgage	Profits dist. to owners
160	£266	£78	£46	£10	£132

*Capital Account*

Theatre costs	Tenement costs	Total cost	Profit to Mr. Burbage	Profit to Mr. Brayne	Creditors & loans	Mortgage	Net assets
£450	£230	£680	£97	£97	£0	£50	£630

**Speculative Report for the year ending 24 March 1586**

*Mr. Burbage continued trying to get a new twenty-one-year lease, but Giles Allen was obdurate that the condition of £200 expenditure to improve the property other than the Theatre has not been met, despite valuations provided by two carpenters.*<sup>156</sup>

*June this year saw the death of Mr. John Brayne, Mr. Burbage’s partner in the enterprise.*<sup>157</sup> *For the Burbages this brought the partnership to a close on the basis of an (undocumented) undertaking by Brayne, believing himself childless, planned to leave his interest in the Theatre to the younger Burbages, no doubt he assumed that his wife would continue to receive an income from the Theatre.*

<sup>154</sup> Bull, Davis and Lewis *et al*, MOLA Monograph 53, p. 86. This confirms the court cases and quotes Stowe 1590 as saying that the holy well was ‘much decayed and marred with filthiness purposely laid there for the heightening of the ground for garden plots.’

<sup>155</sup> There are no records of the Privy Council minutes for this year but in May 1586 the Privy Council issued an inhibition to the City and Middlesex and Surrey Justices warning of the potential for plague with the ‘heat of the year now drawing on’. (ES, vol. IV, p. 302, item lxxvi). Roger Finlay *Population and Metropolis* does not record this as a plague year. It is likely however that some deaths in April (indicated by St. Botolph without parish records) did prompt a similar inhibition until Michaelmas.

<sup>156</sup> *EPT*, p. 348, item 275.

<sup>157</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 389.

*Margaret Brayne received probate of John's will on 10 August 1586 but the will she presented for probate was dated 1 July 1578.<sup>158</sup> It was usual for the last will to be written days or even hours before death so there was some concern that the last will, expressing his final wishes was not given for probate. During John Brayne's final illness an accounting was made and it was found that Mr. Burbage and Mr. Brayne had recouped their capital and each received £135. 1s. in profit.<sup>159</sup> In addition since the arbitration Mr. Brayne had received £182 in housekeeping payments in accordance with the arbitration and Mr. Burbage had received £145.60.*

*On the death of John Brayne, John Hyde, no doubt fearing the mortgage would not be fully repaid, encouraged his father in law, George Clough to pursue Burbage for the money due.<sup>160</sup>*

*Now that playing is allowed on every day of the week, save Sunday, players are coming to London to seek work where it is most constant, and this is causing concern for some people in the City.<sup>161</sup> We hear that Philip Henslowe's is to build the Rose theatre on Bankside to make use of companies such as Strange's and Pembroke's.<sup>162</sup>*

*There was an inhibition issued by the Privy Council on 11 May (11 days before Whit Sunday), which has lost the important Whit-week playing and lasted until Michaelmas day.<sup>163</sup>*

*Revenue Account 1586*

Playing days achieved	Income	Operating Costs	Housekeepers	Repayment of Mortgage	Profits dist. to owners
148	£249	£83	£46	£5	£115

<sup>158</sup> *EPT*, p. 349, item 277.

<sup>159</sup> C. W. Wallace, 'The First Theatre', p. 72, evidence of Henry Bett.

<sup>160</sup> *EPT*, p. 352, item 280 (b).

<sup>161</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, pp. 303–04, item lxxviii. An anonymous letter to Walsingham complains of 200 actors parading in their silks and asks that they should pay towards support for the poor. The letter names the Queen's Men, Leicester's, Oxfords and the Admiral's 'and diverse others'.

<sup>162</sup> Henslowe's contract with John Cholmley is dated January 1587 (see chapter three).

<sup>163</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 302, item lxxvi.

*Capital Account*

Theatre costs	Tenement costs	Total cost	Profit to Mr. Burbage	Profit to Mr. Brayne	Creditors & loans	Mortgage	Net assets
£450	£230	£680	£154	£154	£0	£45	£635

**Speculative Report for the year ending 24 March 1587**

*Some time was spent whilst the Theatre was closed to refurbish the ten-year old building.<sup>164</sup> Margaret Brayne, continued to receive housekeeping money and some share of the profits of the Theatre through part of this year, but when asked to pay a moiety of the necessary repairs and redecoration of the Theatre was unable to do so, her other debts pressing so heavily upon her.<sup>165</sup>*

*It is regretted that a dispute over the share of the profits from the Theatre has broken out between Mr. Burbage and Mrs. Brayne. The refurbishment of the Theatre was undertaken this year at a cost of £60 but Mrs. Brayne was unable to furnish her share of the cost. As the matter of her profits from the Theatre was taken to law at the end of the year all returns and benefits to Mrs. Brayne were terminated as to continue them would be a tacit admission of her right to a share in the Theatre.*

*A restraint was issued by the Privy Council on 7 May resulting from disorders at playing places and the opportunity was taken to continue the restraint as a precaution against plague.<sup>166</sup> It lasted until Michaelmas and some attempt was then made to catch-up lost revenues, however on 29 October the residents of Southwark complained that the newly opened Rose theatre was playing on Sundays, against express orders of the Privy Council and the Middlesex justices were also*

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<sup>164</sup> *EPT*, p. 350, item 278 shows that Margaret collected housekeeping but refused the £30 contribution to the refurbishment and that at this point the relationship with the Burbages broke down.

<sup>165</sup> *EPT*, p. 350, item 278(b).

<sup>166</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p.304, item lxxix.

*The Burbage–Brayne Enterprise 1576–1587*

*required to enforce the rule.<sup>167</sup> In November a deputation was sent from the City Court of Aldermen to the Privy Council to move them to the suppressing of plays but we have heard nothing further.<sup>168</sup>*

*Revenue Account 1587*

Playing days achieved	Income	Operating Costs	Housekeepers	Repayment of Mortgage	Profits dist. to owners
127	£219	£82	£46	£10	£81

*Capital Account*

Theatre costs	Tenement costs	Total cost	Profit to Mr. Burbage	Profit to Brayne Estate	Creditors & loans	Mortgage	Net assets
£510	£230	£740	£167	£162	£0	£35	£645

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<sup>167</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, pp.304-05, item lxxx.

<sup>168</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p.305, item lxxxi.

## Chapter Five

### The Burbage Family Enterprise 1588–1600

This chapter continues the story of the Burbage Theatre as it moves from the endeavour of the father James and his partner John Brayne to the beginning of a long-lived family-led enterprise. It was a period of changing fortunes and circumstances from court cases, through a year of extreme plague and the death of James Burbage himself. In property terms the Theatre was lost, its replacement, the Second Blackfriars theatre proved to be unusable and the new Globe theatre was born as a shareholding enterprise out of the financial constraints on the Burbage enterprise.

#### **The dissolution of the Burbage–Brayne enterprise, court cases 1587–1597.**

We must start with the unpleasant dispute that was in place in 1587 with Margaret Brayne desperate to receive money from the Theatre. ‘Desperate’ is not an ill-chosen word, pregnant, grieving for her husband and living some distance from the Burbage family, she must have felt very alone. With enormous debts hanging about her, fear for the future would be a constant in her life. At first she blamed Robert Miles, her principal creditor, for her predicament, accusing him of murdering her husband, one assumes by pressing for recovery of debts, though a physical fight is implied.<sup>1</sup> He replied by threatening to turn her out of her accommodation at the George Inn in Whitechapel.<sup>2</sup> The Burbages certainly suspected that Miles was the father of Margaret’s child and it might be that Miles was seeking to remove two problems by

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<sup>1</sup> *EPT*, p. 351, item 279.

<sup>2</sup> *EPT*, p. 349, item 277. Note that this evidence is drawn from James Burbage’s Bill of Complaint and is therefore prejudiced.

ejecting her from the George. Margaret sued Miles in the Chancery Court for common barratry (nowadays a marine law term in respect of care for the owners of a ship or crew, but also having a more general application to malicious prosecution). When Miles did not reply he was ordered by the court to respond on 14 May 1587 eleven months after John Brayne's death when Margaret must have had a baby only a few weeks old. The case appears to have been resolved out of court for, when she died in 1593, Margaret was still living at the George. Instead Margaret Brayne was supported by Robert Miles in suing for a moiety of the returns from the Theatre in 1588. After Margaret died in 1593, Miles obtained the court's leave, as her executor, and guardian of her child, to continue the prosecution which ran on intermittently with varying fortunes for both parties until 1597.<sup>3</sup>

As shown in the last chapter, though Margaret was receiving some money from the Theatre/Curtain returns she was constantly paying-off creditors and unable to find the £30 asked to refurbish the Theatre. My assumption is that this demand for capital was designed as a lever to get Margaret Brayne to forego her claim for ownership of the moiety in return for a regular income because the refurbishment funds could easily have been drawn from trading surpluses. If so, it had the reverse effect for Margaret, now dependent on Miles for her home and for help in fending off creditors, was easily influenced to try for the capital sum rather than the income. In February 1587 Margaret Brayne sued James Burbage in common law for payment of the Bond for £400 he had issued to John Brayne in May 1578 as a surety for a half interest in the lease.<sup>4</sup> The pre-trial claims and counterclaims that must have preceded the court case will have run through most of 1588 and I presume that the Burbages

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<sup>3</sup> *EPT*, p. 375, item 298.

<sup>4</sup> C. C. Stopes, *Burbage and Shakespeare's Stage*, p. 154, Note VI.

decided to exclude Margaret from the proceeds of the Theatre in response.<sup>5</sup> Any right to draw on the returns at the Theatre would confirm the very ownership that she claimed. The result is to be seen in the years of court cases that follow. Burbage countersued that Brayne had intended to leave his interest in the property to Richard and Cuthbert Burbage.<sup>6</sup> The tone of the Burbage complaint is vituperative, setting the tone for the ensuing legislation. It impugns John Brayne's veracity and honesty as a businessman, describing him as a 'subtle' person and accusing him of the practice of making Deeds of Gift to other people so that he had no assets when creditors made claims against him. This was not an unknown practice and commonly used by those going to gaol for debt or for trade disputes. There is also a complaint that after Brayne took the lease of the George in 1579 he left Burbage to manage the debts and operation of the Theatre. If true that lack of support during the undoubtedly difficult times of limited playing days, land ownership disputes with Peckham and the plague of 1583 would be a strong motivation for disowning Margaret. Yet she seems still to have collected money, even if somewhat abated, until perhaps the middle of 1587.<sup>7</sup>

The influence of the Burbages through their patron and contacts at Court can be seen in the long-delayed course of the claim and counterclaim through the courts and in the final outcomes. On 17 February 1588 the case is delayed by referring it to a Dr. Caesar to adjudicate on whether and where the dispute should be heard. On 4 November 1590 the court orders a sequestration of the Theatre in favour of Margaret and nine days later reduces this to only confirming of the currency of the arbitration agreement. On 28 November 1590, Robert Miles having tried, unsuccessfully, to obtain monies from the Burbage family due under the arbitration as ordered by the

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<sup>5</sup> C. W. Wallace, 'The First Theatre,' p. 149, deposition of Henry Lanman.

<sup>6</sup> *EPT*, p. 351, item 279 and pp. 352-55, item 281.

<sup>7</sup> C. W. Wallace, 'The First Theatre,' pp. 149-150, deposition of Henry Lanman.

court, swore an affidavit that the Burbages are in Contempt of Court. Cuthbert Burbage made an appearance at court in January 1590 and evidence was given on both sides through the following spring before the matter of contempt is referred for adjudication to Dr. Caesar at the very end of 1590. In June 1591 the whole case is transferred to Dr. Carew and in July to Dr. Hone. This has the hallmarks of a hot-potato on which no one wanted to adjudicate for fear of offending in high places and again in October the case is transferred to Dr. Legge and Dr. Stanhope who insist that they must examine all the witnesses. This widens the case through the whole of 1592 from the contempt to a full re-consideration of the original claim for a moiety of the Theatre by Margaret Brayne who died in April 1593 with the case unsettled. In February 1593 Robert Miles as Margaret's executor successfully obtained permission to take the case up on behalf of Margaret's estate and her heir, Katherine. On 14 March 1594 the original claim and counterclaim (though now with Miles as a claimant) are heard again and on 28 May 1595 the case is referred back to Common Law as a claim against the original £400 bond. Effectively Miles has lost. The six-year legal wrangle, apparently won in November 1590 has resulted in no return to the Brayne estate and considerable legal costs.<sup>8</sup> Undeterred Miles tried again in 1597, presenting it as a fresh case by involving Giles Allen and the original lease for the Theatre but with equally disappointing results.<sup>9</sup> The copious depositions in these cases have been referenced in the discussion of the history of the Burbage-Brayne enterprise in the preceding chapter and need not be rehearsed again.

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<sup>8</sup> C. W. Wallace, 'The First Theatre,' pp. 36-37 sets out the sequence of events very clearly.

<sup>9</sup> C. W. Wallace, *ibid*, p. 37.

## **The Mortgage**

The legal case brought by Margaret Brayne against James Burbage made it imperative to recover clear ownership of the lease for the Holywell site by redeeming the mortgage from John Hyde. Hyde deposed in 1592 that James Burbage had often come to him asking him to relinquish the lease to Cuthbert, but, because he knew of the dispute between Margaret Brayne and the Burbages he was loath to do so.<sup>10</sup> Eventually Cuthbert Burbage regained the lease on 7 June 1589. In order to obtain the release of the mortgage Cuthbert obtained a letter from his master Walter Cope, Gentleman Usher to the Lord Treasurer, implying that Cope might be able to assist Hyde in gaining access to the Lord Treasurer, were Hyde to allow Cuthbert to redeem the mortgage. Hyde's inclination (subject to full payment) was to allow the Brayne estate (that of a follow grocer) to redeem it. However, with money ready and the letter to persuade him he opted for the advantage offered and dealt with Cuthbert. I think that it was at this point that Cuthbert joined the family firm, running the Theatre and Curtain enterprise since recovering the mortgage in his own name he was the leaseholder of the Theatre. For Walter Cope, the letter was an undertaking that might backfire on him should Hyde approach the Lord Treasurer with a specious or troublesome suit, he was taking some risk. I believe therefore that this letter might be a leaving present to a servant he liked and believed had a future at Court, but who was giving that opportunity up, to support his ageing father in difficult times. I am supported in this interpretation by the fact that when the law court attached James Burbage in 1591 on a charge of contempt of court, they also attached Cuthbert. Clearly, he was perceived as being an active partner in the enterprise as well as the leaseholder.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> *EPT*, p. 356, item 283 (b).

<sup>11</sup> C. W. Wallace, 'The First Theatre,' p. 19.

The amount of the payment for recovery of the lease is not clear. Cuthbert later stated that it was £30 outstanding plus ‘a consideration.’ In the speculative accounts I have included for interest and gradual writing down of the sum outstanding to meet Cuthbert’s statement. As I said earlier it is unlikely that Hyde would allow the Theatre to be used by the Burbages without some annual recompense. I suspect that Hyde’s implication is intended to show the he, Hyde, had been financially successful in recovering his capital and interest, but elides the long period over which this took place.

I said ‘clear title’ because it is not at all certain that Hyde actually informed Giles Allen of the change in ownership of the lease; Allen never mentions it in his subsequent actions to try to recover some of the Theatre capital in cash or timber after the Burbages famously removed it from Holywell at Christmas 1598. The Burbages were later to advance the argument in the law suits with Robert Miles that they had not owned the Lease (but only the operation of the Theatre) since 1581 when the lease was ‘forfeit’ and, as Brayne had agreed to the mortgage and bound himself for its recovery, the forfeiture deprived him of a share of ownership of the Theatre. Given Allen’s antipathy towards the Theatre and a lease extension it is surprising that, had he known about the forfeiture of ownership, he did not go to Hyde to obtain the lease himself and close the Theatre. I suspect that the physical document was held by Hyde as security and that it was never intended by either party that the practical operation of the Theatre would change hands. Perhaps Giles Allen was loath to invest further, his subsequent dealings suggest a man who valued the inflow of money with the least effort.

### **The Second Blackfriars and the Globe buildings**

Just as the Theatre was an innovation, so too was the Burbages’ plan for the future, a

large indoor theatre, similar in scale to the great halls of the palaces and houses the company played. Cuthbert in later years described his father as ‘the first builder of playhouses,’ in the use of the plural he surely meant both the Theatre and the Blackfriars.<sup>12</sup> The Parliament Chamber of Blackfriars was sold freehold to James Burbage for £600, the deed of sale was signed on 4 February 1595 but the title was probably to run from the preceding quarter day, 25 December.<sup>13</sup> The work of conversion of the premises into a theatre would no doubt be in planning at this year end, the work itself falling into the following year.

To the Burbages a Blackfriars playhouse would present many advantages. It was within London and close to the mass of potential customers, yet it was in a liberty and thus technically out of the control of the City authorities. It was an indoor venue and so not subject to the vicissitudes of the weather – the harvest records suggest that the weather was much colder and wetter than usual in this and subsequent years. As a precinct it was not so likely to become a place for riotous assembly as the Moor Fields and Bankside were so frequently. For Cuthbert Burbage there would be the advantage of a theatre to which more sophisticated audiences might be attracted in a precinct inhabited by lords and ladies, many of whom had roles at Court and with whom he would have had acquaintance. The increase in entry charge was also to be welcome and would more than off-set the reduction in capacity. For Richard Burbage the ability to work in a room (albeit a large one) with less volume and where more subtlety of voice could be employed was surely an advantage.

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<sup>12</sup> *EPT*, p. 236, item 162 (4).

<sup>13</sup> *EPT*, pp. 504-507, item 401.

The boy companies had shown that playing indoors to a more discerning audience was practical and drew an audience, though one limited by the capacity of the rooms they used. Indeed, the companies of boys had played the adjoining smaller, first Blackfriars theatre, without apparent objection from the local residents. For the clowns in the company there would be the loss of the standing, active, pit audience on which to play. This raises the question as to whether the plans for the large Blackfriars theatre would have a standing pit, or a seated one. The former would encourage the vibrant, active exchange between actor and audience that playwrights and actors knew. The boy companies played more refined plays with a strong emphasis on chamber scale music and singing and for them the auditoria would be fully seated.

We know from the November 1596 petition to the Privy Council by objectors living in the Blackfriars precinct that they were afraid of the noise of the ‘common playhouse’.<sup>14</sup> They described in their petition that their expectation of a men’s company was of trumpets and drums and, and one assumes loud singing in which the audience would join. This last is borne out by the use of popular catches and songs in the plays.<sup>15</sup> In the open-air playhouse with a standing audience there will have been opportunities for clowns to repeat popular songs with the audience joining in on popular ballads and catches, or at least humming or swaying in time. Would they do so, seated, in the indoor playhouse? The companies were used to playing in private houses for weddings and festivities but there they adapted to circumstance. Was Burbage thinking of having his own grand house, purpose designed for plays, pre-figuring D’Avenant at Rutland House, or simply providing a better commercial

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<sup>14</sup> *EPT*, pp. 507-08, item 402.

<sup>15</sup> Stuart Gillespie, ‘Shakespeare and Popular Song’, in Gillespie Stuart and Neil Rhodes (eds), *Arden Critical Companion: Shakespeare and Popular Culture* (London & New York: Bloomsbury, 2006), pp. 174-92.

setting? The fact that James Burbage gave the Blackfriars to Richard, the actor, and the problematic Theatre to Cuthbert, the manager, suggests that he conceived Blackfriars as a better setting for acting.

The petition from local residents in November 1596 saying that Burbage meant ‘very shortly to convert and turn the same into a common playhouse.’<sup>16</sup> As the petitioners were nobles and gentlemen the petition to restrain the new theatre was granted and it was not until 1602 that Richard Burbage was able to let it to Henry Evans for a company of children.

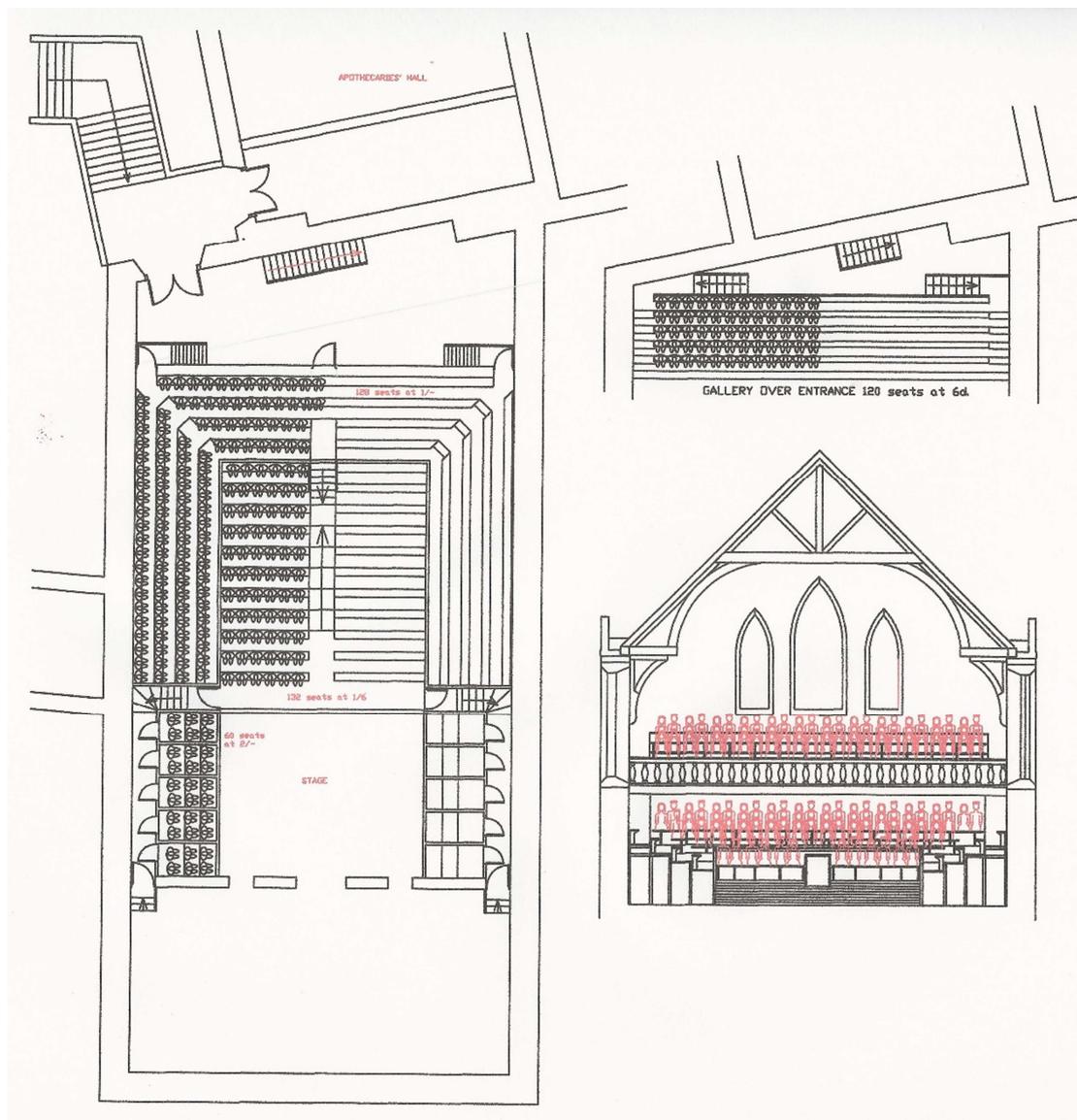
I follow John Orrell’s thesis about the layout of the private (indoor) theatre to establish an approximate capacity as illustrated below and in the appendices.<sup>17</sup> The work of conversion will have been modest because the partitions of the rooms, running the full height of the hall would have been carried out in stout softwood timbers (softwood as the work was all internal) and this would provide much of the material required. It is not the place here to go into the details of the conversion but it is clear that one end of the room containing an upper room was left unchanged, and the similar arrangement at the other end of the great chamber was probable changed only to move the partition back so that it would provide the frame for a gallery. This would leave the majority of the work to the formation of a raised lower tier to surround the pit on the stone floor of the chamber. Apart from the benches and tier floors and the stage very little new material would have been required. The suggested plan is more like the adaptation of great halls than the multi-galleried outdoor playhouses. Irwin Smith, and many others have proposed a three-gallery auditorium, following the format of the outdoor playhouses but this would reduce the light

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<sup>16</sup> *EPT*, pp. 507-08, item 402.

<sup>17</sup> John Orrell, ‘The Private Theatre Auditorium,’ *Theatre Research International*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Summer 1984), 79–92.

entering the room through the windows. As plays were performed on winter afternoons, daylight would be important, even if it had to be assisted with candles. The existing models for the Burbages were the conversions of great halls for plays, where the tables and benches would be pushed to the sides and the dais used for a stage. The convention for the staging of masks was to have a stage with a dancing area in front on the main hall floor surrounded by tiered seating. I suggest that this is the model followed at Blackfriars. The illustration below shows this interpretation, with a seated and shallow tiered pit and a gallery over the hall place entrance.



*Fig.17. Possible configuration of the Second Blackfriars Theatre, author's sketch.*

The potential box office of the Blackfriars Theatre as illustrated is £25. 6s.0d. At 60% occupation this is just over £15, rather more than the income generated by the Theatre. It is possible that occupancy was rather lower at the higher priced indoor theatre but what is quite clear is that, at a price range of 6d to 2s.0d., multiple galleries would not have been necessary to obtain the desired income.

Julian Bowsher of Museum of London Archaeology conjectures from the small part so far exposed that the Globe was about 84ft. 6 ins (25.75m) in diameter and had 16 sides.<sup>18</sup> From this we might expect a capacity of 1,500 and a total return per performance of £11.5s.0d. This suggests that the rental of the Blackfriars at £40 was roughly proportional to the financial returns to be expected at the Globe where the rent was £14.10s. 0d. The occupancy level of the Globe might be slightly higher in percentage as it was the cheaper entry price theatre. The ratio of potential return per performance at Blackfriars to every £1 of rent is 0.63 whereas at the Globe it would be 0.77, indicating an occupancy bias in favour of the Globe. A conjectural plan of the first and second Globe at 84ft. diameter and assuming a regular geometry is included in the appendices. It is based on the archaeology as far as it has been revealed in the limited excavations.<sup>19</sup>

### **The Giles Allen v. Burbage and Peter Street law cases for damages**

Rather than put the tedium of the law cases in the annual reports they are summarised here. The lease for the Theatre had been extended by the quarterly payments of rent to Giles Allen, who in accepting them committed to the next quarter's continuance of the lease. Negotiations finally collapsed in the autumn of 1598 and the Burbages, having paid the rent on 29 September had occupation until

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<sup>18</sup> Julian Bowsher, *Shakespeare's London Theatreland* (London: MOLA, 2012), p. 95.

<sup>19</sup> Julian Bowsher and Pat Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, MOLA monograph 48, p. 93, Fig. 77.

25 December 1598.<sup>20</sup> At which time they demolished the Theatre and took the materials to build the Globe. Giles sued Peter Street (the carpenter who led the demolition team) for trespass and the loss of timber and grass in the last months of 1598. A year later in January 1599 Allen sued Cuthbert Burbage for tearing down the Theatre in contradiction of the lease. Peter Street's defence was made by Cuthbert Burbage and his lawyers and this case was stayed by the court in April 1600. Cuthbert's case ran on with a decree in October 1600 that Allen should bring no more cases to court regarding the demolition of the Theatre. Unsatisfied Allen brought effectively the same suit on the basis of a Breach of Contract. This case ran until the close of 1602 when Allen finally lost.<sup>21</sup>

### **Speculative Annual Reports 1588–1603**

Having set out the overall framework for the Burbage family enterprise I now turn to the history as it might have been recorded in the annual report to the family and shareholders. As the Rose actual returns are available from 1592 in *Henslowe's Diary* I have used these to assess the number of playing days available. In his 1592 deposition Henry Lanman states that from 1585 (when the Theatre and Curtain agreed to pool and share receipts) Cuthbert received in profits, 'one year with another,' between 'one hundred marks (£66. 13s. 4d.) and four-score pounds.'<sup>22</sup> I take this to be the net profits after all costs and elides 'Housekeeping fees'. In order for there to be equity from the pooled returns we must assume that both theatres achieved similar trading incomes to be shared between the two managements. It

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<sup>20</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 399.

<sup>21</sup> C. W. Wallace, 'The First Theatre,' pp. 37-39. This is the hand list of papers and refers to the full transcriptions in the same work.

<sup>22</sup> C. W. Wallace, *ibid*, p. 150.

follows that the Theatre operation is roughly equal to half the pooled sums and thus is equal to the shared benefit achieved without having to consider the Curtain further.

### **Speculative Report for the year ending 24 March 1588**

*The plague was blessedly absent this year but there was nonetheless a precautionary inhibition as there had been the year before. Some days were lost due to the court cases and disturbance amongst the players as they heard about the fortunes of the case. 127 playing days were achieved.*

#### *Revenue Account 1588*

Playing days achieved	Income	Operating Costs	Housekeepers	Repayment of Mortgage	Profits dist. to owners
127	£205	£86	£26	£5	£88

#### *Capital Account*

Theatre costs	Tenement costs	Total cost	Profit to J. Burbage	Profit to C. Burbage	Creditors & loans	Mortgage	Net assets
£450	£230	£680	£211	£44	£0	£30	£650

### **Speculative Report for the year ending 24 March 1589**

*For the second year there is no major resurgence of the plague. On 12 November the Privy Council, concerned at the freedom of playwrights and the continuing concerns of the City decreed a new committee composed of a suitable person nominated by the Archbishop of Canterbury and a person nominated by the City to advise the Master of the Revels on the reforming of plays. All play books were required to be handed in to the Master of the Revels, Mr. Tilney, and not played until they were approved.<sup>23</sup> This caused considerable difficulties in getting plays approved and in re-rehearsing changes required. With the simplest and least contentious plays presented first only a few playing days were lost but the Master of the Revels charges were considerable.*

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<sup>23</sup> ES, vol. IV, pp. 306-07, item lxxxiii.

*In Chancery Court the legal cases were combined and transferred for consideration to a succession of learned doctors at law. Mr. Cuthbert Burbage advised on the legal case and received a share of the profits this year with which to recover the mortgage but in his own name. This he achieved at the cost of the £30 outstanding and a sum of £30 as compensation for the long extension of the mortgage period.*

*Revenue Account 1589*

Playing days achieved	Income	Operating Costs	Housekeepers	Repayment of Mortgage	Profits dist. to owners
180	£275	£87	£46	£0	£142

*Capital Account*

Theatre costs	Tenement costs	Total cost	Profit to Mr. J. Burbage	Profit to Mr. C. Burbage	Creditors & loans	Mortgage	Net assets
£450	£230	£680	£282	£55	£0	£0	£680

**Speculative Report for the year ending 24 March 1590**

*On 4 November Margaret obtained a Court Order of Sequestration for half of the profits of the Theatre, deferred for answer for fourteen days by the court. On 13 November Mr. Cuthbert Burbage obtained a stay of the sequestration, but the Court, learning of the 1578 arbitration agreement, enforced that instead.<sup>24</sup> The next Monday, 16 November, Robert Miles came to James Burbage's house to demand half of the Theatre returns in Margaret's name. The Burbages (both James and Cuthbert) refused them any part of the arbitration's division of the profits, according to Miles's later depositions, without any regard for the authority of the court's decision. Both sides accused the other of intemperate words and threatened violence.<sup>25</sup> The domestic nature of the dispute was apparent and upset the actors. The close*

<sup>24</sup> *EPT*, pp. 357-58, items 285-86.

<sup>25</sup> *EPT*, pp. 358-63, item 287.

*association between the impoverished Margaret and her principal creditor Robert Miles, was beginning to fester in the Burbage camp. Had she had an adulterous relationship with Robert Miles? Was Katharine, the daughter born after John's death, the result of such a relationship? Were Margaret and Robert responsible for John Brayne's death; did they murder him? These are accusations that were thrown about in the stressful period from November to February when Margaret and Robert came, several times to the Burbages to make their claim.*

*In February of 1590 Margaret assisted by Miles brought a case for contempt of court against James Burbage. The court took the matter of contempt very seriously and attached James and Cuthbert Burbage to appear to answer the charge. Their defence on 16 February 1590 was to assure the court that there was no contempt and to show through John Hyde that Brayne had made no repayments for the Mortgage. The implication being that in effect Brayne had forgone his interest by taking no part in the recovery of the lease. There was also the implied (and real) point that Cuthbert was the new owner of the lease, not James Burbage. Carefully Cuthbert (now 24 years of age) described himself as 'servant to Walter Cope esquire, usher to the Lord Treasurer of England'.<sup>26</sup> The Court of Chancery were faced with a defendant who had the patronage of Lord Hunsdon, cousin of the Queen, and his son, working in the office of the Lord Treasurer against a plaintiff who had none of these advantages. Clearly this was a case that needed to be handled with some care and the Court deferred consideration until a report was received from two senior judges. Soundings would clearly have been made by these judges as to the political sensitivity of the matter.*

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<sup>26</sup> Wallace, 'The First London Theatre', p. 59.

*Revenue Account 1590*

Playing days achieved	Income	Operating Costs	Housekeepers	Repayment of Mortgage	Profits dist. to owners
190	£288	£92	£46	£0	£150

*Capital Account*

Theatre costs	Tenement costs	Total cost	Profit to Mr. J. Burbage	Profit to Mr. C. Burbage	Creditors & loans	Mortgage	Net assets
£450	£230	£680	£359	£130	£0	£0	£680

**Speculative Report for the year ending 24 March 1591**

*This year the Privy Council on 25 July renewed their ban on Sunday playing, which they said, had begun to be happening in the City and the counties of Middlesex and Surrey but they also banned playing on Thursdays because theatre playing was having an impact on the audiences for bull and bear baiting, important sports for Her Majesty's pleasure.<sup>27</sup> The Thursday ban was probably a punishment for disobeying orders in respect of Sunday performances and a sop to the City's desire to limit playing.. Henslowe shows playing on all the Thursdays in lent 1591 and one Sunday so the ban was not being obeyed six months later, but then nor was the usual inhibition for lent. James Burbage, with both Richard and himself dependent on the Lord Chamberlain's patronage, were more respectful of the bans, particularly with the court cases hanging over them. However Thursday playing was allowed as there was no bear baiting in the north of the City. The Privy Council had taken a firm line with the City, conceding Sunday abstinence from playing against the working weekdays which were now all (apart from lent) permitted playing days. A relative peace had followed this ruling and the Privy Council would not like all the old arguments to be rehearsed again.*

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<sup>27</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 307, note lxxxiv.

*The City was, however, clearly pressing on with its mission to ban all plays in the City because, even after the Privy Councils edict, they wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury seeking his co-operation in a joint effort to ban plays altogether.<sup>28</sup> There would appear to have been little or no positive response because on 18 March the City Court of Alderman issued an instruction that*

*Sir Richard Martyn, knight and William Horne, grocer, shall treat with Tilney esquire, Master of the Revels for some good order to be taken for the restraining of the plays and interludes within this City.<sup>29</sup>*

*Four days later the Merchant Taylors record a precept from the Lord Mayor to the worshipful companies to help fund a ‘treat’ (bribe in the form of an annuity) to Mr. Tilney, Master of the Revels to restrain playing within the City.<sup>30</sup> The City advanced the case of the ‘corruption of youth’ that resulted from playing, implying both the wider view of the world plays afforded and the ability of the individual to make their own way and the loss of potential working hours.*

*This year there was no plague and thus no inhibitions. The Thursday ban took 28 days out of the playing year and lent began quite early on 10 February. This year therefore there were 215 days for authorised playing. However, there was some loss in consideration of ensuring the City was placated by Mr. Tilney reducing playing and the Rose playing a fuller year meant returns were a little down.*

*Revenue Account 1591*

Playing days achieved	Income	Operating Costs	Housekeepers	Repayment of Mortgage	Profits dist. to owners
200	£301	£94	£46	£0	£161

*Capital Account*

Theatre costs	Tenement costs	Total cost	Profit to Mr. J. Burbage	Profit to Mr. C. Burbage	Creditors & loans	Mortgage	Net assets
£450	£230	£680	£437	£210	£0	£0	£680

<sup>28</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, pp. 307-8, item lxxxv.

<sup>29</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 309, item lxxxvii.

<sup>30</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 309, item lxxxviii.

**Speculative Report for the year ending 24 March 1592**

*This year the plague returned. The year started well for the theatres with the Worshipful Companies all shuffling their feet over the Court of Aldermen's precept to bribe Tilney. The Merchant Taylors wrote to the Lord Mayor on 22 March 1591:*

*albeit the Company think it a very good service to be performed yet weighing the damage of the precedent and innovation of raising of an annuity upon the Companies of London, what further occasions it may be drawn unto, together with their great charge otherwise which this troublesome time hath brought, and is likely to bring, they think this no fit course to remedy this mischief, but wish some other way were taken in hand to expel out of our City so general a contagion of manners and other inconveniency, wherein if any endeavour or travail of this Company might further the matter they would be ready to use their service therein.<sup>31</sup>*

*The 'troublesome times' are surely the war with Spain and the taxes imposed to strengthen the navy following the defeat of the Armada. The complaint about plays is interesting as it says that they propitiate a change in 'manners and inconveniency'. This speaks of a change in the master-servant relationship within a wider social change and an increased demand for flexibility in working rather than an absolute loss of income due to attendance at plays. This gave heart to the players.*

*On 12 June the Lord Mayor wrote to Lord Burghley to tell him of a near riot on Bankside of the felt-makers apprentices over the imprisonment, without cause, of one of their number on the orders of the Lord Chamberlain. The felt-makers' excuse for the assembly in Southwark was that they had come to see a play, but as the gathering was on a Sunday this was a breach of the law. It is to be noted that the letter does not claim that there was a play and Henslowe did not play one. The City took the opportunity to point out to the Privy Council the danger of their interceding in the City affairs.<sup>32</sup> The Privy Council responded on 23 June, calling for a watch in*

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<sup>31</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 39, item lxxxviii.

<sup>32</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 310, note lxxxix.

*Southwark at the Clink, Paris Garden and Stoke Newington for fear of the event being repeated and for all plays to be banned from the time of their letter, until after the feast of St. Michael (29 September). This ban was circulated to the Justices of Middlesex, and specifically mentioned the Theatre and Curtain despite the fact that the events had happened south of the river. The edict was even sent to Lord Cobham in respect of the Liberty of Blackfriars. A similar letter was sent to the Earl of Derby as Lord Lieutenant of Lancashire and probably to other counties. This draconian response must have reflected a grave concern over civil unrest across the country.*

*The legal case of Brayne v Burbage progressed slowly, in April and June formal demurrers were heard by Dr Carew. In July the case for contempt was passed to Dr Hone who in turn passed it to Dr Legg and Dr Stanhope in October. They decided in November to examine John Hyde and Ralph Myles on the Cause and Nicholas Bishop and John Allein (sic) on the Contempt. The Court subsequently decided that the doctors should try the whole case subsuming the Myles v Burbage and the Burbage v Myles cases and the contempt into one trial. Evidence was given by all parties in September 1591, examinations of witnesses for the Brayne's case followed in January and February. The Brayne cross examination went on until the end of July 1592. In July evidence for the Brayne case was begun and lasted until the end of the year.<sup>33</sup>*

*An inhibition was ordered on 23 June in response to rising unrest and so now included all places of playing and all sports.<sup>34</sup> The ban was to run until Michaelmas day. Henslowe closed the Rose for refurbishment for six-months from 24 June, minimising the additional commercial impact of the closure. In All Hallows by the*

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<sup>33</sup> C. W. Wallace, 'The First London Theatre', pp. 78-153.

<sup>34</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 310, item xc.

*Wall the plague rose in October 1592 and this may have been the earliest sign of the plague in the City.*

*On January 28 the Privy Council wrote to the Lord Mayor and the justices of Middlesex and Surrey to forbid all activities that might cause assemblies of people.<sup>35</sup> One can sense panic in the text with its specific bans on not just plays but, in her Majesty's name, all sports and 'other like occasions to assemble any numbers of people together (preaching and Divine services at churches excepted)'. Nonetheless Henslowe reports that the Rose played one hundred and three days, including a short period in January.<sup>36</sup> The theatre played slightly less in consideration for our patron and his support.*

*Revenue Account 1592*

Playing days achieved	Income	Operating Costs	Housekeepers	Repayment of Mortgage	Profits dist. to owners
101	£170	£84	£46	£0	£40

*Capital Account*

Theatre costs	Tenement costs	Total cost	Profit to Mr. J. Burbage	Profit to Mr. C. Burbage	Creditors & loans	Mortgage	Net assets
£450	£230	£680	£457	£230	£0	£0	£680

**Speculative Report for the year ending 24 March 1593**

*The plague raged throughout this year.<sup>37</sup> No playing was possible at until 27 December but stopped again on 7 February, three weeks before lent.<sup>38</sup> The resulting ban on playing proved to be a considerable strain on the playing companies. After several years with no plague and few inhibitions for other reason the companies had*

<sup>35</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 313, note xciii.

<sup>36</sup> *Henslowe*, pp. 17-21.

<sup>37</sup> Roger Finlay, *Population and Metropolis*. p. 155 estimates that 10,662 people died of plague, about 8% of the City's population but other deaths also rose so that in this year the population dropped by 10%, a frightening time for all concerned.

<sup>38</sup> *Henslowe*, p. 21.

*grown in size and operating cost to attract the larger number of attendances needed to fill a full week of playing. When they were forced out on tour the size of the company had to be reduced. Many actors and the supporting staff of the acting companies were brought to poverty under these circumstances.<sup>39</sup> Some companies, who must have been in dire straits by this time, were given extra-ordinary warrants to perform anywhere beyond seven miles from the City.<sup>40</sup> The standing costs of the Theatre were reduced to the minimum. On 3 February the Privy Council wrote to the Lord Mayor warning that plays had started again and were to be banned and the Rose implemented this on the 7 February.<sup>41</sup> This inhibition confirmed the ban as being, now, five miles around London. In all 30 days were achieved by the Rose but it was more remote from the City and the Theatre was not given the same dispensation.*

*The court case was interrupted by Margaret Brayne’s death in April 1593 and it was not until February 1593 that Miles was able to obtain the Court’s permission to take-over the case in her right as executor and guardian of her infant daughter.*

*Revenue Account 1593*

Playing days achieved	Income	Operating Costs	Housekeepers	Repayment of Mortgage	Profits dist. to owners
0	£37	£44	£46	£0	–£53

*Capital Account*

Theatre costs	Tenement costs	Total cost	Profit to Mr. J. Burbage	Profit to Mr. C. Burbage	Creditors & loans	Mortgage	Net assets
£450	£230	£680	£430	£203	£0	£0	£680

<sup>39</sup> Chambers, vol. IV, pp. 311-312, item xcii.(a) and (b). Lord Strange’s Men and the Royal Watermen petitioned the Privy Council to ask that playing be allowed on Bankside. The petitions are undated but must refer to December 1593. Chambers allocates them to 1592 but by then the restraint had been no longer than the usual time.

<sup>40</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 314, note xcvi.

<sup>41</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 314, note xcvi.

**Speculative Report for the year ending 24 March 1594**

*Easter Sunday was 31 March, the plague had dropped and playing resumed only to be stopped a week later. The Privy Council allowed a cautious experiment for three days in May (14–16) at Newington Butts but playing was not allowed again until 3 June.<sup>42</sup> The Privy Council, fearful of a repeat of the previous year issued orders that if infection increases plays and all sports are to be banned, they list: ‘Plays, Bear-baiting, Cockpits, common Bowling Alleys.’<sup>43</sup> As the playing began again the playing companies needed to be re-assembled after the long and penurious break.<sup>44</sup> Henslowe tells of 225 days of playing including 17 Sundays and 7 days in lent, the Theatre achieve rather less at 200 performances.*

*As for the court cases with Miles nothing of significance happened during 1594 until 14 March when Chancery Court decreed that the Myles v Burbage and Burbage v Miles cases are to be tried together in the Chapel of the Rolls in May 1595. The contempt of court charge appears to have withered leaving the Burbages in possession of the Theatre with Miles achieving no progress in his suit.*

*On 8 October the Lord Chamberlain (Hunsdon) wrote to the Lord Mayor stating it was necessary for his company to perform in the City in the winter. His letter explained that, where previously they played at four o’clock, they would now undertake to play at two o’clock and use no trumpets or drums.<sup>45</sup> November brought the news that Francis Langley intended to build the Swan theatre on Bankside.<sup>46</sup> The letter from the Lord Mayor protesting at yet another theatre appears to have been ignored, but then Langley was well-connected at Court.*

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<sup>42</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, pp. 312-13, item xcii (c). The experimental re-opening at Newington Butts is given in a warrant from the Privy Council and must therefore relate to May 1594, see appendix 1.

<sup>43</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, pp. 315-16, notes xcix and c.

<sup>44</sup> *Henslowe*, p. 21 records the Queen’s men and my lord of Sussex playing together in the Easter week

<sup>45</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 316, note ci.

<sup>46</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, pp.316-16, note cii.

*Revenue Account 1594*

Playing days achieved	Income	Operating Costs	Housekeepers	Repayment of Mortgage	Profits dist. to owners
200	£301	£82	£46	£0	£173

*Capital Account*

Theatre costs	Tenement costs	Total cost	Profit to Mr. J. Burbage	Profit to Mr. C. Burbage	Creditors & loans	Mortgage	Net assets
£450	£230	£680	£516	£289	£0	£0	£680

**Speculative Report for the year ending 24 March 1595**

*The year starts late with Easter Sunday on 20 April and Lent began on 25 February so it was a short year. but it was plague free. The Lord Mayor wrote to the Privy Council on 13 September describing the recent unrest of the apprentices and servants and stating that the return of unrest was due to the withdrawal of the Provost Marshall.<sup>47</sup> The letter calls again for the absolute suppression of plays at the Theatre and Bankside. Because of the unrest playing was suspended from 27 June to 25 August.<sup>48</sup>*

*On 28 May the Court of Chancery decided that the plaintive, Miles, has no need of the ‘aid of this court’ for recovery of the Bonds and refers the matter to lower courts and the Common Law. This was where it began and Miles has given up this action, either in sheer exhaustion or from lack of funds. None-the-less the Burbages could not be sure that he would not pursue the matter and the year was quite tense, with that and the unrest in the City.*

*For Mr. James and Mr. Cuthbert Burbage 1595 was a time to draw breath and to look around. The lease on the Theatre had eighteen months to run but its renewal might be in doubt. The joint operation of the Theatre and the Curtain was*

<sup>47</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 318, item ciii.

<sup>48</sup> *Henslowe*, p. 30 shows no performance between these dates but without his usual heading ‘In the name of God Amen’ to start a new season following a plague or change of company.

*continuing to work and might again be needed when the Swan theatre opens or if the lease cannot be renewed. This is the second year free from serious plague and the acting companies are now settled and have a good financial base.*

*Henslowe recorded 206 plays performed in 1595 and the Theatre matched this so that it was a good year financially. Thankfully too it was free of court cases to answer. At the end of the year it was decided to purchase the Parliament Chamber at Blackfriars with the intention of making it into an indoor theatre.<sup>49</sup> Given its location in the heart of a wealthy precinct and close to the Inns of Court it would surely attract premium entry prices and raise the comfort of theatre for the public to that of the Court and great houses. Mr. James Burbage began to draw back the loans he had made with his accumulated profits from the Theatre to finance the purchase. On 4 February the purchase for £600 of the Parliament Chamber and other property at Blackfriars was signed and £200 paid in cash with the balance to pay as loans were recovered. Mr James Burbage expended all his accumulated profits from the Theatre on the venture.*

*Revenue Account 1595*

Playing days achieved	Income	Operating Costs	Housekeepers	Repayment of Mortgage	Profits dist. to owners
206	£309	£81	£46	£0	£182

*Capital Account*

Theatre costs	Tenement costs	Total cost	Profit to Mr. J. Burbage	Profit to Mr. C. Burbage	Creditors & loans	Mortgage	Net assets
£1,050	£230	£1,280	£7	£380	£0	£0	£1,280

**Speculative Report for the year ending 24 March, 1596**

*At the end of this year 2 February 1596 Mr. James Burbage was buried in*

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<sup>49</sup> *EPT*, p. 504, item 401.

*Shoreditch, leaving the Blackfriars property to his son Richard and the Theatre to his executor, Mrs. Ellen Burbage whilst the lease was in the ownership of Mr.*

*Cuthbert.<sup>50</sup> James Burbage, having invested his capital in the Blackfriars property left a will valued at only £37.0.14d.<sup>51</sup>*

*Whilst he left two considerable properties neither are in a strong financial position. The Blackfriars property must be converted at some cost and the Theatre is at the end of the lease and renewal is proving difficult. A little earlier, in July, his patron Lord Hunsdon also died so that the family lost its great patron also.<sup>52</sup>*

*This year the plague is blessedly absent again but the previous year's unrest has given the Privy Council a cause to cease playing in the hot summer days and so an inhibition was issued on 22 July.<sup>53</sup> The inhibition had no termination date, It is assumed that the Privy Council wanted to see if it would have the effect of damping enthusiasm for more street brawls and trouble. Henslowe re-commenced of playing on Wednesday 27 October with the Admiral's Men. Easter was late this year (11 April) and the following Lent was very early, beginning 9 February, so the year was relatively short at 180 authorised playing days, Henslowe had 172 performances at the Rose and the Theatre matched this.*

*At Blackfriars the work of conversion to a theatre was well forward when a group of Blackfriars' residents petitioned the Privy Council in November resulted in a successful ban on the playhouse, not for political or religious reasons but because of the disruption of traffic and people flows anticipated in the Blackfriars precinct and that the noise of the theatre's trumpets and drums would disturb services in the*

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<sup>50</sup> Mary Edmond, 'Burbage, James,' *DNB* (2004 revised 3.1.2008).

<sup>51</sup> Honigman and Brock (eds), *Playhouse Wills 1558–1642*, p. 228.

<sup>52</sup> Wallace T. MacCaffrey, 'Carey, Henry, first Baron Hunsdon,' *DNB* (2004, revised 25.9.2014).

<sup>53</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 319, note civ.

*church close by.<sup>54</sup> The petition had been unexpected for the strong presumption was that a man's property was his to do with as he wished, and the Children of the Chapel boys had played without objections in the adjoining rooms to the north for several years. It was particularly sad that the new Lord Hunsdon was a signatory to the petition.<sup>55</sup> It was also unfortunate that £200 had been committed by Mr. Cuthbert to the conversion costs.<sup>56</sup>*

*Following the petition, effectively denying them the Blackfriars theatre, the Burbages have been concerned at the fact that the lease for the Theatre expired at the end of the year with small hope of an extension though they were making efforts to obtain one. The issue was clearly that Giles Allen, was antithetical to the Theatre (possibly receiving noise complaints from other tenants in his property) and more probably did not like James Burbage personally. For Giles the failure to pay 'about £30 arrears in rent' (the two years rent withheld whilst defending the property against Edward Peckham and later in the boundary dispute with the Earl of Rutland).<sup>57</sup> The retention clearly riled Giles Allen and was a factor in his refusal to grant the agreed lease extension in 1586 and rose again now in the discussions over*

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<sup>54</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, pp. 319-29, note cvi.

<sup>55</sup> *EPT*, pp. 507-8, item 402. Note is made by both Chambers and Berry in *English Professional Theatre* that it was not the habit for heirs to the title to take an interest in their father's playing company and some, such as Lord Strange had companies of their own. George Carey became 2<sup>nd</sup> Lord Hunsdon on his father's death, 23 July, 1596. However, I note that John Astington records the 'Chamberlain's Men' as the only performing company at Court for Christmas 1596 and, surely, we must deduce from this that the Chamberlain's Men followed the new Lord Chamberlain, William Brooke, Lord Cobham rather than staying with the family succession. It is possible that George Carey had not yet developed a relationship with his father's players or with the Burbages. There is also the possibility that George had expected to follow his father as Lord Chamberlain and was annoyed when Cobham was appointed in August 1596. Disadvantaging his acting company by preventing the use of the Blackfriars playhouse might be a way of limiting Cobham's success in the post that Hunsdon thought should be his. These circumstances coupled with the risk of congestion and noise around his house in Blackfriars might well justify his signature on the petition in November. If George Carey had sought to annoy Lord Cobham by disadvantaging the Chamberlain's Men, Cobham replied by, uniquely, arranging that all six performances at Court in the winter of 1596-7 were by the Chamberlain's men. As it turned out Hunsdon had only a few months to wait, becoming Lord Chamberlain following Cobham's death on 6 March 1596.

<sup>56</sup> Authors estimate, based on re-use of existing materials.

<sup>57</sup> *EPT*, pp. 367-68, item 295 (b).

a lease extension or a new lease. Allen also raised the old dispute over how much had been spent on improving the existing properties in the lease area. The negotiation rumbled on through the year.

1596 was the year of the most dreadful harvest that century and worse was preceded by two bad harvest that drained seed stocks. The price of bread in London rose to sixpence halfpenny (from base price of about tuppence farthing) for a standard 4lb loaf.<sup>58</sup> The price of food meant less money available for playgoing and by the end of 1596 returns were depressed. Persistent unrest, inevitably centred at places of assembly, were provoking inhibitions. Operating an outdoor theatre might not be a good idea in the longer term and a private house theatre, attracting richer customers, would be more stable if it could be arranged.

*Revenue Account 1596*

Playing days achieved	Income	Operating Costs	Housekeepers	Repayment of Mortgage	Profits dist. to owners
172	£264	£89	£46	£0	£129

*Capital Account*

Theatre costs	Tenement costs	Total cost	Profit to Mr. J. Burbage	Profit to Mr. C. Burbage	Creditors & loans	Mortgage	Net assets
£1,250	£230	£1,480	£72	£271	£0	£0	£1,480

**Speculative Report for the year ending March 1597**

George, Lord Hunsdon, was now Lord Chamberlain and appears to have settled any grudges he might have had. The company could now be reasonably sure of a good reception at Court under his patronage for they played four of the eight plays at Court in the 1597 season.

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<sup>58</sup> W. G. Hoskins, 'Harvest Fluctuations and English Economic History, 1480–1621', figure IV, p. 41 and figure II, p. 39.

*This year was, however, a difficult year. The Blackfriars playhouse conversion cost £200 and was more or less ready for use but could not be opened due to the petition from residents. The Theatre lease had run out and the renewal was proving extremely difficult. Robert Miles, having lost his previous case renewed his attempts to get a portion of the Theatre equity in April-May by petitioning in the Court of Requests for an interest in the new lease between Giles Allen and the Burbages, having previously lost his case against the Burbages alone.<sup>59</sup> Clearly the case, as it now included Allen, would put negotiations for a new lease under further strain. Allen seems to have been slothful in bringing the debate over the new lease to a conclusion, in part perhaps because the Burbages were, as joint parties, in effect defending him in the cases brought by Miles and the Earl of Rutland and he did not wish to lose that protection. It is not at all clear if the case failed because the lease was never completed or (rather less likely) Miles realised he was unlikely to succeed in view of the court's earlier rejection of his case against the Burbages alone.*

*In response to a written appeal by the Lord Mayor a severe inhibition was issued (on the same day 28 July 1597) by the Privy Council that there should be no more playing within the City and for three miles around until All Hallows (1 November). Furthermore, the playhouse owners were to be sought out by the Justices of Middlesex and Surrey and 'enjoined' to pull down their playhouses and, if the owners did not do so, the Privy Council were to be informed so that 'order may be taken to see the same done'.<sup>60</sup> The Theatre and the Curtain are specifically named together with 'playhouses' on Bankside, the plural confirming that both the Rose and Swan were intended. As usual these 'orders' were not implemented, the theatres*

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<sup>59</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 399, fn.1.

<sup>60</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, pp. 322-23, note cx.

were not pulled down and the *Rose* was playing again by 11 October, 1597. Such orders seem to have been more demonstrative than absolute. Theatre returns were still down but the harvest in 1597 was a little better and bread prices dropped to under sixpence and by 1598 were down to the usual tuppence farthing.

Things continued at the Theatre in conjunction with the Curtain much as before. Blackfriars stood empty, though it might have been occupied for short terms by players or their close friends in order to keep the property safe, at the very least a resident watchman would be required.

Easter Day was 27 March so that the playing year began early. The row over a 'lewd and seditious' play at the Swan caused some players to be sought for arrest on 15 August. There was an inevitable inhibition issued by the Privy Council to the magistrates of Middlesex and Surrey on 28 July.<sup>61</sup> Henslowe began playing again at the *Rose* on 11 October.<sup>62</sup> The potential playing days (allowing for the inhibition) total 193 days. Attendances were down in spring as the prices of food began to bite into money for the theatre.<sup>63</sup> As the executor of her husband's estate Mrs. Ellen Burbage now received housekeeping fees as the building owner.

*Revenue Account 1597*

Playing days achieved	Income	Operating Costs	Housekeepers	Repayment of Mortgage	Profits dist. to owners
180	£216	£88	£46	£0	£82

*Capital Account*

Theatre costs	Tenement costs	Total cost	Profit to J. Burbage estate	Profit to C. Burbage	Creditors & loans	Mortgage	Net assets
£1,250	£230	£1,480	113	£312	£0	£0	£1,480

<sup>61</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, pp. 322-23, item cx.

<sup>62</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 398. Chambers suggests that the Theatre closed with the inhibition but if this was the case the Burbages would have pulled it down sooner.

<sup>63</sup> Henslowe shows a 7% drop this year to an average take of 297d. (£1.24). Henslowe does not record individual performances after the inhibition but does record the money he received. He records an income of £194 for the year.

**Speculative Report for the year ending 24 March 1598**

*Negotiation for the lease drew to a head in September. Allen required a fee for a new lease (Cuthbert later claimed that he had asked £100, which Giles Allen denied) of 21 years but would only allow the use of the Theatre as a theatre for only the first five of those years after which the building was to be converted to some other use and remain for Allen's use at the termination of the lease. The rent was to be £24 per annum and a security was required for that rental. Cuthbert offered his brother Richard as guarantor but Allen rejected this as inadequate.<sup>64</sup> The rent being paid on Michaelmas Day the old lease continued in effect until Christmas Day 1598 and then Mr Cuthbert and Mrs. Ellen Burbage (as leaseholder and building owner) agreed to demolish and take the materials for construction of a new open-air theatre.<sup>65</sup>*

*The site for the Globe was leased from Nicholas Brend, the lease to run from Christmas 1598 for 31 years until 25 December 1629 at a rent of £14.10s.0d. per annum.<sup>66</sup> An agreement to the lease of the site for the Globe was concluded in October 1598, allowing the Burbages to discontinue the negotiations for the lease renewal at the Theatre. The similarity of the terms of the lease, thirty-one years (the ten-year extension built-in), and the rental £14.10s. per annum is very close to their original lease for the Theatre. It is far removed from the negotiating position of Giles Allen.*

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<sup>64</sup> *EPT*, p. 367 item 295 (*et seq.* for further evidence in the court case in 1599–1600).

<sup>65</sup> When we look at Henslowe's returns for the Rose theatre a sharp rise is discernible in the week of 21 October 1598 and returns thereafter run about 10s a week higher than in 1595 (before the bad harvest years depressed returns). This might signify the closure of the Theatre, reducing the available audience places north of the river and diverting a small proportion of the audience southward.

<sup>66</sup> As the lease itself does not survive we are dependent once again on descriptions of the lease and that includes no reference to a fee, though it is unlikely that there was not such a fee. Thomas Brend (Nicholas's father) died on 21 September 1598. It is possible that the Burbages had been negotiating with the father but it is more likely with the son's trustees (Matthew was only 20 months old at the time). The lease lists previous tenants of the land but it is not clear whether Brend owned and occupied the land (and the listed tenants are merely identifiers for the plots) or that they were in occupation before the land was leased to the Burbages in which case vacant possession would have taken some time, though it is possible that some of the leases fell in on the father's death.

*The Theatre closed on Monday 16 October and the following weeks were spent moving costumes, properties and scenic pieces to the Curtain or to safe storage at Blackfriars. The internal divisions and internal plaster were taken down, benches and flooring lifted and some frame pegs eased to ensure they could be driven out when the time came and hidden preparations made for the speediest demolition possible. Giles Allen stayed at the George Inn, Shoreditch at about Michaelmas Term 1598 (presumably to collect his rents), this inn was at the junction of Holywell Lane and Shoreditch High Street.<sup>67</sup> Any sign then that the Theatre was to be demolished would be seen and probably reported to Allen by his other tenants. It was likely that Allen would collect the 25 December rents some days after the due date as he would spend Christmas at his Essex home, perhaps staying at his Essex estate until after twelfth night and arriving in London on 7 January. It was imperative that Allen did not realise the imminence of the demolition until the last possible moment.<sup>68</sup>*

*Henry Johnson, one of Allen's tenants challenged 'Thomas Smyth and one Street' when they were demolishing the Theatre and was told 'that they took it down but to set it up upon the premises in another form', showing him decayed timbers as proof of the need to do so.<sup>69</sup> This story had the advantage of implying to Allen, if the work were reported, that they were preparing to convert to tenements, now or in the near future, as laid down in the proposed lease. John Guburne obtained a letter of*

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<sup>67</sup> *EPT*, p. 370, item 295 (f).

<sup>68</sup> Allen's suit for trespass against Peter Street for the demolition of the Theatre states that the Theatre was removed on 20 January 1598. The building was not demolished and the materials removed in one day and in other evidence there is a reference to the works being carried out at Christmas (then the 12 day feast beginning 25 December and ending on 6 January). There is much speculation by every author on the subject as to when the work actually began. My own thought is that the clerk, transcribing the evidence in January, inadvertently, wrote January for December and that the work commenced on 20 December so that materials could be organised for loading and transport to the Globe site on 25 December, the first day of that lease.

<sup>69</sup> *EPT*, p. 377, item 300 (e).

*attorney from Giles Allen to forbid the demolition, to no avail.<sup>70</sup> Street and Smyth simply said they were doing what they had been instructed to do by the owner, Ellen Burbage, and carried on the work.<sup>71</sup>*

*Given the desire to reuse the materials care was taken in dismantling the building, easing out nails rather than breaking the timber, driving the pegs out of joints to preserve the full length of timber rather than sawing off the tongues, and so forth. Timbers had their marks checked or new marks made to help in the re-erection.*

*Peter Street reported that all the timber frame, benching and partition timbers could be recovered for future use but that the roofing, plaster and of course paintwork could not. There would be need also for new timber in order to replace timbers where ends were damaged in demolition or where there was rot. The longer lengths could be cut down for use as shorter timbers but the very longest would need replacement. Any alterations required in the structure of the new theatre might also require new oak timbers, much of the other replacement being in lesser woods.*

*In October playing was moved to the Curtain and that theatre undertook spectacles on an occasional basis when they could be fitted in the playing week. This allowed the Lord Chamberlain's Men to move their costumes and properties gradually to the Curtain or to Blackfriars. In November the Theatre was clear of the Lord Chamberlain's Men's goods and their daily attendance. In December a*

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<sup>70</sup> *EPT*, p. 378, item 300 (f).

<sup>71</sup> Allen in his complaint to the Court of Star Chamber dated 23 November 1601 stated that Cuthbert and Richard Burbage, confederated with Peter Street, William Smyth and other persons to the number of twelve entered the Theatre to demolish it on 28 December and adds for the first time the assertion that they were armed and behaving 'in very riotous, outrageous and forcible manner' attempted to pull down the Theatre.<sup>71</sup> The complaint shows Allen's considerable frustration but the date and description suggests strongly that he is describing John Gouburne's visit with the letter of Attorney. We may tentatively date Henry Johnson's visit at 20 December (to reflect the, possibly incorrect month in the transcript), and John Gouburne's visit at 28 December. The work must have started before 20 December, in order to be evident but the Theatre frame must still have been more or less complete still, to describe the work they did as reconfiguration.

*contractor Thomas Smyth was appointed to work under the direction of Peter Street to effect the demolition as quietly and expeditiously as possible. A story was put about that the Theatre was being refurbished and work commenced by the removal and stacking in the yard of the boarding, benches, floors, stage and internal partitions so that nothing was seen to leave the building.*<sup>72</sup>

*On 28 December John Gurburne arrived with Giles Allen's letter of attorney to demand that the works cease, and no materials be removed from the site. Both Peter Street and Thomas Smyth were there together with at least twelve men working on the demolition. The tools on site were large hammers stakes and long bill hooks [fearsome looking weapons, very like a pike]. Street and Smyth stated that they were simply following orders from the building's owner. Gurburne felt threatened by so many 'armed' men and left the Theatre to visit the Burbages house in Holywell Lane and protested again. Cuthbert and Ellen Burbage said that under the terms of their lease it was specifically provided that they could remove the timbers and other materials of the Theatre and that Ellen Burbage, as executor of James Burbage's estate had given her authority to the removal. Gurburne was told that, if Allen disagreed, he must seek redress in the courts. Subsequently Allen sued Peter Street for trespass at the beginning of Hillary Term and the Burbage family countersued but the need for secrecy ceased and works could carry-on openly and more quickly. By 20 January the timbers had all been removed.*

*The costs of the new theatre (including the demolition and carriage of the old) were estimated at £500 in labour, carriage and new materials.*<sup>73</sup> *Work*

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<sup>72</sup> This detail is of course conjectural but is a way in which the work could be undertaken surreptitiously.

<sup>73</sup> J. R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (eds), *Shakespeare's Globe Rebuilt*, pp. 183-84, The Hope Contract. This contract is for the construction of the Hope for the sum of £360 in 1613, including the demolition of the bear baiting arena and the use of its timbers and others taken from a dismantled tenement. The contract does not require much carriage of materials, but it does require the

*commenced on site in January 1598 and is expected to finish in late May 1599.*

*Whitsunday is 27 May and it would be good to be open for the Whitsun holiday week.*

*Every effort is to be made to achieve this, but we will probably have to open with parts of the house unfinished.*

*Because of the investment in Blackfriars we have insufficient capital with which to build the Globe and have had to invite new partners to share the capital cost. Rather than men used to the lending and borrowing of money as was our late brother, John Brayne, we have sought the support of the senior men in the acting company who have grown rich at the Theatre. They have required a portion of the lease as a security for their investment but we have the assurance that their interests align precisely with ours in that we both need a successful theatre. The new investors, Augustine Phillips, Thomas Pope, William Shakespeare, John Hemmings and Will Kempe have contributed a total of £250 towards the venture though they in turn borrowed some of this capital.<sup>74</sup> Their investment was secured by a share of the lease as tenants in common and they were to share in a like share of the gallery income. The Burbages, now Richard and Cuthbert would provide the balance of £250 but included in this was £100 of timber from the Theatre demolition,*

*The new Globe will have external stair towers, as at the Swan, which has been noted as one of the finest houses. We shall have two stair towers (the Swan only has one) in order to speed the audience into the house and will have two more sides, making it larger. We have located the new theatre close to Henslowe and Alleyn's Rose theatre in order to draw on the audience familiarity with the Rose and travel to it by way of London Bridge or the river. The Baiting houses are also close and the*

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construction of animal pens and stables. The costs should therefore be broadly similar to those of the Globe.

<sup>74</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p.417.

route from the pier at Paris Garden with its convenient pier is well known though it does give advantage to the Swan theatre close by.

Easter was 16 April 1598 and a new Act for the Punishment of Rogues Vagabonds and Sturdy Beggars was enacted to run from that day giving the touring companies considerable concern, the London companies were not short of shilling men this year.<sup>75</sup> The Master of the Revels to suppress one of the stronger companies performing in London in an attempt to give the Lord Chamberlain's and the Lord Admiral's advantage.<sup>76</sup> There are however three other playhouses and occasionally London inns all mounting spectacles or plays.

In financial terms the year was significantly damaged by the loss of the Theatre for playing six months into the year. Fortunately, there were no inhibitions this year and attendances were good, but the revenue received only at the Curtain had to be shared with Henry Lanman though operating costs were also shared.

*Revenue Account 1598*

Playing days achieved	Income	Operating Costs	Housekeepers	Repayment of Mortgage	Profits dist. to owners
200	£203	£75	£46	£0	£82

*Capital Account*

Theatre costs	Tenement costs	Total cost	Profit to J. Burbage estate	Profit to C. Burbage	Creditors & loans	Mortgage	Net assets
£1,100		£1,100	£104	£303	£0	£0	£1,100

**Speculative Report for the year ending 24 May 1599**

The Curtain continued to present the Lord Chamberlain's men under the Burbages management until the Globe opened. The period of playing at the Curtain made for a very tight programme with shows and fencing matches taking up any days that the acting company could spare. The Burbages continued to live in Holywell Lane in St.

<sup>75</sup> ES, vol. IV, pp. 324-25 note cxiii.

<sup>76</sup> ES, vol. IV, p. 325, item cxiv.

*Leonard's Parish despite the fact that their two theatrical properties were now well to the south. The new site in Southwark had room for new houses but there was no attempt to build one for the Burbages.*

*The actors mortgaged their moiety of the lease to William Levison and Thomas Savage. In recognition of their practical ownership the five were each granted a fifth interest in their half of the lease of the land by the mortgagers.<sup>77</sup> The sub-leases from Savage and Levison were drawn as 'Tenants in Common' which ensured that each was responsible not only for their own rentals but also for those of their fellows if they failed to pay. It was thus appropriate security for what was a very large loan.<sup>78</sup>*

*During the year Kempe left the company to pursue a solo career.<sup>79</sup> On 11 February 1599 he set off on his month long 'Morris Dance' to Norwich. His share was divided between the four remaining actor sharers. Richard Burbage joined Cuthbert Burbage to take a moiety of the latter's half of the lease and gallery take.*

*Kempe's departure from the company and thus from the mortgage required more funding and Thomas Cressey provided this to the four original company members who each now held a quarter of a moiety of the lease and the building.*

*[The financing must have been paid off by late 1603 as one share of the lease and building were passing (on Pope's death) through inheritance to his wife and her second husband. Had the mortgage still been in operation with its tenants in common, this would not have been possible.]<sup>80</sup>*

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<sup>77</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 417.

<sup>78</sup> *ES*, vol. II, pp. 417-418.

<sup>79</sup> *ES*, vol. II, pp. 325-26.

<sup>80</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 418. As previously explained the security difficulties of holding large sums of cash meant that people tended to invest, often in property, in order to disburse cash holdings. We should not therefore assume that the actors redeemed the mortgage only out of profits from the Globe, much of the money may have come from maturing loans. This is also true for the Burbage family so that when they talk of borrowings in the 1635 'Sharers' Papers' case they are recording that they borrowed to make up funds until their investment loans matured.

*The Globe opened for Whitsun week, May 28 to 2 June, as this was too important a trading week to miss. The usual inquisition into the property left by Thomas Brand (father of Nicholas Brand) dated 16 May 1599 describes (in Latin) ‘a new built house and garden in the parish of Saint Saviours in Surrey in the occupation of William Shakespeare and allies’.*<sup>81</sup> [This is surely the Globe]. This would give Peter Street a clear five months in which to erect a theatre from ‘a kit of parts’ but of course with new piles, chalk foundations and brick base walls together with some new timbers and stair towers. He was to complete the Fortune, a year later, in seven months but with all new timber].

*The companies presenting plays were now concentrated in Southwark where there were three theatres, the Rose, the Swan and the Globe. Newington Butts had been replaced by houses before 1599.*<sup>82</sup> *Playing in public inns in London had largely ceased under the watchful eye of the City authorities. To watch a play you now went over the water, though the Curtain was operating, in the autumn.*<sup>83</sup>

*The doors to the Globe lay only 130 feet (40 metres) from that of the Rose. Its new bright paintwork and blond thatch will have caught the playgoer’s eye and, as always with the new, proved a greater attraction than the old Rose. In December 1599 Alleyn bought the leasehold of the land for the Fortune Theatre and in January he and Henslowe signed the contract for the building of the theatre with Peter Street.*<sup>84</sup> *almost exactly a year after the Theatre moved south the Rose ‘moved’ north.*

*Combined with a short period Easter to Whitsun, played at the Curtain a number of plays were presented during the year either side of the June to 5 October*

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<sup>81</sup> *ES*, vol. II, p. 415, fn.2 references C. W. Wallace in *The Times*, 1 May 1914, p. 4.

<sup>82</sup> *EPT*, p. 329, items 259-50.

<sup>83</sup> *EPT*, pp. 412-413, item 329 gives a report of a visit by a Swiss, Thomas Platter.

<sup>84</sup> *EPT*, p. 533, item 416 and p. 534, item 417.

inhibition.<sup>85</sup> *The Globe has slightly more 1d. seats but fewer 2d, seats in the galleries in order to give a much larger tiring house and stage. Like the proposed Fortune it will have room for many more groundlings. The new sharer partnership had a good first year. For the Burbages the new court case brought by Allen for the loss of the theatre was a considerable annoyance when so much else needed to be done and was a particular worry to Peter Street, then in the middle of construction of the Globe.*<sup>86</sup>

*Revenue Account 1599*

Playing days achieved	Income	Operating Costs	Housekeepers	Repayment of Mortgage	Profits dist. to owners
175	£307	£100		£0	£207

*Capital Account*

Theatre costs	Total cost	Profits to Burbages	Actor sharers	Creditors & loans	Mortgage	Net assets
£1,300	£1,300	£306	–£147	£0	£0	£1,300

**Speculative Report for the year ending 24 March 1600**

*The arrival of the new Globe theatre on Bankside opposite the Rose caused Mr. Henslowe and Mr Alleyn to plan to remove their company to Middlesex.*<sup>87</sup> *The plan has not gone smoothly for the Privy Council objected to the new house.*<sup>88</sup> *It was only the request of the local parishioners asking for it to be completed so as to provide funds for the poor of the parish that allowed construction to continue.*<sup>89</sup> *The Lord Admiral required the Middlesex justices to allow the works in April.*<sup>90</sup> *Mr. Henslowe*

<sup>85</sup> Henslowe, p. 95.

<sup>86</sup> EPT, p. 376, item 300 (a).

<sup>87</sup> ES, vol. IV, p. 326, item ccxvii. 12 January 1599. Warrant of Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, Lord Admiral for the permitted construction of a playhouse in Middlesex.

<sup>88</sup> ES, vol. IV, p. 326, item cxviii. 9 March 1599, Minute of the Privy Council staying the construction on the complaint of Lord Willoughby and others.

<sup>89</sup> ES, vol. IV, p. 327, item cxxi. c. April 1600 ‘Certificate of the Inhabitants of Finsbury to the Privy Council’.

<sup>90</sup> ES, vol. IV, pp. 328-29, item cxxii. Privy Council minute 8 April, 1600, signed by Nottingham, G. Hunsdon and Robert Cecil.

presented no more plays at the Rose after 13 July.<sup>91</sup> The Rose now stands empty.

*In June a larger body of the Privy Council made an order that there shall be only two theatres and two companies, one in Middlesex and one in Surrey.<sup>92</sup> We take heart from the support of the parishioners of Finsbury and the support of the parish of St. Saviours and will ride out this limitation of the number of theatres by increasing our support to the poor of the parish.*

*Fortunately, there have been no inhibitions this year and a full year and 200 playing days were achieved. Following the departure of the Admiral's men from the Rose we suffered a small drop in takings as people went to see the new Fortune theatre, but they returned to normal very quickly. Their Lordship's direction that only two playhouses shall present plays has limited competition as other managements avoided confrontation for some time and we have benefitted from increased occupation as a result. We have restrained from playing on Sundays and in Lent for the same reason, and out of gratitude to Mr. Henslowe and Mr. Alleyn for re-locating in Middlesex, we have not played Thursdays to avoid competition with their bear baiting.*

*Revenue Account 1600*

Playing days achieved	Income	Operating Costs	Housekeepers	Repayment of Mortgage	Profits dist. to owners
200	£320	£110	£0	£0	£210

*Capital Account*

Theatre costs	Total cost	Profits to Burbages	Actor sharers	Creditors & loans	Mortgage	Net assets
£1,300	£1,300	£411	–£42	£0	£0	£1,300

<sup>91</sup> Henslowe, p. 121.

<sup>92</sup> ES, vol. IV, pp. 329-31, item cxxiv. Order of the Privy Council 21 June 1600.

**A note on Audiences**

The distances across London are not great, Julian Bowsher in *Shakespeare's Theatreland* has created walks linking notable places. Today you can walk across the City of London in about twenty minutes but in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the streets would be filled with shops, spreading into the roads, life was carried on much more in the outdoors and traffic was heavy but disorganised. Theatre owners recognised that the audience could be drawn more easily to local venues. And always the better-off with more money and leisure moved towards the west. Holborn and St Martins grew and were to be served by the theatres in Clerkenwell and the Cockpit in Drury Lane, linked by name, if nothing else to the Whitehall Palace's Cockpit-at-Court theatre. It was the pressure of population in the City that made playing there so desirable and, no doubt shows, if not plays, continued in the City inns.

## Conclusions

The purpose of this thesis has been to review the enormous amount of information that has been discovered about the Elizabethan theatre by scholars over the last three-hundred years and to consider it afresh from the stance of a theatre building and management entrepreneur. In doing so I have provided new light on several ingrained assumptions. Theatres must reflect the society that they serve in order to attract their audiences and to awake in them responses to the work presented. The early entrepreneurs who created the first purpose-built buildings and stable managements are frequently seen as peripheral to the work of the creative artist. This thesis has shown that in fact, by their early recognition of changing social and economic circumstances, these entrepreneurs provide the seed-bed for the creative work and the home for the artists to flourish. Perhaps one of the most important factors in this was the experience of the creators of the first theatre buildings as performers themselves. Those enterprises that flourished seem largely to have come from musicians and actors learning to own and manage buildings. Sebastian Westcote and Richard Farrant were experienced musicians before they were theatrical producers. James Burbage was a leading actor. Edward Alleyn too was a leading actor and his marriage into the Henslowe family ensured that the Rose and Fortune theatres enjoyed a success. These ventures contrast with, for instance, Francis Langley, a goldsmith with no known performing history, whose Swan Theatre never established itself as central to theatre development and failed commercially, as did his later venture at the Boar's Head. Even when a performer and businessman had enjoyed a long relationship, as with James Burbage and John Brayne, the latter's independent theatre ventures fell at the hurdles of theatre management, not least in his choice of theatre locations.

### **Social Circumstances and change**

I have spent some time in chapter one in setting out the foundations on which these theatre builders drew. The reasons that the effulgence of theatre creativity happened in Elizabeth's reign and not earlier, occupy my thinking in this first chapter. The ability of the first theatre owners was to recognise these factors and to seize the opportunities that they might offer if skilfully managed. But skill and experience was almost certainly not enough. To lead a business, and particularly a new business, there must be a personality to whom people can respond. It is perhaps their work as performers and skill in responding to their auditor's emotional involvement that provides the key to success or failure in these early theatre owners. What does unite them is an urgent desire to take the opportunity of the new and the independent path afforded by changing social and financial circumstances.

The sixteenth century saw cathartic changes in religion and, in part because of this, a complete change in the assumptions of social hierarchy and authority. If the worship of God could be substantially changed, if his spokesman on earth could be changed at will, if the very nature of one's communication with God could be personal rather than prescribed, then surely too the nature of one's individual expression and freedom could be changed. These were not new ideas in the sixteenth century but the domestic needs of King Henry VIII crystallized a wider movement and gave it expression. As with all such changes in society there is a resistance to change. Established organisations seek to maintain their position, concerned with status and income, opportunists see a new route to authority for themselves, whilst the vast body of society finds itself torn between, neither enjoying the benefits of a secure structure in which to reside, nor the benefits of new opportunities because lacking the financial and social resources to explore them. The resulting tensions can be released

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in being an audience for performances of conflict and resolution, whether sport or drama, even bear baiting and cockfighting, are dramas with resolved endings.

A wise authority draws on this ability to release social tensions in the catharsis of theatre. In doing so it reinforces its importance at the head of a society. As opposed to sports where activity can be initiated at the most local level, theatre requires resource and structure, even if it is only the protection of a patron's name, livery and initial fee. Patrons and theatre companies begin to grow with the greater intellectual freedom of the post reformation society that found its footing with Elizabeth's reign. By the mid-1560s seven earls and three senior lords (including two of the Howard lords, the Duke of Norfolk's family name) had companies that they licenced. By the end of the century more than half the earldoms in the kingdom had companies touring in their name. When James I came to the throne, he subsumed the patronage of most of the major acting companies into the royal family. This was not just aggrandisement and self-indulgence but a need to establish an authority for a foreign king in a growing fiefdom. It was very much a continuance of the work of Elizabeth's Privy Council in balancing the conservatism of the established commercial business owners in the City with the need to give their workforce an outlet that was contained yet cathartic. In later centuries the monarch licensed major theatres as 'Royal Theatres' but Parliament licenced through private Acts) the lesser managements of many 'Theatre Royal' as a proper recognition of the monarch's centrality. Where Henry VIII confirmed his authority by demolishing the physical infrastructure and wealth of the catholic religion, Elizabeth established her protestant authority by banning religious plays and encouraging her principal liege lords to sponsor secular theatre companies.

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At the time of writing this thesis the United Kingdom is going through a re-evaluation of its relationship with Europe. In many ways the concerns and opportunities of the first Elizabethan age are mirrored in this debate, in independence, in immigration and in an undefinable sense of identity. The predominantly migrant growth of population in Elizabethan London was not only from rural England, but from those parts of the mainland of Europe where the religious conformity of thought remained. With that migration came new ideas, new methodologies in trading and finance and new technologies. The interchange of ideas that urban living allows, by simple close association of random individuals, was the well-spring of development, of all kinds. The business of permanent theatre became a possibility in this swelling urban scene as did merchant adventuring and exploration.

### **The earliest permanent theatres**

In considering the Children's companies I have given new emphasis to the importance of Thomas Cawarden, as the first permanent Master of the Revels in creating a structure in the royal household for performance. Though not himself a performer he took delight in the production of entertainment and as a soldier and administrator of considerable ability. He saw the strategic importance of entertainment in the status of the English Crown and in its relationship with foreign ambassadors and nobles. The strength of the musical establishment he created with Richard Bower in the Chapel Royal was the well-spring of both the Children of Pauls under Sebastian Westcote and the Children of the Chapel Royal, when they too found a public performance outlet under Richard Farrant.

The earliest permanent public theatre can be identified in the 'state-supported' choral schools. The rehearsal room of the St. Paul's Choir School in the Almonry of the cathedral is identified in my second chapter as the first permanent public

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performance space. There were many temporary uses of private houses, inns, schools and guildhalls up and down the country for performance but it was Sebastian Westcote I identify as providing the first permanent and, importantly, regularly available venue where a member of the public might expect to find entertainment for the payment of an entry fee. I have shown the strong likelihood that this new enterprise began in the first years of Elizabeth's reign. The reason was undoubtedly a desire on the part of the cathedral to increase the financial self-sufficiency of its Choir School, and to find an acceptable role, a little apart from the main body of the cathedral, for its principle organist and arranger of music but who (embarrassingly), refused to abandon his catholic religious beliefs. I have shown evidence that this permanent theatre began earlier than generally supposed in 1560-1561.

The temporary inn-yard venues quickly realised that they too could charge an entry fee at their gates to see an acting company. As early as 1565 the Lord Mayor was attempting to stop plays being performed in 'houses' (which included inns) where entrance fees were charged. Merchants and lords swelled the secular acting market with performances in their own house to emphasise their own importance and to celebrate marriages. After the December 1574 Act of Common Council by which the City sought to impose restrictive licensing and censorship rules over playing, it became much more expensive, and administratively cumbersome to present plays in the City of London.<sup>1</sup> By 1576 the need for permanent public performance spaces beyond that control had become manifest and Burbage in that year leased the Theatre site, Richard Hicks leased to Jerome Savage the Newington Butts site, and Richard Farrant created a public performance space for the Children of the Chapel Royal in Cawarden's property (now owned by his nephew Sir William Moore) in the first

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<sup>1</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, pp.273-76, item xxxii.

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Blackfriars Theatre. At about the same time the Curtain Theatre was established. On top of the four main inns regularly presenting shows, fencing, acrobatics and plays in London. With St. Paul's there were, by 1577, nine places a citizen of London could go to see a play.

The subsidised boy companies depended on the personalities of their entrepreneurs, the first Blackfriars' never recovered from Farrant's death in 1580 (it was closed by 1584) and St. Paul's Children never recovered from Sebastian Westcott's death in 1582, though it enjoyed a brief resurgence under Thomas Gyles supported by John Lyly whose plays were highly regarded. It too was closed by 1590 and the theatre became a tenement in 1596. This clearer history of the Almonry playhouse at St. Paul's is, I believe, a new insight. Perhaps the subsidised houses, without a commercial structure and imperative, had insufficient 'entity' to continue as businesses from generation to generation. The boy companies of later and more commercial structure lacked the leaders trained in performance themselves and had chequered careers. The commercial enterprises outside the City, by contrast, succeeded, though Newington Butts eventually proved to be too far from the City when there was an abundance of closer theatres, nonetheless it survived nearly twenty-five years.

All the theatre entrepreneurs, except as far as we know Richard Hicks, had minor links to Court. Burbage had a royal patent from 1574 as leader of the Earl of Leicester's Men and was to become a servant of Lord Hunsdon, later the Lord Chamberlain. Henslowe's father had been a Groom of the Chamber as Keeper of the Ashdown Forest and Henslowe himself, was to become a Groom of the Chamber in succession. Langley was related by marriage to a Clerk of the Privy Council and, coincidentally, built his theatre on land once owned by Lord Hunsdon. Farrant was a

servant of the Queen and Westcote of St Paul's was a Yeoman of the Chamber.

Henry Lanman or Laneman's relationship with the Court is less certain but he may have been related to Robert Laneman, Door Keeper of the Chamber. But then it was a small world and the few people who were at the centre were connected in many ways. The ability to claim some direct association with the Court and Privy Council were necessary armour against potential objectors and helped to confirm the mutually supportive sense of authority. My own experience today shows that it is almost impossible to create a public theatre without at least the tacit support of the local authority.

### **Commercial Records**

The *Henslowe Diary* is a miraculous survivor and the only significant business record that we have. It gives us an insight into the financing of plays and of costume. The Revels Accounts give us further information on the costume that the Court and its acting companies attendant could draw on when required. Like Henslowe, there were other people in the commercial field of hiring-out costume. Unfortunately, the financial records in the *Diary* are not Henslowe's formal accounts but an initial day book of transactions and the picture is hazy because of the inability to marry all the transactions to outcomes. The *Diary* does give us a unique list of play returns from which we can build a reasonable picture of the Rose playhouse income over six years. Curiously, apart from major building works, it gives us very little on the cost of operating the Rose. In the appendices to this thesis I have transcribed the Rose record of plays and the recorded takings at those performances and have extrapolated them to show likely percentage of occupation and the likely take of the acting company at each performance. From this in a second appendix I have drawn down the arrangement of the acting company repertoire at the Rose and its commercial take from each performance. A third appendix takes individual plays and analyses their

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overall commercial success. These appendices are intended as tools for other scholars in the future. In order to create the occupancy levels, I have drawn plans of the two versions of the Rose, the Fortune, Blackfriars and the Globe in order to assess seating and standing capacity. These too are intended to help the reader.

The Chamber Accounts augment the Court information and give us a picture of the costs of putting on a play for a night but it does not add the sums that courtiers gave in appreciation or costumes they donated to the company and cannot give a clear commercial picture.

The study of the Burbage enterprise attempts to make good the *Diary's* omissions, but the information for much of it comes many years after the event and is drawn from litigation where the witnesses' bias can be very strong. From the extrapolations of Henslowe's records of income and playing frequency I have sought to draw the picture of a developing business at the Theatre. Much of it must be speculative, though I believe that it is soundly based speculation. Here I have tried to illustrate the probable costs associated with operating a theatre to balance the well-known income of the Rose theatre. My speculative outcomes bear out Henry Lanman's authoritative testimony that, overall James Burbage averages between 100 marks (£66.13s. 4d.) and £80 a-year in profits from the Theatre. The picture that emerges is of businesses that are slow to grow, taking ten years to reach a net profit. These are not money-pumps instantly making fortunes for their owners. Nor do they make their returns at the expense of the acting companies. In a theatre there is a strong mutual dependency between actor and manager, though being theatres, there are also heightened emotional tensions. The picture of the Theatre that emerges and of James Burbage's role within it is quite different to previous authors' interpretations

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and may engender new avenues of exploration for others. Appendix 4 sets out an to illustrate account to show the likely revenue and capital growth of the Theatre.

**Change in the theatre industry**

Ironically as the Burbage–Brayne partnership ceases in 1586 their success at the Theatre and its joint operation with the Curtain engenders a new wave of theatre building. The Rose on Bankside opened in September 1587 followed by the Swan at Easter 1596, I believe now a firmly established date. In east London John Brayne himself had tried to make the George Inn in Whitechapel a playing place in 1579 and in 1598 the Boars Head at Whitechapel was converted or improved for theatre whilst a John Wolf of East Smithfield (north of St. Katherine's) was restrained from building a theatre in 1600, probably quite close to Brayne's original Red Lion of 1567.<sup>2</sup> The nature of the theatre industry also changed from a largely popular theatre providing a high proportion of capacity to population and under several managements to a lower proportion of capacity to population under fewer managements.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Theatres</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Est. Capacity</i>	<i>Management</i>
1586	Theatre	Open air	1,300	Burbage/Lanman
	Curtain	Open air	1,300	Burbage/Lanman
	Newington Butts	Open air	1,000	Savage
	Four Inns in the City	Open air	3,200	Four owners
	St. Paul's Almonry	Indoor	100	St. Paul's
	<i>Totals</i>	8		c. 7,000
	Population per audience place: 18 people			
1596	Theatre	Open air	1,300	Burbage/Lanman
	Curtain	Open air	1,300	Burbage/Lanman
	Newington Butts	Open air	1,000	Henslowe?
	Four Inns in the City	Open air	3,200	Four owners
	Rose	Open air	1,500	Henslowe/Alleyn
	Swan	Open air	1,300	Langley
	<i>Totals</i>	9		c. 9,600
	Population per audience place: 14 people.			

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<sup>2</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, p. 327, item cxx.

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1602	Globe	Open air	1,600	Burbage etc.
	Blackfriars	Indoor	500	Burbage etc.
	Fortune	Open air	1,800	Henslowe/Alleyn
	Curtain	Open air	1,300	Lanman
	Swan	Open air	1,300	Langley
	Boar's Head	Open air	1,000	Langley/Samwell
	Totals		c. 7,500	4
	Population per audience place: 20 people			

*Table 15. Changing theatre provision*

*Author's approximation of capacity, management and type of theatre 1586–1630.*

1596 was the heyday of the open-air theatre. The proportion of audience places to population was at its highest and the great popular arenas in which emotions could sway back and forth were the general form of theatre for London. New or modified theatres had larger yards to accommodate more groundlings. The Rose modification in 1592 enlarged the yard but not the seating to a significant degree. The first Globe accommodated 50% more groundlings but reduced the 2d. room places to maintain a near identical gallery take to the Theatre. The Fortune enlarged again on the second Rose. Yet the Burbage family in 1596 planned a new enterprise in a large indoor theatre at Blackfriars when they were forestalled by a petition from important people living in the precinct and had to lease it to a children's company four years later. Nonetheless they seem to have spotted a trend towards the indoor theatre long before it was generally recognised. Much of the playing experience in London was indoors, in private houses, livery and Inns of Court halls, not to mention St. Paul's and the first Blackfriars. Acoustically more pleasant to play and with higher entry prices the indoor theatre had much to recommend it. The effective loss of the four open air inns inside the City in 1600 radically reduced the number of audience places and the number of managements.<sup>3</sup> By 1630 (when the Salisbury Court theatre had

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<sup>3</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, pp. 329-331, item cxxiv. The Privy Council minute to restrict the theatres about London to two and no common inns to be used.

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opened) there were only four open-air theatres (the second Globe, the second Fortune, the Hope and the Red Bull) and three indoor ones (the second Blackfriars, Salisbury Court and the Pheonix). The number of audience places had dropped to one place for 43 people, served by only 5 managements.<sup>4</sup>

The petition of the Blackfriars residents to prevent the Burbages from opening the second Blackfriars theatre forced them to build the Globe on Bankside in 1599 and forced the owners of the Rose to reposition their theatre business with the Fortune, in Finsbury in 1600, thus maintaining the north-south audience balance but precipitating the closure of the four inns in the City.<sup>5</sup>

### **Capital**

Capital was (and is) an essential for a theatre. There has been a desire for the new theatre owners to be perceived as ‘lads from the country who made good’ following the example of Shakespeare. Burbage and Brayne were settled in London with a money lending business before the Theatre and Brayne had a thriving apothecary and spice business. Langley had the dowry of his wife. Lanman remains, a mystery, but there is the possibility of a rich relation or the family may have had money from other sources, a Lanman family is to be found in the parish of St Andrews, one of the richer areas of London as it expanded towards Westminster. Henslowe has the benefit of the proceeds of an established dying business and possibly the wealth and influence of the Cholmley family. It takes time to build the necessary connections and garner capital. Shakespeare succeeded on an outstanding creative ability but his was an enterprise that required no substantial capital to develop. A parallel today is to be

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<sup>4</sup> *EPT* dates and management information by Herbert Berry are used here, the estimates of capacity are the author’s and the population figures are taken from Roger Finley, *Population and Metropolis*.

<sup>5</sup> *ES*, vol. IV, pp. 326-329, items cxvii to cxxiii. This sequence of Privy Council minutes confirms their desire firstly to ban the Fortune in anticipation of City objections and then to permit but assuage the City by closing the inns within the City’s jurisdiction.

found in the internet businesses that also require talent but no capital. Most of the early enquirers into the history of the early modern theatre were looking for traces of Shakespeare so that it is not surprising they look too for parallel paths to fortune in theatre ownership. I have questioned these assumptions in the thesis in the hope that it prompts further work by others.

### **Sensitivity in programming**

The first successful theatres, the Theatre, Curtain and Rose had similar managements, familiar with but not part of an acting company, assuming that is that Burbage retired as an actor in 1576, as implied by Cuthbert Burbage in his 1635 response to the sharers' petition.<sup>6</sup> Alleyn too retired in 1597 when the Rose began to experience financial competition from the Swan. Does this signify that he felt he had to take a direct hand in the management of the Rose in difficult times? He returned to acting in 1600 to promote the Fortune theatre and set it in good heart with a new audience. Lanman may have welcomed the pooling of operations with the Burbages in 1585, perhaps because the success of his neighbour meant that there was product eager to play in Shoreditch and came to Burbage first? The fact is that Langley's Swan failed largely from lack of control of the programme, as did the Henry Evan's management of the second Blackfriars of 1602. Control of the programme must surely have been a central part of a successful theatre entrepreneur's role. The Rose financing contract between Cholmley and Henslowe included a joint responsibility for appointing the company to play at their house, giving them an ultimate sanction on the playing company and thus implicit control of the programme. Whether Cholmley had any such ability we do not know but it appears that Henslowe did have sufficient sensitivity to succeed. Perhaps he had the benefit of his future son-in-law's advice?

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<sup>6</sup> *EPT*, pp. 226-227, item 162 (4).

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I have tried to give some flavour of the popular theatre that flowered, all too briefly, in what we see (at a good retrospective distance), was a golden age. For those living at the time it was certainly not golden, but it was a period of great excitement, of expansion of trade, of individuality, of knowledge and of spirit. I hope that some essence of this can be found by the reader in these pages.

# **The London Theatre Business in the late Sixteenth Century**

**Volume Two of Two  
Bibliography and Appendices**

**by**

**Michael Derrick Holden**

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University of Warwick  
School of Theatre & Performance Studies  
and Cultural & Media Policy Studies

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## APPENDICES

## **Preface**

To create potential capacity the following plans have been prepared:

The Rose phase 1

The Rose Phase 2

The Fortune phase 1

The Globe phase 1

Blackfriars, the second theatre

## **Appendix 1**

Sets out the information contained in the *Henslowe Diary* regarding to the income Henslowe records from performances. From 1591 to 1597 individual plays are recorded, and from 1597 to 1600 the weekly income is recorded. See the main text for probable errors in the records. The information is extrapolated to give an indicative performing company income and likely percentage of the house occupied.

## **Appendix 2**

Sets out the *Henslowe Diary* information to show the programme pattern and to identify the success, or otherwise, of individual plays. Each page gives a picture of the content of the repertoire in a period of about thirty performances.

## **Appendix 3**

Analyses the popularity and commercial performance of individual plays.

The total number of individual performances of each play are given for the period 1591–97 using the figure recorded by Henslowe. Henslowe's total income from each play and the average achieved income for that play. The 'sheet'

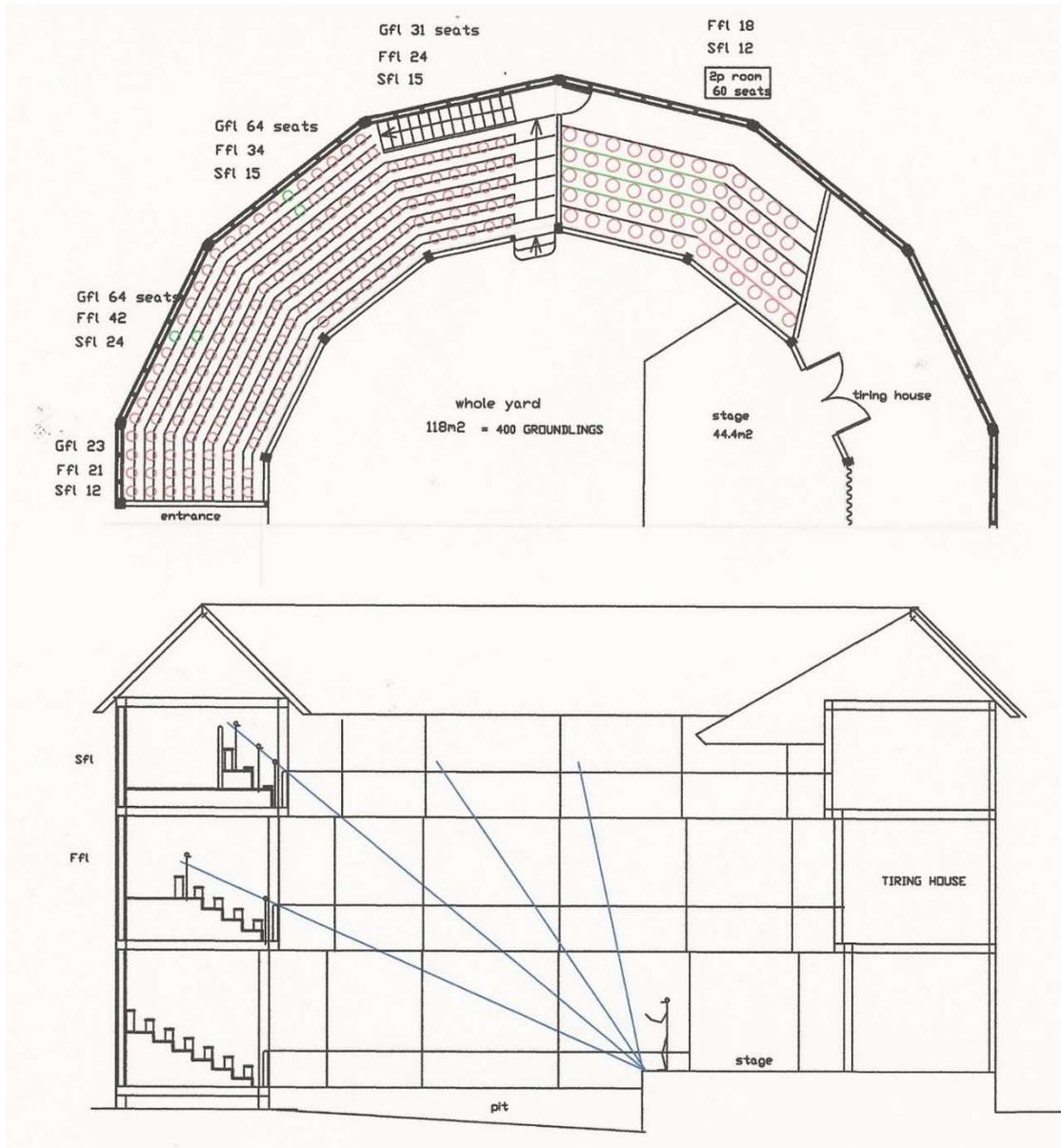
information relates to the number of pages in appendix 2 on which the play occurs. It gives some idea of the longevity of each play in the repertoire over the period.

Both appendices 1 and 2 use a pink colour to indicate when a play is likely to have been presented at a 2d. entry price rather than a 1d. entry. These are when a new play is premiered or brought back into the repertoire after a long interval. The increased price is also charged on holidays, Easter, Whitsun and Christmas weeks are notable in this context. The higher price is sometimes charged after an extended period of plague, and when there has been a long period of inhibition without extensive plague. Yellow highlighting represented closure periods of a significant length, short interruptions are shown as undated and void lines leaving the day of the weekdays, for continuity.

The formulation used to extrapolate the Henslowe record into likely performing company income and percentage of the house occupied and thus the number in the audience each day is set out in the body of the thesis but copied here for convenience.

When looking at the Henslowe returns it is useful to bear in mind that the acting company's return will be 3.824 times as much. Appendix three gives the average achieved value for each play.

*The London Theatre Business in the Sixteenth Century*



*The Rose theatre, phase one, 1587*

The calculated capacity of the house is:

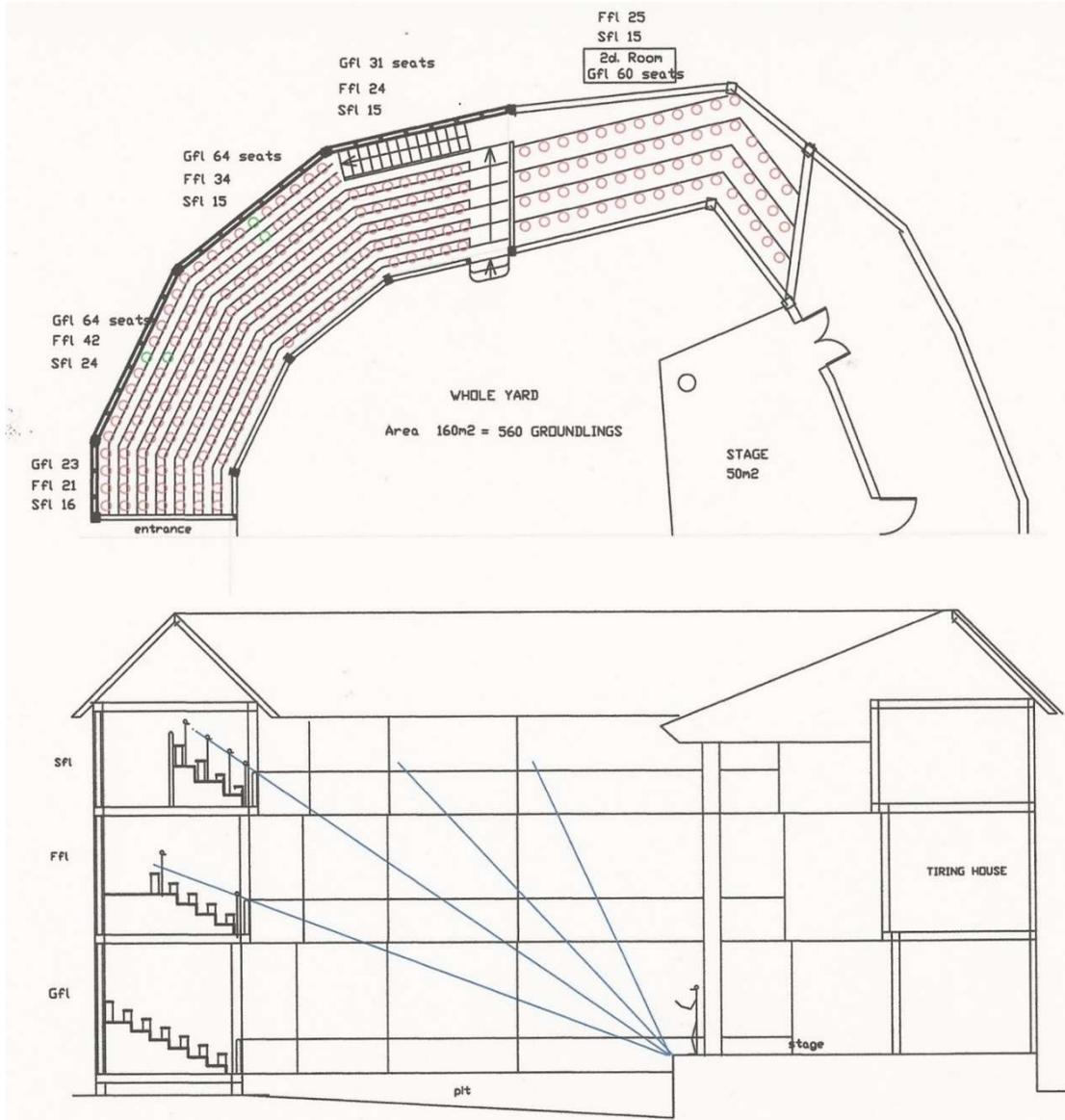
Seated @ 1d.	Ground floor 364, first 278, second 156	total	798 = 798d
Seated @ 2d.			120 = 240d.
		Gallery take	1,038d.

Gallery take is £4.325 (£4.6s.8d.). Therefore half gallery £2.163 (£2.3s.3d.)

Standing 413,

Total capacity 1331 @ 1d. = £5.546 (£5.10s.11d.) plus half gallery to give the acting company £7.709 (£7.14s.2d.).

*The London Theatre Business in the Sixteenth Century*



*The Rose theatre, phase two, 1592.*

The calculated capacity of the house is:

Seated @ 1d.	Ground floor 364, first 292, second 170	total	826 = 826d
Seated @ 2d.			120 = <u>240d.</u>
		Gallery take	1,066d.

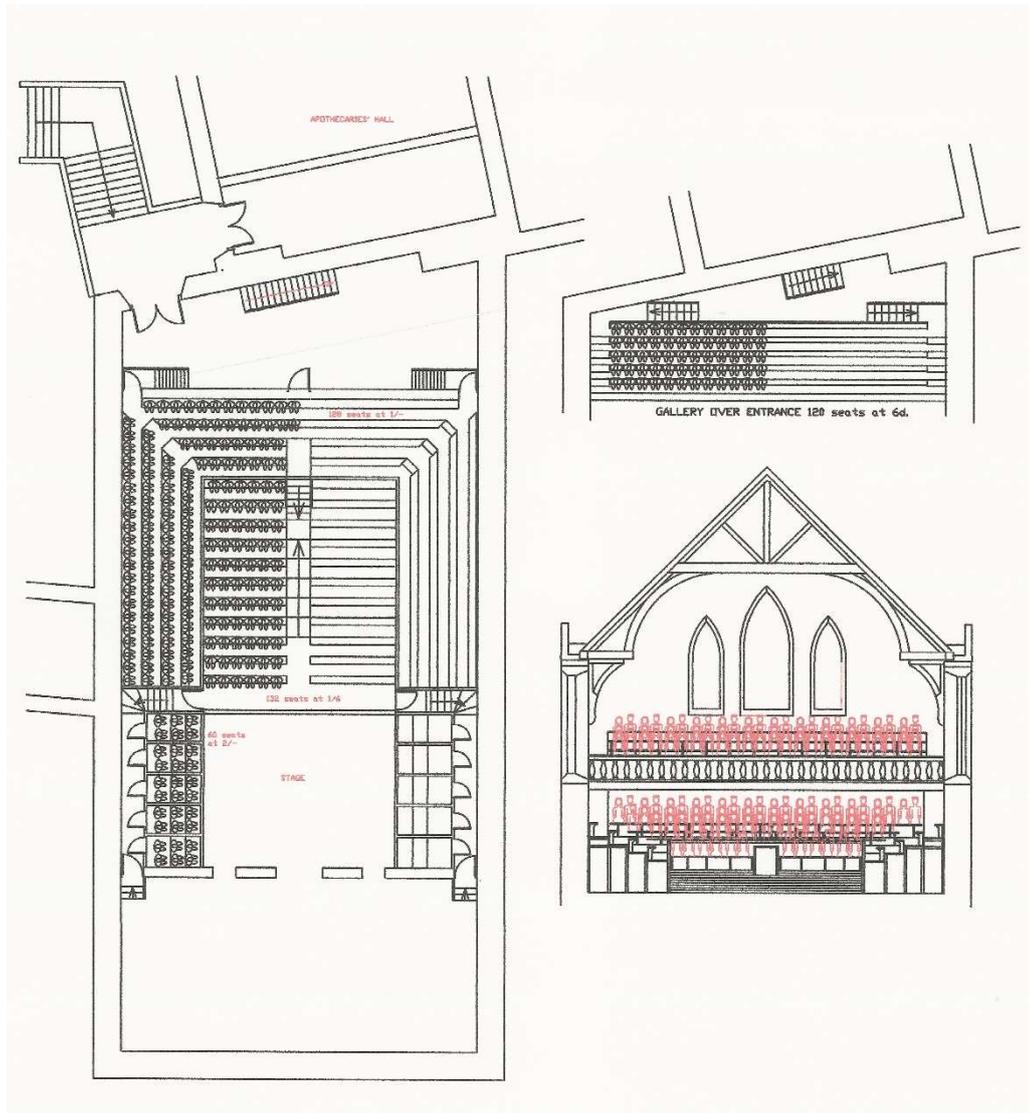
Gallery take is £4.442 (£4.8s.10d.). Therefore, half gallery £2.221 (£2.4s.5d.)

Standing 560,

Total capacity 1,506 @ 1d. = £6.275 (£6.5s.6d.) plus half gallery to give the acting company £8.496 (£8.9s.11d.).



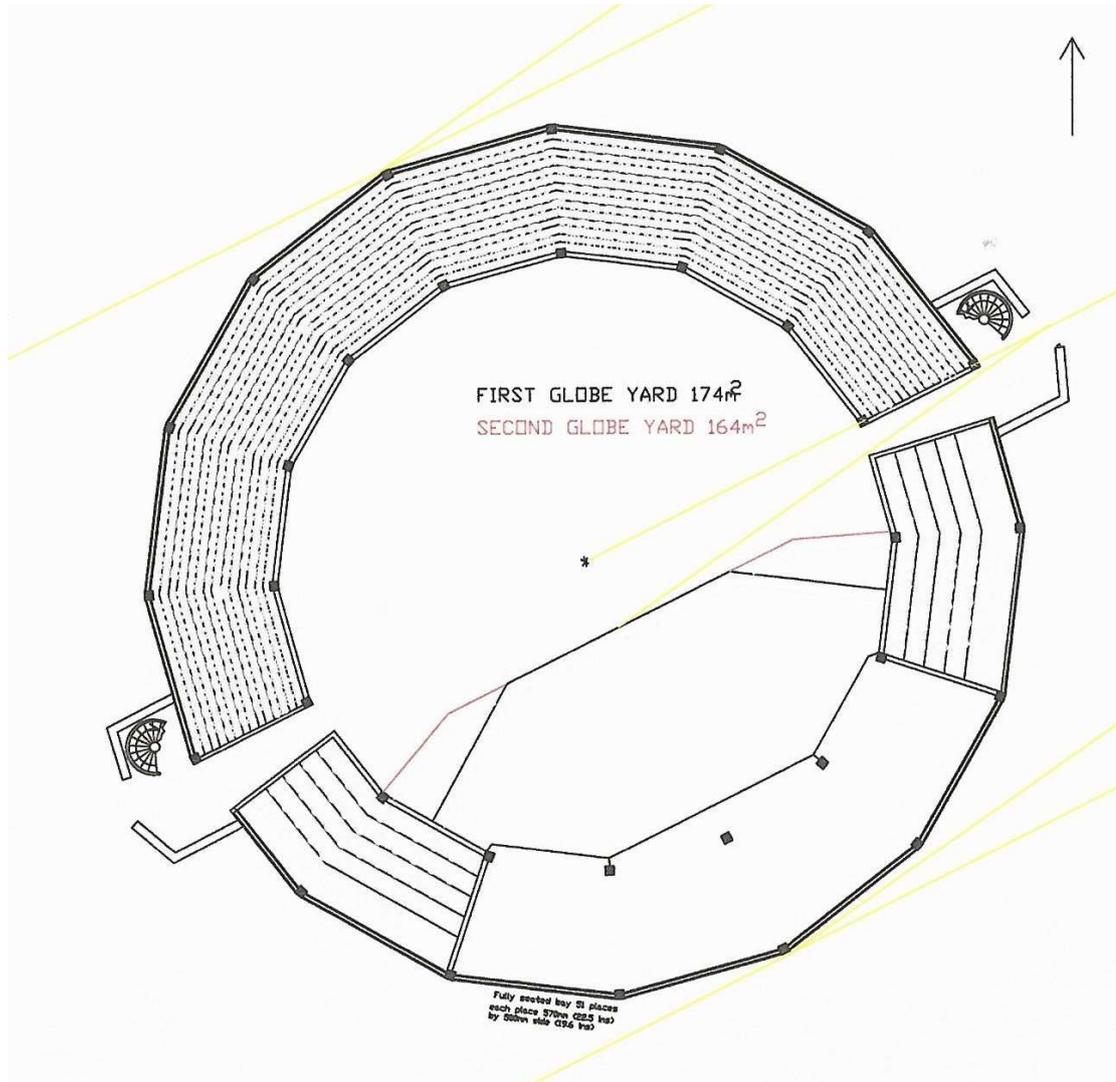
The London Theatre Business in the Sixteenth Century



Blackfriars 1596

Gallery	120 people @ 6d.	60s.
Parterre	128 people @ 1s.	<u>128s.</u>
Total 'galleries'		188s. Half galleries = 94s. (Owners) £4. 14s,
Stalls	132 people @ 1s. 6d. =	198s.
Boxes	60 people @ 2s. =	120s.
Stage sitters	20 people @ 2s. 6d. =	<u>50s</u>
Total below galleries		368s
Half galleries		<u>94s.</u>
Total for actors		462s. = £23. 2s. 0d
Total capacity	460 people.	

The London Theatre Business in the Sixteenth Century



Globe Theatre 1599

Galleries	876 people @ 1d. = 876d.		
	<u>108 people @ 2d. = 216d.</u>		
	984	1,092d. =	£4. 11s. 0d. Half galleries = £2. 5s. 6d.
			(owners)
Yard	609 people @ 1d.	609d =	£2. 10s. 9d.
	Add half galleries		<u>£2. 5s. 6d.</u>
			£4. 16s. 3d (actors)

## **Appendix 1**

**Transcription of *Henslowe's Diary*  
with extrapolation to give approximate  
income for the acting company and  
probable number in the audience**

Julian Year Date	Underlining suggests sub-total made	Henslowe's Entry Title	Modern Title from <i>Annals of English Drama</i> Harbage & Schoenbaum 1964	Notes (ne denotes new or revised)	Recorded Receipt			Decimal £.p	Weekly	Cumulative	Approx. percentage of house %	Likely company receipts £	Weekly	Annually	Total House (Persons)
					£	s	d								
			<b>Lord Strange's Men</b>												
19/2/1591	Saturday	fryer bacvne	Friar Bacon & Friar Bungay			17	3	0.86			40	3.07			531
20/02/1591	Sunday	mvlomvrco	Muly Molloco		1	9	0	1.45	2.31	2.31	67	5.17	8.24	8.7	892
21/2/1591	Monday	orlando	Orlando Furioso			16	6	0.83			38	2.94			508
	Tuesday														
23/2/1591	Wednesday	spanes comedie Don Oracioe	Don Horatio (Pt.1 Jeronimo?)			13	6	0.68			31	2.41			415
24/2/1591	Thursday	syr John mandevell	Sir John Mandeville			12	6	0.63			29	2.22			383
25/2/1591	Friday	harye of cornwall	Harry of Cornwall		1	12	0	1.60			74	5.68			981
26/2/1591	Saturday	the Jewe of malltuse	The Jew of Malta	2d.	2	10	0	2.50			58	8.88			767
	Sunday								6.23	8.54			22.12	30.82	
28/2/1591	Monday	clorys & orgasto	Clorys and Orgasto (Ergasto)			18	0	0.90			42	3.21			554
29/2/1591	Tuesday	mvlamvlluco	Muly Molloco		1	14	0	1.70			79	6.06			1046
1/3/1591	Wednesday	poope Jone	Pope Joan			15	0	0.75			35	2.67			462
2/3/1591	Thursday	matchavell	Machiavel			14	0	0.70			32	2.49			431
3/3/1591	Friday	harry the vj	I Henry VI	ne	3	16	8	3.83			89	13.66			1179
4/3/1591	Saturday	bendo & Richardo	Bendo (or Byndo) & Richardo			16	0	0.80			37	2.85			492
	Sunday								8.68	17.22			30.94	61.77	
6/3/1591	Monday	iiij plays in one	Four Plays in One		1	11	6	1.58			73	5.61			969
7/3/1591	Tuesday	harye the vj	I Henry VI	2d.	3	0	0	3.00			69	10.69			923
8/3/1591	Wednesday	the lockinglasse	A Looking Glass for London & England			7	0	0.35			16	1.25			215
9/3/1591	Thursday	senobia	Zenobia		1	2	6	1.13			52	4.01			692
10/3/1591	Friday	the Jewe of malta	The Jew of Malta	2d.	2	16	0	2.80			65	9.98			861
11/3/1591	Saturday	harye the vj	I Henry VI	2d.	2	7	6	2.38			55	8.43			728
	Sunday								11.23	28.45			39.97	101.74	
13/3/1591	Monday	the Comedy of doneoracio	Don Horatio (Pt.1 Jeronimo?)		1	9	0	1.45			67	5.17			892
14/3/1591	Tuesday	Jeronymo	Jeronymo	2d.	3	11	0	3.55			82	12.65			1092
	Wednesday														
16/3/1591	Thursday	harye	I Henry VI (?)		1	11	6	1.58			73	5.61			969
17/3/1591	Friday	mvlo mvlocco	Muly Molloco		1	8	6	1.43			66	5.08			877
18/3/1591	Saturday	the Jewe of malta	The Jew of Malta		1	19	0	1.95			90	6.95			1200
	Sunday								9.95	38.40			35.46	137.20	
20/3/1591	Monday	Jeronymo	Jeronymo		1	18	0	1.90			88	6.77			1169
21/3/1591	Tuesday	constantine	Constantine			12	0	0.60			28	2.14			369
22/3/1591	Wednesday	Q Jerusalem	Conquest of Jerusalem, I Godfrey of Boulogne			18	0	0.90			42	3.21			554
23/3/1591	Thursday	harye of cornwell	Harry of Cornwall			13	6	0.68			31	2.41			415
	Friday														
25/3/1592	Saturday	fryer bacon	Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay			15	6	0.78			36	2.75			475
	Sunday								4.85	43.25			17.27	154.47	
27/3/1592	Monday	the lockinglasse	A Looking Glass for London & England	Easter Mon.	2	15	0	2.75			64	9.80			846
28/3/1592	Tuesday	harye the vj	I Henry VI	2d.	3	8	0	3.40			79	12.12			1046
29/3/1592	Wednesday	mvlimvlucko	Muly Molloco	2d.	3	2	0	3.10			72	11.05			954
30/3/1592	Thursday	doneoracio	Don Horatio (Pt.1 Jeronimo?)		1	19	0	1.95			90	6.95			1200
31/3/1592	Friday	Jeronymo	Jeronymo	2d.	3	0	0	3.00			69	10.69			923
1/4/1592	Saturday	mandefell	Sir John Mandeville		1	10	0	1.50			69	5.35			923
	Sunday								15.70	15.70			55.95	55.95	
3/4/1592	Monday	matchevell	Machiavel		1	2	0	1.10			51	3.92			677
4/4/1592	Tuesday	the Jewe of malta	The Jew of Malta	2d.	2	3	0	2.15			50	7.66			662
5/4/1592	Wednesday	harye the vj	I Henry VI		2	1	0	2.05			95	7.31			1261
6/4/1592	Thursday	brandymer	Brandimer (same as Orlando Furioso?)		1	2	0	1.10			51	3.92			677
7/4/1592	Friday	Jeronymo	Jeronymo		1	6	0	1.30			60	4.63			800

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					£	s	d								
8/4/1592	Saturday	mvle mvloco	Muly Molloco	J.h. -01-10-00	1	3	0	1.15			53	£ 4.10			708
	Sunday								8.85	24.55			31.54	87.49	
10/4/1592	Monday	the comodye of Jeronymo	Jeronymo		1	8	0	1.40			64	4.97			858
11/4/1592	Tuesday	tittus and vespacia	Titus and Vespasian	ne	3	4	0	3.20			74	11.40			985
12/4/1592	Wednesday	byndo & Richardo	Bendo (or Byndo) & Richardo		1	3	0	1.15			53	4.08			705
13/4/1592	Thursday	harye the vj	I Henry VI		1	6	0	1.30			60	4.62			797
14/4/1592	Friday	Joronymo	Jeronymo		1	13	0	1.65			76	5.86			1012
15/4/1592	Saturday	mandevell	Sir John Mandeville		1	6	0	1.30			60	4.62			797
	Sunday								10.00	34.55			35.55	123.04	
17/4/1592	Monday	mvllo mvlluco	Muly Molloco		1	10	0	1.50			69	5.35			923
18/4/1592	Tuesday	the Jewe of mallta	The Jew of Malta	2d.	2	8	6	2.43			56	8.64			746
19/4/1592	Wednesday	lockingglasse	A Looking Glass for London & England		1	4	0	1.20			55	4.28			738
20/4/1592	Thursday	tittus & vespacia	Titus and Vespasian	2d.	2	16	0	2.80			65	9.98			861
21/4/1592	Friday	harye the vj	I Henry VI		1	13	0	1.65			76	5.88			1015
22/4/1592	Saturday	the comedy of Jeronymo	Jeronymo (Don Horatio ?)			17	0	0.85			39	3.03			523
	Sunday								10.43	44.98			37.15	160.19	
24/4/1592	Monday	Jeronymo	Jeronymo		1	8	0	1.40							
25/4/1592	Tuesday	Jerusalem	Jerusalem (Conquest of Jerusalem?)		2	6	0	2.30			106	8.20			1415
26/4/1592	Wednesday	fryer bacon	Fiar Bacon and Friar Bungay		1	4	0	1.20			55	4.28			738
27/4/1592	Thursday	mvlo mvloco	Muly Molloco		1	6	0	1.30			60	4.63			800
28/4/1592	Friday	the second parte of tamber came	II Tamburlaine the Great	ne	3	4	0	3.20			74	11.40			985
29/4/1592	Saturday	harye of cornwell	Harry of Cornwall		1	6	0	1.30			60	4.63			800
30/4/1592	Sunday	mvlo mvloco	Muly Molloco	Rd £24 2d	2	18	0	2.90	13.60	58.58	67	10.34	43.48	203.66	892
	Monday														
2/5/1592	Tuesday	Jeronymo	Jeronymo		1	14	0	1.70			79	6.06			1046
3/5/1592	Wednesday	tittus & vespacia	Titus and Vespasian	2d.	2	17	6	2.88			66	10.25			885
4/5/1592	Thursday	harye the vj	I Henry VI	2r.	2	16	0	2.80			65	9.98			861
5/5/1592	Friday	the Jewe of mallta	The Jew of Malta		2	1	0	2.05			95	7.31			1261
6/5/1592	Saturday	fryer bacon	Fiar Bacon and Friar Bungay	Rd 32.14		14	0	0.70			32	2.49			431
7/5/1592	Sunday	harye the vj	I Henry VI		1	2	0	1.10	11.23	69.80	69	5.35	41.43	245.09	677
8/5/1592	Monday	brandimer	Brandimer		1	4	0	1.20			55	4.28			738
8/5/1592	Monday	tittus & vaspacia?private evening	Titus and Vespasian	34...	1	10	0	1.50			51	3.92			923
9/5/1592	Tuesday	Jeronymo	Jeronymo		1	6	0	1.30			60	4.63			800
10/5/1592	Wednesday	2 pte of tambercam	II Tamburlaine the Great		1	17	0	1.85			86	6.59			1138
11/5/1592	Thursday	the Jew of mallta	The Jew of Malta		1	14	0	1.70			79	6.06			1046
	Friday														
13/5/1592	Saturday	Jeronymo	Jeronymo	Whitsuntide	3	4	0	3.20			74	11.40			985
14/5/1592	Sunday	harye the vj	I Henry VI	2d.	2	10	0	2.50	14.35	84.15	58	8.91	45.79	290.89	769
15/5/1592	Monday	tittus & vaspacia	Titus and Vespasian	2d.	3	0	0	3.00			69	10.69			923
16/5/1592	Tuesday	mandevall	Sir John Mandeville	51-10	2	0	0	2.00			92	7.13			1231
17/5/1592	Wednesday	mvllomvloco	Muly Molloco		1	16	6	1.83			84	6.50			1123
18/5/1592	Thursday	harye of cornwll	Harry of Cornwall		1	6	0	1.30			60	4.63			800
19/5/1592	Friday	harye the vj	I Henry VI		1	10	0	1.50			69	5.35			923
20/5/1592	Saturday	the Jewe of mallta	The Jew of Malta	2d.	2	14	0	2.70			62	9.62			831
21/5/1592	Sunday	the comodye of Jeronymo	Jeronymo (Don Horatio ?)		1	8	0	1.40	13.73	97.88	65	4.99	48.91	339.80	861
22/5/1592	Monday	Jeronymo	Jeronymo		1	7	0	1.35			62	4.81			831
23/5/1592	Tuesday	the taner of denmarke	The Tanner of Denmark	ne	3	13	6	3.68			85	13.10			1131
24/5/1592	Wednesday	tittus & vaspacia	Titus and Vespasian		1	10	0	1.50			69	5.35			923
25/5/1592	Thursday	harye the vj	I Henry VI		1	4	0	1.20			55	4.28			738
26/5/1592	Friday	tambercame	II Tamburlaine the Great		1	16	6	1.83			84	6.50			1123

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					£	s	d								
27/5/1592	Saturday	Jeronymo	Jeronymo		1	3	0	1.15			53	4.10			708
	Sunday								10.70	108.58			38.13	377.93	
29/5/1592	Monday	matchevell	Machiavel		1	6	0	1.30			60	4.63			800
30/5/1592	Tuesday	the Jewe of malta	The Jew of Malta		1	13	0	1.65			76	5.88			1015
31/5/1592	Wednesday	mvlemvloco	Muly Molloco		1	3	0	1.15	4.10	112.68	53	4.10	14.61	392.54	708
	Thursday														
	Friday														
	Saturday														
	Sunday														
5/6/1592	Monday	Bendo & Richardo	Bendo (or Byndo) & Richardo		1	12	0	1.60			74	5.70			985
6/6/1592	Tuesday	titus & vespacia	Titus and Vespasian		2	2	0	2.10			97	7.48			1292
7/6/1592	Wednesday	the lockinglasse	A Looking Glass for London & England		1	9	0	1.45			67	5.17			892
8/6/1592	Thursday	tambercame	II Tamburlaine the Great		2	0	0	2.00			92	7.13			1231
9/6/1592	Friday	Jeronymo	Jeronymo	76....	1	8	0	1.40			65	4.99			861
10/6/1592	Saturday	a knacke to knowe a knave	A Knack to Know a Knave	ne 10 day	3	12	0	3.60			83	12.83			1108
	Sunday								12.15	124.83			43.30	435.84	
12/6/1592	Monday	harey the vj	I Henry VI		1	12	0	1.60			74	5.70			985
13/6/1592	Tuesday	mvlemvloco	Muly Molloco		1	0	0	1.00			46	3.56			615
14/6/1591	Wednesday	the Jewe of malta	The Jew of Malta		1	18	0	1.90			88	6.77			1169
15/6/1591	Thursday	the Knacke to knowe a Knave	A Knack to Know a Knave	2d.	2	12	0	2.60			60	9.27			800
16/6/1592	Friday	mandevell	Sir John Mandeville	.80....	1	0	0	1.00			46	3.56			615
	Saturday														
18/6/1592	Sunday	Joronymo	Jeronymo		1	4	0	1.20	9.30	134.13	55	4.28	33.14	468.98	738
19/6/1592	Monday	harey the vj	I Henry VI		1	11	0	1.55			72	5.52			954
20/6/1592	Tuesday	the comodey of Jeronymo	Jeronymo (Don Horatio ?)			15	0	0.75			35	2.67			462
21/6/1592	Wednesday	tambercame	II Tamburlaine the Great		1	12	0	1.60			74	5.70			985
22/6/1592	Thursday	a Knacke to knowe a Knave	A Knack to Know a Knave		1	7	0	1.35	5.25	139.38	62	4.81	18.71	487.69	831
															88062
											64%	Av.			Av.
															847
29/12/1592	Friday	mvlomulluco	Muly Molloco	2d	3	10	0	3.50			79	13.39			1187
30/12/1592	Saturday	Joronymo	Jeronymo	2d	3	8	0	3.40			77	13.01			1153
31/12/1592	Sunday	the cnake	A Knack to Know a Knave		1	10	0	1.50	8.40	8.40	68	5.21	31.60	31.60	1017
1/1/1592	Monday	the Jewe	The Jew of Malta	2d	2	16	0	2.80			63	10.71			949
	Tuesday														
3/1/1592	Wednesday	the cnake	A Knack to Know a Knave		1	9	0	1.45			65	5.54			983
4/1/1592	Thursday	mandevell	Sir John Mandeville			12	0	0.60			27	2.29			407
5/1/1592	Friday	th gelyous comodey	The Jealous Comedy	ne	2	4	0	2.20			50	8.42			746
6/1/1592	Saturday	titus	Titus and Vespasian	2d	2	12	0	2.60			59	9.95			881
	Sunday								9.65	18.05			36.90	68.50	
8/1/1592	Monday	Jeronymo	Jeronymo		1	2	0	1.10			50	4.20			746
9/1/1592	Tuesday	mvlo mulocko	Muly Molloco		1	0	0	1.00			45	3.82			678
10/1/1592	Wednesday	friar bacon	Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay		1	4	0	1.20			54	4.58			814
	Thursday														
12/1/1592	Friday	the comodey of cosmo	The Comedy of Cosmo		2	4	0	2.20			99	8.40			1492
13/1/1592	Saturday	mandevell	Sir John Mandeville			9	0	0.45			20	1.72			305
14/1/1592	Sunday	the cnake	A Knack to Know a Knave		1	4	0	1.20	7.15	25.20	54	4.58	27.30	95.80	814
15/1/1592	Monday	titus	Titus and Vespasian		1	10	0	1.50			68	5.73			1017
16/1/1592	Tuesday	harey the 6	I Henry VI		2	6	0	2.30			104	8.78			1560

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					£	s	d								
17/1/1592	Wednesday	frer bacan	Fiar Bacon and Friar Bungay		1	0	0	1.00			45	3.82			678
18/1/1592	Thursday	the Jew	The Jew of Malta	2d	3	0	0	3.00			68	11.48			1017
19/1/1592	Friday	tambercam	Il Tamburlaine the Great		1	16	0	1.80			81	6.87			1221
20/1/1592	Saturday	mvlomvloc	Muly Molloco		1	0	0	1.00			45	3.82			678
	Sunday								10.60	35.80			40.49	136.29	
22/1/1592	Monday	Jeronymo	Jeronymo		1	0	0	1.00			45	3.82			678
23/1/1592	Tuesday	cossmo	The Comedy of Cosmo		1	10	0	1.50			68	5.73			1017
24/1/1592	Wednesday	the knacke	A Knack to Know a Knave		1	4	0	1.20			54	4.58			814
25/1/1592	Thursday	titus	Titus and Vespasian		1	10	0	1.50			68	5.73			1017
30/1/1592	Friday	the tragedey of the gyves	The Massacre at Paris, The Guise	ne	3	14	0	3.70			83	14.15			1254
31/1/1592	Saturday	mandevell	Sir John Mandeville		12	0		0.60			27	2.29			407
	Sunday								9.50	45.30			36.30	172.59	
	Monday														
30/1/1592	Tuesday	frer bacan ? Evening of perf.	Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay			12	0	0.60			27	2.29			407
31/1/1592	Wednesday	harye the VI	I Henry VI		1	6	0	1.30			59	4.96			881
1/2/1592	Thursday	the Jew of malta	The Jew of Malta		1	15	0	1.75	3.65	48.95	79	6.68	13.94	186.52	1187
Plague Closure 2/2/1592 to 26/12/1593															
<i>In the name of God Amen</i>															
<i>Beginning 27th. December 1593</i>															
<i>the Earl of Sussex, his men</i>															
27/12/1593	Thursday	good spede the plowghe	God Speed the Plough	2d	3	1	0	3.05			69	11.67			1034
28/12/1593	Friday	hewen of burdoche	Huon of Bordeaux	2d	3	10	0	3.50			79	13.39			1187
29/12/1593	Saturday	gorge a gren	George a Greene, the Pinner of Wakefield	2d	3	10	0	3.50			79	13.39			1187
30/12/1593	Sunday	buckingham	Buckingham	2d	2	11	0	2.55	12.60	12.60	57	9.75	48.20	48.20	865
31/12/1593	Monday	Richard the confeser	Richard the Confessor		1	18	0	1.90			86	7.25			1288
1/1/1593	Tuesday	buckingham	Buckingham	2d	2	18	0	2.90			65	11.09			983
2/1/1593	Wednesday	gorge a gren	George a Greene, the Pinner of Wakefield			18	0	0.90			41	3.44			610
3/1/1593	Thursday	hewen of burdoche	Huon of Bordeaux			14	0	0.70			32	2.67			475
4/1/1593	Friday	william the conkerer	William the Conqueror		1	2	0	1.10			50	4.20			746
5/1/1593	Saturday	god speed the plowe	God Speed the Plough			11	0	0.55			25	2.10			373
	Sunday								8.05	20.65			30.76	78.95	
7/1/1593	Monday	frier frances	Friar Francis	2d	3	1	0	3.05			69	11.67			1034
8/1/1593	Tuesday	the piner of wiackefelld	George a Greene, the Pinner of Wakefield		1	3	0	1.15			52	4.39			780
9/1/1593	Wednesday	abrame & lotte	Abraham and Lot	2d	2	12	0	2.60			59	9.95			881
10/1/1593	Thursday	buckingham	Buckingham		1	2	0	1.10			50	4.20			746
11/1/1593	Friday	hewen	Huon of Bordeaux			5	0	0.25			11	0.95			170
12/1/1593	Saturday	the fayer mayd of ytle	The Fair Maid of Italy			9	0	0.45			20	1.72			305
	Sunday								8.60	29.25			32.88	111.83	
14/1/1593	Monday	frier frances	Friar Francis		1	16	0	1.80			81	6.87			1221
15/1/1593	Tuesday	gorge a grene	George a Greene, the Pinner of Wakefield		1	0	0	1.00			45	3.82			678
16/1/1593	Wednesday	Richard the confeser	Richard the Confessor			11	0	0.55			25	2.10			373
17/1/1593	Thursday	abram & lotte	Abraham and Lot		1	10	0	1.50			68	5.73			1017
18/1/1593	Friday	Kinge lude	King Lud		1	2	0	1.10			50	4.20			746
	Saturday														
20/1/1593	Sunday	ffrier ffrances	Friar Francis		1	10	0	1.50	7.45	36.70	68	5.73	28.44	140.27	1017
21/1/1593	Monday	the fayer mayde of ytaly	The Fair Maid of Italy		1	2	0	1.10			50	4.20			746
22/1/1593	Tuesday	gorge a grene	George a Greene, the Pinner of Wakefield		1	5	0	1.25			56	4.77			848
23/1/1593	Wednesday	titus & ondronicus	Titus Andronicus	ne	3	8	0	3.40			77	13.01			1153

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					£	s	d								
	Thursday														
	Friday														
	Saturday														
27/1/1593	Sunday	buckengam	Buckingham			18	0	0.90	6.65	43.35	41	3.44	25.41	165.69	610
28/1/1593	Monday	titus & andronicus	Titus Andronicus		2	0	0	2.00			90	7.64			1356
	Tuesday														
	Wednesday														
31/1/1593	Thursday	abrame & lotte	Abraham and Lot			12	0	0.60			27	2.29			407
	Friday														
	Saturday														
	Sunday								2.60	45.95			9.93	175.61	
4/2/1593	Monday	the Jew of malta	The Jew of Malta	2d	2	10	0	2.50			56	9.56			848
	Tuesday														
6/2/1593	Wednesday	titus & ondrionicus	Titus Andronicus		2	0	0	2.00	4.50	50.45	90	7.64	17.20	192.81	1356
Plague closure 7/2/1593 to 31/3/1594															
<i>In the name of God Amen beginning at Easter 1593 the Quenes men &amp; my lord of Sussexe to geather</i>															
1/4/1594	Monday	frier bacone	Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay		2	3	0	2.15			97	8.21			1458
2/4/1594	Tuesday	Rangers comodey	The Ranger's Comedy	2d	3	0	0	3.00			68	11.48			1017
3/4/1594	Wednesday	the Jew of malta	The Jew of Malta	2d	3	0	0	3.00			68	11.48			1017
4/4/1594	Thursday	the fayre mayd of Italey	The Fair Maid of Italy		1	3	0	1.15			52	4.39			780
5/4/1594	Friday	frier bacone	Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay		1	0	0	1.00			45	3.82			678
6/4/1594	Saturday	kinge leare	The True Chronicle History of King Leir		1	18	0	1.90			86	7.25			1288
7/4/1594	Sunday	the Jew of malta	The Jew of Malta	Line	1	6	0	1.30	13.50	63.95	59	4.96	51.59	51.59	881
8/4/1594	Monday	kinge leare	King Leir		1	6	0	1.30	1.30	65.25	59	4.96	4.96	56.55	881
Plague closure 9/4/1594 to 13/5/1594															
<i>In the name of god beginninge 14th. May 1594 by my Lorde Admeralls men</i>															
14/5/1594	Tuesday	the Jewe of malta	The Jew of Malta	2d	2	8	0	2.40			54	9.18			814
15/5/1594	Wednesday	the Rangers comodey	The Ranger's Comedy		1	13	0	1.65			74	6.30			1119
16/5/1594	Thursday	Cvtlacke	Cutlack		2	2	0	2.10	11.65	76.90	95	8.02	23.50	80.05	1424
Void due to plague 17/5/1594 to 2/6/1594															
<i>my Lord Admeralle &amp; my Lord chamberlen as followeth 1594 - Beginning at Newington</i>															
3/6/1594	Monday	hester & asheweros	Hester and Ahasuerus			8	0	0.40			18	1.53			271
4/6/1594	Tuesday	the Jewe of malta	The Jew of Malta			10	0	0.50			23	1.91			339
5/6/1594	Wednesday	andronicus	Titus Andronicus			12	0	0.60			27	2.29			407
6/5/1594	Thursday	cvtlacke	Cutlack			11	0	0.55			25	2.10			373
	Friday														
8/6/1594	Saturday	bellendon	Bellendon	ne x		17	0	0.85			19	3.25			288
9/6/1594	Sunday	hamlet	Hamlet			8	0	0.40	3.30	80.20	18	1.53	12.61	92.65	271
10/6/1594	Monday	heaster	Hester and Ahasuerus			5	0	0.25			11	0.95			170
11/6/1594	Tuesday	the tamynge of A shrowe	The Taming of a Shrew			9	0	0.45			20	1.72			305
12/6/1594	Wednesday	andronicus	Titus Andronicus			7	0	0.35			16	1.34			237
13/6/1594	Thursday	the Jew	The Jew of Malta			4	0	0.20			9	0.76			136
	Friday		<i>Probable return to the Rose</i>												
15/6/1594	Saturday	bellendon	Bellendon	2d	3	4	0	3.20			72	12.24			1085

Julian Year Date	Underlining suggests sub-total made	Henslowe's Entry Title	Modern Title from <i>Annals of English Drama</i> Harbage & Schoenbaum 1964	Notes (ne denotes new or revised)	Recorded Receipt			Decimal £.p	Weekly	Cumulative	Approx. percentage of house %	Likely company receipts £	Weekly	Annually	Total House (Persons)
					£	s	d								
	Sunday								4.45	84.65			17.01	109.67	
17/6/1594	Monday	cutlacke	Cutlack		1	15	0	1.75			79	6.68			1187
18/6/1594	Tuesday	the Rangers comodey	The Ranger's Comedy		1	2	0	1.10			50	4.20			746
19/6/1594	Wednesday	the Gwies	The Massacre at Paris, The Guise	2d	2	14	0	2.70			61	10.33			915
20/6/1594	Thursday	belendon	Bellendon		1	10	0	1.50			68	5.73			1017
	Friday														
22/6/1594	Saturday	the Rangers comodey	The Ranger's Comedy	2d	2	19	0	2.45			55	9.37			831
23/6/1594	Sunday	the Jewe	The Jew of Malta		1	3	0	1.15	10.65	95.30	52	4.39	40.70	150.37	780
24/6/1594	Monday	cvtlacke	Cutlack		1	5	0	1.25			56	4.77			848
25/6/1594	Tuesday	at the masacer	The Massacre at Paris, The Guise		1	16	0	1.80			81	6.87			1221
26/6/1594	Wednesday	galiaso	Galiaso	ne	3	4	0	3.20			72	12.24			1085
27/6/1594	Thursday	cvtlacke	Cutlack		1	16	0	1.80			81	6.87			1221
	Friday														
	Saturday														
30/6/1594	Sunday	the Jew of malta	The Jew of Malta		2	1	0	2.05	10.10	105.40	92	7.83	38.59	188.95	1390
	Monday														
2/7/1594	Tuesday	bellendon	Bellendon		2	2	6	2.13			96	8.11			1441
3/7/1594	Wednesday	the masacer	The Massacre at Paris, The Guise		1	11	0	1.55			70	5.92			1051
4/7/1594	Thursday	the cvtlacke	Cutlack		1	4	0	1.20			54	4.58			814
5/7/1594	Friday	the Rangers comodey	The Ranger's Comedy			18	0	0.90			41	3.44			610
6/7/1594	Saturday	bellendon	Bellendon		1	14	0	1.70			77	6.49			1153
	Sunday								7.48	112.88			28.54	217.49	
8/7/1594	Monday	the masacer	The Massacre at Paris, The Guise		1	7	0	1.35			61	5.15			915
9/7/1594	Tuesday	the phillipo & hewpolyto	Philipo and Hippolito	ne	3	2	0	3.10			70	11.86			1051
10/7/1594	Wednesday	the Jewe	The Jew of Malta		1	7	0	1.35			61	5.15			915
11/7/1594	Thursday	bellendon	Bellendon		1	7	0	1.35			61	5.15			915
12/7/1594	Friday	galiaso	Galiaso		2	6	0	2.30			104	8.78			1560
13/7/1594	Saturday	phillipo & hewpolyto	Philipo and Hippolito		2	0	0	2.00			90	7.64			1356
	Sunday								11.45	124.33			43.74	261.23	
15/7/1594	Monday	cvtlacke	Cutlack		1	15	0	1.75			79	6.68			1187
16/7/1594	Tuesday	massacre	The Massacre at Paris, The Guise		1	11	0	1.55			70	5.92			1051
17/7/1594	Wednesday	the Rangers comodey	The Ranger's Comedy			15	0	0.75			34	2.86			509
18/7/1594	Thursday	phillipo & hewpolyto	Philipo and Hippolito		1	13	0	1.65			74	6.30			1119
19/7/1594	Friday	2 pte of godfrey of bullen	Il Godfrey of Boulogne	ne	3	11	0	3.55			80	13.58			1204
20/7/1594	Saturday	bellendon	Bellendon		1	7	0	1.35			61	5.15			915
	Sunday								10.60	134.93			40.50	301.73	
22/7/1594	Monday	the Jewe of malta	The Jew of Malta		1	11	0	1.55			70	5.92			1051
23/7/1594	Tuesday	galiaso	Galiaso		1	11	0	1.55			70	5.92			1051
24/7/1594	Wednesday	phillipo & hewpolyto	Philipo and Hippolito		1	10	0	1.50			68	5.73			1017
25/7/1594	Thursday	bellendon	Bellendon	2d	2	8	0	2.40			54	9.18			814
26/7/1594	Friday	godfrey	Il Godfrey of Boulogne	2d	2	7	0	2.35			53	8.99			797
27/7/1594	Saturday	the masacar	The Massacre at Paris, The Guise		1	2	0	1.10			50	4.20			746
	Sunday								10.45	145.38			39.93	341.66	
29/7/1594	Monday	cvtlacke	Cutlack		1	9	0	1.45			65	5.54			983
30/7/1594	Tuesday	the merchant of eamden	The Merchant of Emden	ne x	3	8	0	3.40			77	13.01			1153
31/7/1594	Wednesday	bellendon	Bellendon		1	7	0	1.35			61	5.15			915
1/8/1594	Thursday	the Rangers comodey	The Ranger's Comedy			13	6	0.68			30	2.58			458
	Friday														
3/8/1594	Saturday	phillipo & hewpolito	Philipo and Hippolito		1	10	0	1.50			68	5.73			1017
	Sunday								8.38	153.75			32.00	373.66	

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					£	s	d								
5/8/1594	Monday	galiaso	Galiaso		1	3	6	1.18			53	4.49			797
		the Jewe of malta	The Jew of Malta	?Newington	1	7	0	1.35			61	5.15			915
6/8/1594	Tuesday	seconde p of godfrey	Il Godfrey of Boulogne		1	17	0	1.85			83	7.06			1254
7/8/1594	Wednesday	phillipo & hewpolito	Philipo and Hippolito		1	9	0	1.45			65	5.54			983
8/8/1594	Thursday	the masacar	The Massacre at Paris, The Guise		1	3	6	1.18			53	4.49			797
7/8/1594		the Jewe of malta	The Jew of Malta	?Newington		17	6	0.88			39	3.34			593
8/8/1594		Cvttlacke	Cutlack	?Newington		13	6	0.68			30	2.58			458
10/8/1594	Friday														
10/8/1594	Saturday	bellendon	Bellendon		1	13	0	1.65			74	6.30			1119
11/8/1594	Sunday	tassoes mellencoley	Tasso's Melancholy	ne	3	4	0	3.20	13.40	167.15	72	12.24	51.18	424.84	1085
12/8/1594	Monday	galiaso	Galiaso			18	0	0.90			41	3.44			610
13/8/1594	Tuesday	godfrey of bullen	Il Godfrey of Boulogne		1	9	0	1.45			65	5.54			983
14/8/1594	Wednesday	mohamett	Mahomet (? = Love of a Grecian Lady)	2d	3	5	0	3.25			73	12.41			1102
15/8/1594	Thursday	phillipo & hewpolito	Philipo and Hippolito		1	1	0	1.05			47	4.01			712
17/8/1594	Friday														
17/8/1594	Saturday	the masacar	The Massacre at Paris, The Guise		1	0	0	1.00			45	3.82			678
18/8/1594	Sunday	tassoes mellencoley	Tasso's Melancholy	2d	2	7	0	2.35	10.00	177.15	53	8.99	38.20	463.04	797
19/8/1594	Monday	bellendon	Bellendon		1	1	0	1.05			47	4.01			712
20/8/1594	Tuesday	the Rangers comodey	The Ranger's Comedy			14	6	0.73			33	2.77			492
21/8/1594	Wednesday	galiaso	Galiaso		1	1	6	1.08			48	4.10			729
22/8/1594	Thursday	cvttlacke	Cutlack		1	3	6	1.18			53	4.49			797
	Friday			0111- 6-00	Different ink to rest of page ? Could be 0111-16-00										
24/8/1594	Saturday	phillipo & hewpolito	Philipo and Hippolito		1	8	0	1.40			63	5.35			949
25/8/1594	Sunday	the venesyon comodey	The Venetian Comedy	ne	2	10	6	2.53	7.95	185.10	57	9.66	30.37	493.41	856
26/8/1594	Monday	godfrey	Il Godfrey of Boulogne		1	7	6	1.38			62	5.25			932
27/8/1594	Tuesday	mahemet	Mahomet		2	0	0	2.00			90	7.64			1356
28/8/1594	Wednesday	tamberlen	Tamburlaine the Great	j 2d	3	11	0	3.55			80	13.58			1204
29/8/1594	Thursday	belendon	Bellendon		1	0	6	1.03			46	3.91			695
	Friday														
	Saturday														
	Sunday								7.95	193.05			30.38	523.79	
2/9/1594	Monday	the Jew of malta	The Jew of Malta		1	3	6	1.18			53	4.49			797
3/9/1594	Tuesday	Tasso	Tasso's Melancholy	2d	2	6	0	2.30			52	8.80			780
4/9/1594	Wednesday	phillipo & hewpolito	Philipo and Hippolito		1	2	0	1.10			50	4.20			746
5/9/1594	Thursday	the venesyon comodey	The Venetian Comedy		1	16	6	1.83			82	6.97			1237
6/9/1594	Friday	cvttlacke	Cutlack			11	0	0.55			25	2.10			373
7/9/1594	Saturday	masacar	The Massacre at Paris, The Guise			17	6	0.88			39	3.34			593
8/9/1594	Sunday	godfrey	Il Godfrey of Boulogne		2	0	0	2.00	9.83	202.88	90	7.64	37.53	561.32	1356
9/9/1594	Monday	mahamett	Mahomet		1	15	0	1.75			79	6.68			1187
10/9/1594	Tuesday	galiaso	Galiaso		1	5	0	1.25			56	4.77			848
11/9/1594	Wednesday	bellendon	Bellendon		1	4	6	1.23			55	4.68			831
12/9/1594	Thursday	tamberlen	Tamburlaine the Great (? II)	2d	2	5	0	2.25			51	8.61			763
13/9/1594	Friday	phillipo & hewpolito	Philipo and Hippolito		1	0	0	1.00			45	3.82			678
	Saturday														
15/9/1594	Sunday	the venesyon comodey	The Venetian Comedy		1	16	6	1.83	9.30	212.18	82	6.97	35.52	596.84	1237
16/9/1594	Monday	the Rangers comodey	The Ranger's Comedy			15	0	0.75			34	2.86			509
17/9/1594	Tuesday	palamon & arsett	Palamon and Arcite	ne	2	11	0	2.55			57	9.75			865
18/9/1594	Wednesday	tasso	Tasso's Melancholy		1	7	6	1.38			62	5.25			932
19/9/1594	Thursday	phillipo & hewpolyto	Philipo and Hippolito			14	6	0.73			33	2.77			492
20/9/1594	Friday	godfrey	Il Godfrey of Boulogne		1	10	0	1.50			68	5.73			1017

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					£	s	d								
21/9/1594	Saturday	mahemett	Mahomet		1	8	0	1.40			63	5.35			949
22/9/1594	Sunday	the venesyon comedy	The Venetian Comedy		1	5	0	1.25	9.55	221.73	56	4.77	36.48	633.32	848
23/9/1594	Monday	bellendon	Bellendon			16	6	0.83			37	3.15			559
24/9/1594	Tuesday	venesyon & the love of & Ingleshelady	The Love of an English Lady	ne	2	7	0	2.35			53	8.99			797
25/9/1594	Wednesday	masacar	The Massacre at Paris, The Guise			14	0	0.70			32	2.67			475
26/9/1594	Thursday	cvttlacke	Cutlack			13	0	0.65			29	2.48			441
	Friday														
28/9/1594	Saturday	temberlen	II mTamburlaine the Great		1	11	0	1.55			70	5.92			1051
29/9/1594	Sunday	galiaso	Galiaso			17	0	0.85	6.93	228.65	38	3.25	26.46	659.78	576
30/9/1594	Monday	doctor flostose	Doctor Faustus	2d	3	12	0	3.60			81	13.77			1221
	Tuesday														
2/10/1594	Wednesday	the Rangers comedy	The Ranger's Comedy			10	0	0.50			23	1.91			339
3/10/1594	Thursday	the venesyon comedy	The Venetian Comedy			17	0	0.85			38	3.25			576
4/10/1594	Friday	the love of a gresyan lady	The Love of a Grecian Lady		1	6	0	1.30			59	4.96			881
	Saturday														
6/10/1594	Sunday	godfrey of bullen	II Godfrey of Boulogne		1	0	0	1.00	7.25	235.90	45	3.82	27.71	687.49	678
7/10/1594	Monday	phillipo & hewpolito	Philipo and Hippolito			12	0	0.60			27	2.29			407
8/10/1594	Tuesday	tasso	Tasso's Melancholy		1	7	0	1.35			61	5.15			915
9/10/1594	Wednesday	doctor flostus	Doctor Faustus		2	4	0	2.20			99	8.40			1492
	Thursday														
11/10/1594	Friday	venesyon comedy	The Venetian Comedy			16	0	0.80			36	3.05			542
	Saturday														
13/10/1594	Sunday	bellendon	Bellendon		1	2	0	1.10	6.05	241.95	50	4.20	23.10	710.59	746
14/10/1594	Monday	mahemett	Mahomet		1	6	0	1.30			59	4.96			881
15/10/1594	Tuesday	tamberlen	Tamberlaine the Great		1	8	0	1.40			63	5.35			949
16/10/1594	Wednesday	palamon & arsett	Palamon and Arcite		1	7	0	1.35			61	5.15			915
17/10/1594	Thursday	tamberlen	Tamburlaine the Great		2	0	0	2.00			90	7.64			1356
18/10/1594	Friday	frenshe doctor	The French Doctor, ? The Venetian Comedy		1	2	0	1.10			50	4.20			746
	Saturday			060-06 - 03											
20/10/1594	Sunday	the Jewe of malta	The Jew of Malta			13	0	0.65	7.80	249.75	29	2.48	29.78	740.37	441
21/10/1594	Monday	doctor flostus	Doctor Faustus		1	13	0	1.65			74	6.30			1119
22/10/1594	Tuesday	Knacke to Know a noneste	A Knack to Know an Honest Man	ne	2	0	0	2.00			45	7.65			678
23/10/1594	Wednesday	tasso	Tasso's Melancholy		1	3	0	1.15			52	4.39			780
24/10/1594	Thursday	love of & Ingleshe lady	The Love of an English Lady		1	3	0	1.15			52	4.39			780
25/10/1594	Friday	galleaso	Galiaso			11	0	0.55			25	2.10			373
	Saturday														
27/10/1594	Sunday	pallaman & harset	Palamon and Arcite	2d	2	7	0	2.35	8.85	258.60	53	8.99	33.82	774.19	797
28/10/1594	Monday	frenshe doctor	The French Doctor, ? The Venetian Comedy			15	0	0.75			34	2.86			509
29/10/1594	Tuesday	Knacke to Knowe & oneste man	A Knack to Know an Honest Man	2d	2	7	0	2.35			53	8.99			797
30/10/1594	Wednesday	bullen	II Godfrey of Boulogne			15	0	0.75			34	2.86			509
	Thursday														
1/11/1594	Friday	Knacke to Knowe & oneste man	A Knack to Know an Honest Man	2d	3	3	0	3.15			71	12.05			1068
2/11/1594	Saturday	bellendon	Bellendon			7	0	0.35			16	1.34			237
	Sunday								7.35	265.95			28.10	802.29	
4/11/1594	Monday	tamberlen	Tamburlaine the Great		1	19	0	1.95			88	7.45			1322
5/11/1594	Tuesday	doctorfostes	Doctor Faustus		1	18	0	1.90			86	7.25			1288
6/11/1594	Wednesday	mahemette	Mohamet			15	0	0.75			34	2.86			509
7/11/1594	Thursday	the Knacke	A Knack to Know an Honest Man		2	4	0	2.20			99	8.40			1492
8/11/1594	Friday	seser & pompie	Caesar and Pompey	ne	3	2	0	3.10			70	11.86			1051
9/11/1594	Saturday	palamon	Palamon and Arcite			12	0	0.60			27	2.29			407

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					£	s	d								
	Sunday								10.50	276.45			40.11	842.40	
11/11/1594	Monday	the venesyon comedy	The Venetian Comedy		1	1	0	1.05			47	4.01			712
12/11/1594	Tuesday	tasso	Tasso's Melancholy		1	5	0	1.25			56	4.77			848
13/11/1594	Wednesday	the gresyan ladye	The Grecian Comedy			15	0	0.75			34	2.86			509
14/11/1594	Thursday	sesor & pompe	Caesar & Pompey		1	15	0	1.75			79	6.68			1187
15/11/1594	Friday	bellendon	Bellendon			12	0	0.60			27	2.29			407
16/11/1594	Saturday	deoclesyan	Diocletian	ne	2	14	0	2.70			61	10.33			915
	Sunday								8.10	284.55			30.95	873.35	
18/11/1594	Monday	The frenshe doctor	The French Doctor. ? The Venetian Comedy	189-08-00	1	7	0	1.35			61	5.15			915
	Tuesday														
20/11/1594	Wednesday	Doctor fostes	Doctor Faustus			18	0	0.90			41	3.44			610
21/11/1594	Thursday	The Knacke	A Knack to Know an Honest Man		1	0	0	1.00			45	3.82			678
22/11/1594	Friday	Deoclesyon	Diocletian		2	3	0	2.15			97	8.21			1458
23/11/1594	Saturday	The greasyon comedy	The Grecian Comedy			10	0	0.50			23	1.91			339
	Sunday								5.90	290.45			22.53	895.87	
25/11/1594	Monday	Seser & pompey	Caesar and Pompey		1	12	0	1.60			72	6.11			1085
26/11/1594	Tuesday	The venecyon comedy	The Venetian Comedy			13	0	0.65			29	2.48			441
27/11/1594	Wednesday	Temberlen	Tamburlaine the Great		1	2	0	1.10			50	4.20			746
28/11/1594	Thursday	Worlamchester	Warlamchester		1	3	0	1.15			52	4.39			780
29/11/1594	Friday	The Knacke	A Knack to Know an Honest Man		1	0	0	1.00			45	3.82			678
30/11/1594	Saturday	Worlamchester	Warlamchester		1	18	0	1.90			86	7.25			1288
1/12/1594	Sunday	The gresyan comody	The Grecian comody			4	0	0.20	7.60	298.05	9	0.76	29.02	924.89	136
2/12/1594	Monday	The wiseman of chester	The Wiseman of West Chester	ne	1	13	0	1.65			37	6.31			559
3/12/1594	Tuesday	Tasso	Tasso's Melancholy			6	0	0.30			14	1.15			203
4/12/1594	Wednesday	mahemet	Mahomet			11	0	0.55			25	2.10			373
	Thursday														
6/12/1594	Friday	Wiseman of we chester	The Wiseman of West Chester		1	14	0	1.70			77	6.49			1153
	Saturday														
8/12/1594	Sunday	Doctorfostus	Doctor Faustus			15	0	0.75	4.95	303.00	34	2.86	18.91	943.80	509
9/12/1594	Monday	The Jew	The Jew of Malta			3	0	0.15			7	0.57			102
10/12/1594	Tuesday	seser	Caesar and Pompey			12	0	0.60			27	2.29			407
	Wednesday														
12/12/1594	Thursday	Warlamchester	Warlamchester			15	0	0.75			34	2.86			509
13/12/1594	Friday	The Knacke	A Knack to Know an Honest Man			12	0	0.60			27	2.29			407
14/12/1594	Saturday	The Mawe	The Set at Mawe	ne	2	4	0	2.20			50	8.42			746
	Sunday			058-08-0					4.30	307.30			16.43	960.23	
	Monday														
17/12/1594	Tuesday	Tamberlen	I Tamburlaine		1	11	0	1.55			70	5.92			1051
	Wednesday														
19/12/1594	Thursday	2nd. Parte of tamberlen	II Tamburlaine the Great	2d	2	6	0	2.30			52	8.80			780
20/12/1594	Friday	Doctor fostes	Doctor Faustus			18	0	0.90			41	3.44			610
	Saturday														
	Sunday								4.75	312.05			18.15	978.39	
	Monday														
	Tuesday														
25/12/1594	Wednesday	The greasyane comodey	The Grecian Cmody	S steuen	2	6	0	2.30			52	8.80			780
26/12/1594	Thursday	sege of London	The Siege of London	2d	3	3	0	3.15			71	12.05			1068
27/12/1594	Friday	Doctor fostes	Doctor Faustus	2d	2	12	0	2.60			59	9.95			881
	Saturday														
29/12/1594	Sunday	Wissman of weschester	The Wiseman of West Chester	2d	3	2	0	3.10	11.15	323.20	70	11.86	42.65	1,021.04	1051

Julian Year Date	Underlining suggests sub-total made	Henslowe's Entry Title	Modern Title from <i>Annals of English Drama</i> Harbage & Schoenbaum 1964	Notes (ne denotes new or revised)	Recorded Receipt			Decimal	Weekly	Cumulative	Approx. percentage of house	Likely company receipts	Weekly	Annually	Total House (Persons)
					£	s	d								
30/12/1594	Monday	tamberlen	I Tamburlaine the Great		1	2	0	1.10			50	£ 4.20			746
	Tuesday														
1/1/1594	Wednesday	2nd. Parte of temberlen	II Tamburlaine the Great	2d	3	2	0	3.10			70	11.86			1051
2/1/1594	Thursday	the seat at mawe	The Set at Mawe		1	4	0	1.20			54	4.58			814
3/1/1594	Friday	The frenshe docter	The French Doctor, ? The Venetian Comedy		1	1	0	1.05			47	4.01			712
4/1/1594	Saturday	valy a for	Valteger			11	0	0.55			25	2.10			373
	Sunday								7.00	7.00			26.75	1,047.78	
	Monday														
7/1/1594	Tuesday	The knacke	A Knack to Know an Honest Man		1	2	0	1.10			50	4.20			746
	Wednesday														
9/1/1594	Thursday	Docter fostes	Doctor Faustus		1	2	0	1.10			50	4.20			746
10/1/1594	Friday	the greasyon comodey	The Grecian Comedy		1	8	0	1.40			63	5.35			949
11/1/1594	Saturday	Tasso	Tasso's Melancholy		1	0	0	1.00			45	3.82			678
	Sunday								4.60	11.60			17.56	1,065.35	
13/1/1594	Monday	The knacke	A Knack to Know an Honest Man		1	13	0	1.65			74	6.30			1119
14/1/1594	Tuesday	The seage of london	The Siege of London		1	8	0	1.40			63	5.35			949
15/1/1594	Wednesday	The wiseman of chester	The Wiseman of West Chester	2d	3	0	0	3.00			68	11.48			1017
	Thursday														
17/1/1594	Friday	The Mawe	The Set at Mawe		1	5	0	1.25			56	4.77			848
18/1/1594	Saturday	Seaser	Caesar and Pompey		1	5	0	1.25			56	4.77			848
19/1/1594	Sunday	The Rangers comodey	The Ranger's Comedy			15	0	0.75	9.30	20.90	34	2.86	35.53	1,100.88	509
	Monday														
21/1/1594	Tuesday	Tasso	Tasso's Melancholy		1	16	0	1.80			81	6.87			1221
22/1/1594	Wednesday	The seage of London	The Siege of London		1	12	0	1.60			72	6.11			1085
23/1/1594	Thursday	The Wiseman of weascheaster	The Wiseman of West Chester	2d	3	6	0	3.30			74	12.62			1119
24/1/1594	Friday	Docter fostes	Doctor Faustus		1	4	0	1.20			54	4.58			814
25/1/1594	Saturday	The greasyan	The Grecian Comedy			15	0	0.75			34	2.86			509
	Sunday								8.65	29.55			33.05	1,133.93	
27/1/1594	Monday	Tamberlen	I Tamburlaine the Great		1	10	0	1.50			68	5.73			1017
28/1/1594	Tuesday	The mawe	The Set at Mawe		1	7	0	1.35			61	5.15			915
29/1/1594	Wednesday	2nd. Part of Tamberlen	II Tamburlaine the Great	2d	2	7	0	2.35			53	8.99			797
30/1/1594	Thursday	The frenshe docter	The French Doctor, ? The Venetian Comedy			18	0	0.90			41	3.44			610
31/1/1594	Friday	The gresyan comedy	The Grecian Comedy		1	8	0	1.40			63	5.35			949
1/2/1594	Saturday	Seaser	Caesar and Pompey		1	4	0	1.20			54	4.58			814
	Sunday								8.70	38.25			33.23	1,167.16	
3/2/1594	Monday	The seage of London	The Siege of London		2	5	0	2.25			101	8.59			1526
4/2/1594	Tuesday	Wysman of weschester	The Wiseman of West Chester	2d	3	4	0	3.20			72	12.24			1085
5/2/1594	Wednesday	Mahamett	Mahomet		1	6	0	1.30			59	4.96			881
6/2/1594	Thursday	The Knacke	A Knack to Know an Honest Man		1	4	0	1.20			54	4.58			814
7/2/1594	Friday	The frenshe docter	The French Doctor, ? The Venetian Comedy		1	1	0	1.05			47	4.01			712
8/2/1594	Saturday	Docter fostes	Doctor Faustus			18	0	0.90			41	3.44			610
	Sunday								9.90	48.15			37.82	1,204.98	
10/2/1594	Monday	The venesyman	The Venetian Comedy		1	0	0	1.00			45	3.82			678
11/2/1594	Tuesday	The frenshe comedy	The French Doctor, ? The Venetian Comedy	ne (?)	2	10	0	2.50			56	9.56			848
12/2/1594	Wednesday	The Wiseman of weascheaster	The Wiseman of West Chester	2d	2	13	0	2.65			60	10.14			898
13/2/1594	Thursday	The sege of London	The Siege of London		1	9	0	1.45			65	5.54			983
14/2/1594	Friday	Longe mege of westmester	Long Meg of Westminster	j 2d	3	9	0	3.45			78	13.20			1170
15/2/1594	Saturday	Tasso	Tasso's Melancholy			19	0	0.95			43	3.63			644
	Sunday								12.00	60.15			45.88	1,250.86	
17/2/1594	Monday	Tamberlen	I Tamburlaine the Great		1	10	0	1.50			68	5.73			1017

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					£	s	d								
18/2/1594	Tuesday	2nd parte of temberlen	II Tamburlaine the Great		1	16	0	1.80			81	6.87			1221
19/2/1594	Wednesday	wiseman of weschester	The Wiseman of West Chester	2d	2	6	0	2.30			52	8.80			780
20/2/1594	Thursday	Longe mege	Long Meg of Westminster	2d	2	8	0	2.40			54	9.18			814
21/2/1594	Friday	The macke	The Mack	ne	3	0	0	3.00			68	11.48			1017
22/2/1594	Saturday	gresyan comedy	The Grecian Comedy		1	0	0	1.00			45	3.82			678
	Sunday								12.00	72.15			45.87	1,296.73	
24/2/1594	Monday	The frenshe docter	The French Doctor	2d	2	14	0	2.70			61	10.33			915
25/2/1594	Tuesday	The venesyan comedy	The Venetian Comedy		1	0	0	1.00			45	3.82			678
26/2/1594	Wednesday	The Knacke	A Knack to Know and Honest Man		1	4	0	1.20			54	4.58			814
27/2/1594	Thursday	The frenshe Comodey	The French Comedy		2	0	0	2.00			90	7.64			1356
28/2/1594	Friday	The Wiseman of weascheater	The Wiseman of West Chester		1	19	0	1.95			88	7.45			1322
1/3/1594	Saturday	longe mege	Long Meg of Westminster	[dated 29/2]	1	18	0	1.90			86	7.25			1288
	Sunday								10.75	82.90			41.06	1,337.79	
3/3/1594	Monday	The sege of London	The Siege of London		1	6	0	1.30			59	4.96			881
4/3/1594	Tuesday	Longe mege	Long Meg of Westminster	S. Raftus day	3	0	0	3.00			68	11.48			1017
5/3/1594	Wednesday	seleo & olempo	Seleo & Olympio	ne	3	0	0	3.00			68	11.48			1017
6/3/1594	Thursday	Seaser	Caesar and Pompey		1	0	0	1.00			45	3.82			678
	Friday														
	Saturday														
	Sunday								8.30	91.20			31.73	1,369.53	
10/3/1594	Monday	The Knacke from hence lycensed	A Knack to Know an Honest Man	17p	1	4	0	1.20			54	4.58			814
11/3/1594	Tuesday	Firste parte of tamberlen	I Tamburlaine the Great		1	10	0	1.50			68	5.73			1017
12/3/1594	Wednesday	2 pt. Of tamberlen	II Tamburlaine the Great		1	2	0	1.10			50	4.20			746
13/3/1594	Thursday	longe mege	Long Meg of Westminster		1	8	0	1.40			63	5.35			949
14/3/1594	Friday	The sege of London	The Siege of London			14	0	0.70	5.90	97.10	32	2.67	22.53	1,392.05	475
Void 15/3/1594 to 19/4/1595 1595 Lent Building Works															
20/4/1595	Sunday			Easter Sunday											
21/4/1595	Monday	the ffrenshe docter	The French Doctor	Easter Monday	2	13	0	2.65			60	10.14			898
	Tuesday														
23/4/1595	Wednesday	The Knacke	A Knack to Know an Honest Man	2d	2	15	0	2.75			62	10.52			932
24/4/1595	Thursday	The grecian comodey	The Grecian Comedy	2d	2	11	0	2.55			57	9.75			865
25/4/1595	Friday	Wissman	The Wiseman of West Chester	2d	2	18	0	2.90			65	11.09			983
26/4/1595	Saturday	the wiseman of weschester	The Wiseman of West Chester	2d	3	0	0	3.00			68	11.48			1017
27/4/1595	Sunday	godfrey of bullen	II Godfey of Boulogne		1	9	0	1.45	15.30	15.30	65	5.54	58.51	58.51	983
	Monday														
29/4/1595	Tuesday	warlamchester	Warlamchester		1	9	0	1.45			65	5.54			983
30/4/1595	Wednesday	longe mege	Long Meg of Westminster		1	7	0	1.35			61	5.15			915
Dated 31/4		fastes	Doctor Faustus		1	2	0	1.10			50	4.20			746
1/5/1595	Thursday	longe mege	Long Meg of Westminster	2d	2	10	0	2.50			56	9.56			848
2/5/1595	Friday	seleo & olempo	Seleo & Olympio	2d	2	10	0	2.50			56	9.56			848
3/5/1595	Saturday	frenshe docter	The French Doctor			11	0	0.55			25	2.10			373
	Sunday								9.45	24.75			36.12	94.63	
5/5/1595	Monday	The Knacke	A Knack to Know an Honest Man		1	3	0	1.15			52	4.39			780
6/5/1595	Tuesday	wiseman	The Wiseman of West Chester		2	0	0	2.00			90	7.64			1356
7/5/1595	Wednesday	Firste parte of herculous	The first part of Hercules	ne	3	13	0	3.65			82	13.96			1237
8/5/1595	Thursday	the venesyon comody	The Venetian Comedy		1	10	0	1.50			68	5.73			1017
9/5/1595	Friday	Selyo & olympo	Seleo & Olympio		1	6	0	1.30			59	4.96			881
10/5/1595	Saturday	warlam chester	Warlamchester		1	9	0	1.45			65	5.54			983

Julian Year Date	Underlining suggests sub-total made	Henslowe's Entry Title	Modern Title from <i>Annals of English Drama</i> Harbage & Schoenbaum 1964	Notes (ne denotes new or revised)	Recorded Receipt			Decimal £.p	Weekly	Cumulative	Approx. percentage of house %	Likely company receipts £	Weekly	Annually	Total House (Persons)
					£	s	d								
	Sunday								11.05	35.80			42.22	136.85	
12/5/1595	Monday	The frenshe comodey	The French Comedy		1	8	0	1.40			63	5.35			949
13/5/1595	Tuesday	longe mege	Long Meg of Westminster		1	8	0	1.40			63	5.35			949
14/5/1595	Wednesday	Tasso	Tasso's Melancholy		1	0	0	1.00			45	3.82			678
15/5/1595	Thursday	wisse man of westchester	The Wiseman of West Chester		1	17	0	1.85			83	7.06			1254
16/5/1595	Friday	greasyan comodey	The Grecian Comedy		1	13	0	1.65			74	6.30			1119
17/5/1595	Saturday	godfey of bullen	Godfey of Boulogne		1	2	0	1.10			50	4.20			746
	Sunday								8.40	44.20			32.07	168.92	
19/5/1595	Monday	Olimpo	Seleo & Olympio		1	3	0	1.15			52	4.39			780
20/5/1595	Tuesday	hercolas	The first part of Hercules	2d	3	9	0	3.45			78	13.20			1170
21/5/1595	Wednesday	1st part of tamberlen	I Tamburlaine the Great		1	2	0	1.10			50	4.20			746
22/5/1595	Thursday	2nd parte of temberlen	II Tamburlaine the Great		1	5	0	1.25			56	4.77			848
23/5/1595	Friday	2nd part of hercolas	The second part of Hercules	ne	3	10	0	3.50			79	13.39			1187
24/5/1595	Saturday	frenshe docter	The French Doctor	12	1	2	0	1.10			50	4.20			746
	Sunday								11.55	55.75			44.15	213.06	
26/5/1595	Monday	weschester	The Wiseman of West Chester		1	11	0	1.55			70	5.92			1051
27/5/1595	Tuesday	1st. Parte of herculas	The first part of Hercules	2d	3	0	0	3.00			68	11.48			1017
28/5/1595	Wednesday	2nd /Parte of Hercules	The second part of Hercules	2d	3	2	0	3.10			70	11.86			1051
29/5/1595	Thursday	olimpio	Seleo & Olympio		1	9	0	1.45			65	5.54			983
30/5/1595	Friday	Warlamchester	Warlamchester			9	0	0.45			20	1.72			306
31/5/1595	Saturday	Frenshe Comodye	The French Comedy	pd		15	0	0.75			34	2.86			509
1/6/1595?	Sunday		? This gap due to double entry by 31.4 (sic) entry?						10.30	66.05			39.37	252.43	
	Monday														
3/6/1595	Tuesday	The 7 daies of the weacke	The Seven Days of the Week	ne	3	10	0	3.50			79	13.39			1187
4/6/1595	Wednesday	The wisman of wescheaster	The Wiseman of West Chester		1	2	0	1.10			50	4.20			746
5/6/1595	Thursday	Doctor ffastus	Doctor Faustus			17	0	0.85			38	3.25			576
6/6/1595	Friday	The 7 daies of the weacke	The Seven Days of the Week		2	4	0	2.20			99	8.40			1492
7/6/1595	Saturday	Olympio	Seleo & Olympio			15	0	0.75			34	2.86			509
	Sunday								8.40	74.45			32.10	284.53	
9/6/1595	Monday	The Knacke	A Knack to Know an Honest Man	Whitson day	2	15	0	2.75			62	10.52			932
10/6/1595	Tuesday	The 7 daies of the wecke	The Seven Days of the Week	post £83.0	3	6	0	3.30			74	12.62			1119
11/6/1595	Wednesday	Wissman of weschester	The Wiseman of West Chester	2d	2	7	0	2.35			53	8.99			797
12/6/1595	Thursday	1 parte of herculos	The first part of Hercules	2d	3	1	0	3.05			69	11.67			1034
13/6/1595	Friday	2 parte of herculaos	The second part of Hercules	2d	3	2	0	3.10			70	11.86			1051
14/6/1595	Saturday	The 7 dayes of the wecke	The Seven Days of the Week	2d	3	9	0	3.45			78	13.20			1170
	Sunday								16.50	90.95			68.85	353.38	
16/6/1595	Monday	warlamchester	Warlamchester		1	5	0	1.25			56	4.77			848
17/6/1595	Tuesday	frenshe comodey	The French Comedy		1	1	0	1.05			47	4.01			712
18/6/1595	Wednesday	2 pte of sesore	The second part of Caesar	ne	2	15	0	2.75			62	10.52			932
19/6/1595	Thursday	Long mege	Long Meg of Westminster		1	2	0	1.10			50	4.20			746
20/6/1595	Friday	antony & vallea	Antony and Valia		1	0	0	1.00			45	3.82			678
21/6/1595	Saturday	The Knacke	A Knack to Know an Honest Man			13	0	0.65			29	2.48			443
	Sunday								7.80	98.75			29.80	383.18	
23/6/1595	Monday	The 7 dayes of the wecke	The Seven Days of the Week	2d	3	5	0	3.25			73	12.43			1102
24/6/1595	Tuesday	the frenshe comodey	The French Comedy	mysomerdaye	1	10	0	1.50			68	5.73			1017
25/6/1595	Wednesday	1 pte of sesor	The first part of Caesar		1	2	0	1.10			50	4.20			746
26/6/1595	Thursday	2 pte of sesore	The second part of Caesar		1	0	0	1.00	6.85	105.60	46	3.89	13.82	397.00	691
27/6/1595 to 24/8/1595															

Julian Year Date	Underlining suggests sub-total made	Henslowe's Entry Title	Modern Title from <i>Annals of English Drama</i> Harbage & Schoenbaum 1964	Notes (ne denotes new or revised)	Recorded Receipt			Decimal	Weekly	Cumulative	Approx. percentage of house	Likely company receipts	Weekly	Annually	Total House (Persons)
					£	s	d								
25/8/1595	Monday	Knacke to know a nonest man	A Knack to Know an Honest Man			17	0	0.85			38	3.25			576
26/8/1595	Tuesday	wisman of weschester	The Wiseman of West Chester			1	19	0	1.85		83	7.06			1254
27/8/1595	Wednesday	the weake	The Seven Days of the Week	2d		2	13	0	2.65		60	10.14			898
28/8/1595	Thursday	longe mege	Long Meg of Westminster				17	0	0.85		38	3.25			576
29/8/1595	Friday	Longe shancke	Longshanks	ne		2	0	0	2.00		45	7.65			678
30/8/1595	Saturday	Seage of London	The Siege of London				18	0	0.90		41	3.44			610
	Sunday									9.10	114.70		34.78	431.78	
1/9/1595	Monday	1 pte of hercvlos	The first part of Hercules	2d		3	4	0	3.20		72	12.24			1085
2/9/1595	Tuesday	2 pte of hercvlos	The second part of Hercules	2d		3	0	0	3.00		68	11.48			1017
3/9/1595	Wednesday	7 dayes of the weacke	The Seven Days of the Week	2d		2	12	0	2.60		59	9.95			881
4/9/1595	Thursday	olempio & heugenyo	Olympio & Heugenyo (?Seleo & Olympio)				18	0	0.90		41	3.44			610
5/9/1595	Friday	cracke me this nvtte	Crack Me This Nut	ne		3	1	0	3.05		69	11.67			1034
6/9/1595	Saturday	valia & antony	Antony and Vallia				13	0	0.65		29	2.48			441
	Sunday									13.40	128.10		51.25	483.02	
9/9/1595	Monday														
9/9/1595	Tuesday	The wiseman	The Wiseman of West Chester			2	4	0	2.20		99	8.40			1492
10/9/1595	Wednesday	Longshancke	Longshanks	2d		3	0	0	3.00		68	11.48			1017
11/9/1595	Thursday	Docter fostes	Doctor Faustus			1	12	0	1.60		72	6.11			1085
12/9/1595	Friday	cracke me this nutte	Crack Me This Nut	2d		3	0	0	3.00		68	11.48			1017
13/9/1595	Saturday	the 7 dayes	The Seven Days of the Week			1	18	0	1.90		86	7.25			1288
	Sunday	longe mege	Long Meg of Westminster				16	0	0.80	12.50	140.60		47.77	530.79	542
15/9/1595	Monday	1 pte of temberlen	I Tamburlaine the Great			1	1	0	1.05		47	4.01			712
16/9/1595	Tuesday	godfey of bullen	Il Godfrey of Boulogne			1	0	0	1.00		45	3.82			678
17/9/1595	Wednesday	the worldes tragedy	The New World's Tragedy	ne		3	5	0	3.25		73	12.43			1102
18/9/1595	Thursday	The Knacke	A Knack to Know and Honest Man				17	0	0.85		38	3.25			576
19/9/1595	Friday	the frenshe doctor	The French Doctor				16	0	0.80		36	3.05			542
20/9/1595	Saturday	the sege of London	The Siege of London				17	0	0.85		38	3.25			576
21/9/1595	Sunday	the 7 dayes	The Seven Days of the Week			2	4	0	2.20	10.00	150.60				1492
22/9/1595	Monday	1 pte of herculous	The first part of Hercules			1	11	0	1.55		99	8.40	38.20	568.99	1051
23/9/1595	Tuesday	2 pte of hercvlos	The second part of Hercules			1	3	0	1.15		52	4.39			780
24/9/1595	Wednesday	cracke me this nvtte	Crack Me This Nut			2	2	0	2.10		95	8.02			1424
25/9/1595	Thursday	the worldes tragedy	The New World's Tragedy			1	18	0	1.90		86	7.25			1288
26/9/1595	Friday	doctor fostes	Doctor Faustus				13	0	0.65	9.55	160.15				441
	Saturday												40.69	609.68	
27/9/1595	Sunday	cracke me this nvtte	Crack Me This Nut	2d		3	6	0	3.30		74	12.62			1119
29/9/1595	Monday	the wiseman	The Wiseman of West Chester				15	0	0.75		34	2.86			509
30/9/1595	Tuesday	longe shancke	Longshanks			1	12	0	1.60		72	6.11			1085
	Wednesday														
2/10/1595	Thursday	the Desgysses	The Disguises	ne		2	3	0	2.15		48	8.22			729
3/10/1595	Friday	olempo	Seleo & Olympio				15	0	0.75		34	2.86			509
4/10/1595	Saturday	longe mege	Long Meg of Westminster				11	0	0.55		25	2.10			373
5/10/1595	Sunday	the 7 dayes	The Seven Days of the Week			2	0	0	2.00	7.80	167.95		29.80	639.48	1356
6/10/1595	Monday	The wisman of wescheaster	The Wiseman of West Chester				17	0	0.85		38	3.25			576
7/10/1595	Tuesday	the worldes tragedy	The New World's Tragedy			1	12	0	1.60		72	6.11			1085
8/10/1595	Wednesday	cracke me this nvtte	Crack Me This Nut			1	6	0	1.30		59	4.96			881
9/10/1595	Thursday	The gresyan comody	The Grecian Comedy				10	0	0.50		23	1.91			339
10/10/1595	Friday	the desgysses	The Disguises			1	9	0	1.45		65	5.54			983
	Saturday														
12/10/1595	Sunday	1 pte of herculous	The first part of Hercules			1	9	0	1.45	7.15	175.10		27.30	666.78	983
13/10/1595	Monday	2 pte herculao	The second part of Hercules			1	5	0	1.25		56	4.77			848

Julian Year Date	Underlining suggests sub-total made	Henslowe's Entry Title	Modern Title from <i>Annals of English Drama</i> Harbage & Schoenbaum 1964	Notes (ne denotes new or revised)	Recorded Receipt			Decimal	Weekly	Cumulative	Approx. percentage of house	Likely company receipts	Weekly	Annually	Total House (Persons)
					£	s	d								
14/10/1595	Tuesday	The 7 dayes	The Seven Days of the Week			17	0	0.85			38	3.25			576
15/10/1595	Wednesday	The wonder of a woman	The Wonder of a Woman	ne	2	13	0	2.65			60	10.14			898
16/10/1595	Thursday	desgysses	The Disguises			10	0	0.50			23	1.91			339
17/10/1595	Friday	The 7 dayes	The Seven Days of the Week		1	8	0	1.40			63	5.35			949
19/10/1595	Saturday	The wisman	The Wiseman of West Chester			17	0	0.85	7.50	182.60	38	3.25	28.65	695.43	576
20/10/1595	Monday	cracke me this nutte	Crack Me This Nut		1	1	0	1.05			47	4.01			712
21/10/1595	Tuesday	long shancke	Longshanks		1	10	0	1.50			68	5.73			1017
22/10/1595	Wednesday	the worldes tragedy	The New World's Tragedy		1	13	0	1.65			74	6.30			1119
23/10/1595	Thursday	The wonder of a woman	The Wonder of a Woman		1	3	0	1.15			52	4.39			780
24/10/1595	Friday	cracke me this nutte	Crack Me This Nut		1	3	0	1.15			52	4.39			780
25/10/1595	Saturday	1 pte of herculos	The first part of Hercules		1	12	0	1.60			72	6.11			1085
26/10/1595	Sunday	valia & antony	Antoney and Vallia		1	7	0	1.35	9.45	192.05	61	5.15	36.08	731.51	915
27/10/1595	Monday	desgysses	The Disguises			19	0	0.95			43	3.63			644
28/10/1595	Tuesday	barnardo & philameta	Barnado & Fiammetta	ne	2	2	0	2.10			47	8.03			712
29/10/1595	Wednesday	the 7 dayes	The Seven Days of the Week			13	0	0.65			29	2.48			441
30/10/1595	Thursday	the desgysses	The Disguises		1	9	0	1.45			65	5.54			983
	Friday														
	Saturday														
2/11/1595	Sunday	2 pt of hercolas	The second part of Hercules		1	8	0	1.40	6.55	198.60	63	5.35	25.02	756.53	949
3/11/1595	Monday	the new worldes tragedy	The New World's Tragedy		1	9	0	1.45			65	5.54			983
4/11/1595	Tuesday	the wonder of a woman	The Wonder of a Woman		1	7	0	1.35			61	5.15			915
5/11/1595	Wednesday	cracke me this nutte	Crack Me This Nut		1	4	0	1.20			54	4.58			814
6/11/1595	Thursday	barnardo	Barnardo & Fiammetta			17	0	0.85			38	3.25			576
mr paid	Friday	weschester	The Wiseman of West Chester		1	0	0	1.00			45	3.82			678
	Saturday														
9/11/1595	Sunday	longshancke	Longshanks		1	13	0	1.65	7.50	206.10	74	6.30	28.64	785.17	1119
10/11/1595	Monday	Desgysses	The Disguises			15	0	0.75			34	2.86			509
	Tuesday														
12/11/1595	Wednesday	1 pt of Temberlen	I Tamburlaine the Great			18	0	0.90			41	3.44			610
13/11/1595	Thursday	2 pt of tamberlen	II Tamburlaine the Great		1	12	0	1.60			72	6.11			1085
14/11/1595	Friday	A toy to please my ladye	A Toy to Please Chaste Ladies	ne	2	11	0	2.55			57	9.75			865
15/11/1595	Saturday	7 Dayes	The Seven Days of the Week			18	0	0.90			41	3.44			610
	Sunday								6.70	212.80			25.60	810.77	
	Monday														
18/11/1595	Tuesday	cracke me this nutte	Crack Me This Nut		1	4	0	1.20			54	4.58			814
19/11/1595	Wednesday	barnardo	Barnardo & Fiammetta			6	0	0.30			14	1.15			203
20/11/1595	Thursday	wonder of A woman	The Wonder of a Woman		1	0	0	1.00			45	3.82			678
21/11/1595	Friday	a toy to please chaste ladyes	A Toy to Please Chaste Ladies		1	1	0	1.05			47	4.01			712
22/11/1595	Saturday	olempo	Seleo and Olympio			4	6	0.23			10	0.86			153
	Sunday								3.78	216.58			14.41	825.18	
24/11/1595	Monday	1 herculos	The first part of Hercules		1	0	0	1.00			45	3.82			678
25/11/1595	Tuesday	2 herculos	The second part of Hercules			16	0	0.80			36	3.05			542
26/11/1595	Wednesday	longshancke	Longshanks			18	0	0.90			41	3.44			610
27/11/1595	Thursday	the newes wordles tragedy	The New World's Tragedy			18	0	0.90			41	3.44			610
28/11/1595	Friday	Harry the V	Henry V	ne	3	6	0	3.30			74	12.62			1119
29/11/1595	Saturday	the welche man	The Welshman			7	0	0.35			16	1.34			237
	Sunday								7.25	223.83			27.70	852.89	
1/12/1595	Monday	the toy to please chaste ladyes	A Toy to Please Chaste Ladies			12	0	0.60			27	2.29			407
2/12/1595	Tuesday	Harry the V	Henry V		1	15	0	1.75			79	6.68			1187

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					£	s	d								
3/12/1595	Wednesday	barnardo	Barnardo & Fiammetta			7	0	0.35			16	1.34			237
4/12/1595	Thursday	Wonder of A woman	The Wonder of a Woman			14	0	0.70			32	2.67			475
	Friday														
6/12/1595	Saturday	cracke me this nutte	Crack Me This Nut			15	0	0.75			34	2.86			509
	Sunday								4.15	227.98			15.85	868.73	
8/12/1595	Monday	harye the V	Henry V			2	3	0	2.15		97	8.21			1458
	Tuesday														
10/12/1595	Wednesday	Prince Longshanke	Longshanks			1	10	0	1.50		68	5.73			1017
	Thursday														
12/12/1595	Friday	the new worldes tragedy	The New World's Tragedy			1	11	0	1.55		70	5.92			1051
	Saturday														
14/12/1595	Sunday	the 7 dayes	The Seven Days of the Week			1	4	0	1.20	6.40	54	4.58	24.44	893.17	814
	Monday														
16/12/1595	Tuesday	harye the V	Henry V			1	9	0	1.45		65	5.54			983
	Wednesday														
18/12/1595	Thursday	1 pt of herculus	The first part of Hercules	Mr. pd.		13	0	0.65			29	2.48			441
	Friday														
	Saturday														
	Sunday									2.10	236.48		8.02	901.19	
22/12/1595	Monday	the newes wordles tragedy	The New World's Tragedy			1	0	0	1.00		45	3.82			678
	Tuesday														
	Wednesday			Christmas											
25/12/1595	Thursday	the wonder of a woman	The Wonder of a Woman	St. Stephens		3	2	0	3.10		70	11.86			1051
26/12/1595	Friday	barnardo	Barnardo and Fiammetta	2d		2	18	0	2.90		65	11.09			983
	Saturday														
28/12/1595	Sunday	harye the V	Henry V	2d		2	16	0	2.80	9.80	63	10.71	37.48	938.66	949
29/12/1595	Monday	longshanckes	Longshanks			1	12	0	1.60		72	6.11			1085
30/12/1595	Tuesday	Wisman of weschester	The Wiseman of West Chester			1	2	0	1.10		50	4.20			746
	Wednesday														
1/1/1595	Thursday	the wecke	The Seven Days of the Week			2	2	0	2.10		95	8.02			1424
2/1/1595	Friday	cracke me this nutte	Crack Me This Nut				9	0	0.45		20	1.72			305
3/1/1595	Saturday	chinone of England	Chinon of England	ne		2	10	0	2.50		58	9.78			867
	Sunday									7.75	7.75		29.83	968.49	
5/1/1595	Monday	harye the V	Henry V	140-1[0]1-0		1	6	0	1.30						
6/1/1595	Tuesday	herculus the 1 pte	The first part of Hercules	2d		3	0	0	3.00		68	11.48			1017
7/1/1595	Wednesday	a knaacke to know an onest man	A Knack to Know an Honest Man			1	0	0	1.00		45	3.82			678
8/1/1595	Thursday	a new worldes tragedie	The New World's Tragedy				18	0	0.90		41	3.44			610
9/1/1595	Friday	The Jew of malta	The Jew of Malta	2d		2	16	0	2.80		63	10.71			949
10/1/1595	Saturday	a toye to please chaste ladyes	A Toy to Please Chaste Ladies				18	0	0.90		41	3.44			610
	Sunday									9.90	17.65		32.88	1,001.37	
12/1/1595	Monday	chynon of England	Chinon of England	2d		2	10	0	2.50		56	9.56			848
13/1/1595	Tuesday	the sege of London	The Siege of London				15	0	0.75		34	2.86			509
14/1/1595	Wednesday	cracke me this nutte	Crack Me This Nut			1	3	0	1.15		52	4.39			780
15/1/1595	Thursday	the wonder of a woman	The Wonder of a Woman			1	7	0	1.35		61	5.15			915
16/1/1595	Friday	pthogaras	Pythagoras	ne		3	1	0	3.05		69	11.67			1034
? Eve. or 17th	Saturday	Wissman of weschester	The Wiseman of West Chester				18	0	0.90		41	3.44			610
18/1/1595	Sunday	the Jewe of malta	The Jew of Malta			1	18	0	1.90	11.60	86	7.25	44.33	1,045.70	1288
19/1/1595	Monday	harrye the V	Henry V			1	0	0	1.00		45	3.82			678
20/1/1595	Tuesday	barnardo & phiameta	Barnardo & Fiammetta				11	0	0.55		25	2.10			373
21/1/1595	Wednesday	chinon of England	Chinon of England			1	13	0	1.65		74	6.30			1119

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					£	s	d								
22/1/1595	Thursday	at the 2 weeke	II The Seven Days of the Week	ne	3	0	0	3.00			68	11.48			1017
23/1/1595	Friday	pethogaras	Pythagoras		1	16	0	1.80			81	6.87			1221
	Saturday														
25/1/1595	Sunday	new worldes tragedey	The New World's Tragedy			14	0	0.70	8.70	37.95	32	2.67	33.24	1,078.94	475
26/1/1595	Monday	the 2 weeke	II The Seven Days of the Week		1	4	0	1.20			54	4.58			814
27/1/1595	Tuesday	chinon	Chinon of England		1	1	0	1.05			47	4.01			712
28/1/1595	Wednesday	pethogaras	Pythagoras		1	10	0	1.50			68	5.73			1017
29/1/1595	Thursday	the Jew of malta	The Jew of Malta		1	5	0	1.25			56	4.77			848
30/1/1595	Friday	wonder of a woman	The Wonder of a Woman	mr pd		11	0	0.55			25	2.10			373
	Saturday														
	Sunday								5.55	43.50			21.19	1,100.13	
2/2/1595	Monday	the Jewe of Malta	The Jew of Malta	2d	2	17	0	2.85			64	10.90			966
3/2/1595	Tuesday	the 1st pte of fortunwnatas	The first part of Fortunatus	2d	3	0	0	3.00			68	11.48			1017
4/2/1595	Wednesday	Wissman of weschester	The Wiseman of West Chester			12	0	0.60			27	2.29			407
5/2/1595	Thursday	longshancke	Longshanks			14	0	0.70			32	2.67			475
6/2/1595	Friday	harye the V	Henry V			18	0	0.90			41	3.44			610
7/2/1595	Saturday	crackme this nutte	Crack Me This Nut			19	0	0.95			43	3.63			644
	Sunday								9.00	52.50			34.40	1,134.53	
9/2/1595	Monday	pethogaras	Pythagoras		1	0	0	1.00			45	3.82			678
10/2/1595	Tuesday	fortunatas	The first part of Fortunatus		2	0	0	2.00			90	7.64			1356
11/2/1595	Wednesday	chinon of England	Chinon of England		1	0	0	1.00			45	3.82			678
12/2/1595	Thursday	blinde beger of elexandrea	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria	ne	3	0	0	3.00			68	11.48			1017
13/2/1595	Friday	fosstes	Docto Faustus		1	5	0	1.25			56	4.77			848
	Saturday														
15/2/1595	Sunday	pethogaras	Pythagoras		1	15	0	1.75	10.00	62.50	79	6.68	38.20	1,172.73	1187
16/2/1595	Monday	the blinde beager	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria	2d	3	6	0	3.30			74	12.62			1119
17/2/1595	Tuesday	The Jewe of malta	The Jew of Malta		1	0	0	1.00			45	3.82			678
18/2/1595	Wednesday	olempo	Seleo and Olympio			10	0	0.50			23	1.91			339
19/2/1595	Thursday	the blinde beager	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria	2d	2	13	0	2.65			60	10.14			898
20/2/1595	Friday	ffortunatus	The first part of Fortunatus		1	2	0	1.10			50	4.20			746
	Saturday														
22/2/1595	Sunday	the blinde beager	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria		1	16	0	1.80	10.35	72.85	81	6.87	39.56	1,212.29	1221
23/2/1595	Monday	pethogaras	Pythagoras	Shrove mon	1	14	0	1.70			77	6.49			1153
24/2/1595	Tuesday	chinone of England	Chinon of England	Shrove Tue	2	16	0	2.80			63	10.71			949
25/2/1595	Wednesday	the weeke	The Seven Days of the Week (?)		1	0	0	1.00			45	3.82			678
26/2/1595	Thursday	the blinde beager	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria	2d	3	0	0	3.00			68	11.48			1017
27/2/1595	Friday	longshancke	Longshanks	mr pd all due	1	10	0	1.50	10.00	82.85	68	5.73	38.22	1,250.51	1017
? Plague Closure 28/2/1595 to 11/4/1596 Or lintern closure for repairs?															
12/4/1596	Monday	barnardo & fiameta	Barnardo & Fiammetta	Easter Mon	1	10	0	1.50			68	5.73			1017
13/4/1596	Tuesday	toye to please chaste ladeys	A Toy to Please Chaste Ladies		1	19	0	1.95			88	7.45			1322
14/4/1596	Wednesday	Fortunatus	The first part of Fortunatus			18	0	0.90			41	3.44			610
15/4/1596	Thursday	Blynd beger	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria		2	0	0	2.00			90	7.64			1356
16/4/1596	Friday	the Knacke	A Knack to Know an Honest Man			11	0	0.55			25	2.10			373
17/4/1596	Saturday	The wisman of wescheaster	The Wiseman of West Chester		1	10	0	1.50			68	5.73			1017
	Sunday								8.40	8.40			32.07	32.07	
18/4/1596	Monday	Doctor fostes	Doctor Faustus			12	0	0.60			27	2.29			407
20/4/1596	Tuesday	The Jewe	The Jew of Malta		1	0	0	1.00			45	3.82			678

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					£	s	d								
21/4/1596	Wednesday	longeshancke	Longshanks			14	0	0.70			32	2.67			475
22/4/1596	Thursday	pethogaras	Pythagoras			18	0	0.90			41	3.44			610
23/4/1596	Friday	chinon	Chinon of England		1	0	0	1.00			45	3.82			678
24/4/1596	Saturday	harey the V	Henry V			15	0	0.75			34	2.86			509
	Sunday								4.95	13.35			18.90	50.97	
26/4/1596	Monday	the blinde beager	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria	mr pd	2	0	0	2.00			90	7.64			1356
27/4/1596	Tuesday	new worldes tragedey	The New World's Tragedy		1	19	0	1.95			88	7.45			1322
28/4/1596	Wednesday	longshancke	Longshanks		1	0	0	1.00			45	3.82			678
29/4/1596	Thursday	Julian the apostata	Julian the Apostate	ne	2	7	0	2.35			53	8.99			797
30/4/1596	Friday	Wissman of weschester	The Wiseman of West Chester			10	0	0.50			23	1.91			339
1/5/1596	Saturday	wonder of a woman	The Wonder of a Woman		1	2	0	1.10			50	4.20			746
2/5/1596	Sunday	chinon	Chinon of England		1	0	0	1.00	9.90	23.25	45	3.82	37.82	88.79	678
3/5/1596	Monday	the blinde beger	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria		1	15	0	1.75			79	6.68			1187
4/5/1596	Tuesday	pethogaras	Pythagoras		1	0	0	1.00			45	3.82			678
5/5/1596	Wednesday	Doctor ffostes	Doctor Faustus		1	0	0	1.00			45	3.82			678
6/5/1596	Thursday	tambercame	Tamburlaine the Great (I or II)	ne	2	7	0	2.35			53	8.99			797
7/5/1596	Friday	cracke me this nutte	Crack Me This Nut			18	0	0.90			41	3.44			610
	Saturday														
	Sunday								332.30	355.55			26.74	115.53	
9/10/5/1596	Monday	Julian the apostata	Julian the Apostate	mr pd	1	6	0	1.30			59	4.96			881
11/5/1596	Tuesday	fortunatas	The first part of Fortunatus			18	0	0.90			41	3.44			610
12/5/1596	Wednesday	tambercame	Tamburlaine the Great (I or II)		2	5	0	2.25			101	8.59			1526
13/5/1596	Thursday	blind beger	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria		2	0	0	2.00			90	7.64			1356
14/5/1596	Friday	the Jew of Malta	The Jew of Malta		1	4	0	1.20			54	4.58			814
	Saturday														
16/5/1596	Sunday	chymone	Chinon of England		1	13	0	1.65	9.30	364.85	74	6.30	35.51	151.04	1119
17/5/1596	Monday	tambercame	Tamburlaine the Great (I or II)		2	6	0	2.30			104	8.78			1560
18/5/1596	Tuesday	beger	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria	2d	2	9	0	2.45			55	9.37			831
19/5/1596	Wednesday	tragedie of flocase	Phocasse	ne	2	5	0	2.25			51	8.61			763
20/5/1596	Thursday	Julian the apostata	Julian the Apostate			14	0	0.70			32	2.67			475
	Friday														
22/5/1596	Saturday	pethogaras	Pythagoras	mr pd	1	7	0	1.35			61	5.15			915
23/5/1596	Sunday	tragedie of flocase	Phocasse		1	19	0	1.95	11.00	375.85	88	7.45	42.03	193.07	1322
24/5/1596	Monday	fiortunatus	The first part of Fortunatus			14	0	0.70			32	2.67			475
25/5/1596	Tuesday	tambercame	Tamburlaine the Great (I or II)		1	0	0	1.00			45	3.82			678
26/5/1596	Wednesday	harey the V	Henry V		1	3	0	1.15			52	4.39			780
27/5/1596	Thursday	chinone of Ingland	Chinon of England			9	0	0.45			20	1.72			305
	Friday														
	Saturday														
	Sunday								3.30	379.15			12.60	205.67	
31/5/1596	Monday	pethogares	Pythagoras	Whitmonday	3	0	0	3.00			68	11.48			1017
1/6/1596	Tuesday	chinone of Ingland	Chinon of England	2d	3	0	0	3.00			68	11.48			1017
2/6/1596	Wednesday	longshacke	Longshanks	2d	3	0	0	3.00			68	11.48			1017
3/6/1596	Thursday	blinde beger of elexandrea	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria		2	1	0	2.05			92	7.83			1390
4/6/1596	Friday	tragedie of flocase	Phocasse		1	11	0	1.55			70	5.92			1051
5/6/1596	Saturday	tambercame	Tamburlaine the Great (I or II)		1	8	0	1.40			63	5.35			949
	Sunday								14.00	393.15			53.52	259.19	
7/6/1596	Monday	cracke me this nutte	Crack Me This Nut	mr pd	1	8	0	1.40			63	5.35			949
8/6/1596	Tuesday	Wisman of weschester	The Wiseman of Chester		1	0	0	1.00			45	3.82			678
9/6/1596	Wednesday	Chaste ladye	A Toy to Please Chaste Ladies			18	0	0.90			41	3.44			610

Julian Year Date	Underlining suggests sub-total made	Henslowe's Entry Title	Modern Title from <i>Annals of English Drama</i> Harbage & Schoenbaum 1964	Notes (ne denotes new or revised)	Recorded Receipt			Decimal	Weekly	Cumulative	Approx. percentage of house	Likely company receipts	Weekly	Annually	Total House (Persons)
					£	s	d								
10/6/1596	Thursday	tambercame	I Tamburlaine the Great		1	8	0	1.40			63	5.35			949
11/6/1596	Friday	2 pt tambercame	II Tamburlaine the Great	ne	3	0	0	3.00			68	11.48			1017
12/6/1596	Saturday	Docter fostes	Doctor Faustus			17	0	0.85			38	3.25			576
	Sunday								8.55	401.70			32.67	291.85	
14/6/1596	Monday	sege of London	The Siege of London		1	10	0	1.50			68	5.73			1017
15/6/1596	Tuesday	pethagores	Pythagoras		1	3	0	1.15			52	4.39			780
16/6/1596	Wednesday	focase	Phocasse		1	0	0	1.00			45	3.82			678
17/6/1596	Thursday	harye the V	Henry V		1	7	0	1.35			61	5.15			915
	Friday														
19/6/1596	Saturday	1 pt of tambercame	I Tamburlaine the Great	mr pd	1	16	0	1.80			81	6.87			1221
20/6/1596	Sunday	2 pt tambercame	II Tamburlaine the Great		1	15	0	1.75	8.55	410.25	79	6.68	32.64	324.50	1187
21/6/1596	Monday	Jew of Malta	The Jew of Malta			13	0	0.65			29	2.48			441
22/6/1596	Tuesday	focase	Phocasse	2d	2	10	0	2.50			56	9.56			848
22/6/1596	Friday	Troye	Troy	ne	3	9	0	3.45			78	13.20			1170
23/6/1596	Wednesday	cracke me this nvtte	Crack Mr This Nut			12	0	0.60			27	2.29			407
	Thursday														
25/6/1596	Friday	the beager	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria			19	0	0.95			43	3.63			644
26/6/1596	Saturday	1 pt. Tambercame	I Tamburlaine the Great		1	10	0	1.50			68	5.73			1017
27/6/1596	Sunday	2 pt tambercame	II Tamburlaine the Great		1	0	0	1.00	10.65	420.90	45	3.82	38.22	362.72	678
	Monday														
	Tuesday														
	Wednesday														
1/7/1596	Thursday	paradox	Paradox	ne	2	5	0	2.25			51	8.61			763
2/7/1596	Friday	troye	Troy		1	4	0	1.20			54	4.58			814
3/7/1596	Saturday	fostes	Doctor Faustus			14	0	0.70			32	2.67			475
	Sunday								4.15	425.05			15.86	378.58	
5/7/1596	Monday	focasse	Phocasse	mr pd	1	2	0	1.10			50	4.20			746
6/7/1596	Tuesday	sege of London	The Siege of London			15	0	0.75			34	2.86			509
7/7/1596	Wednesday	Wisman of weschester	The Wiseman of West Chester			16	0	0.80			36	3.05			542
8/7/1596	Thursday	2 pt tambercame	II Tamburlaine the Great		1	3	0	1.15			52	4.39			780
4/7/1596	Friday	frenshe doctor	The French Doctor			14	0	0.70			32	2.67			475
	Saturday														
	Sunday								4.50	429.55			17.18	395.76	
5/7/1596	Monday	the beager	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria			17	0	0.85			38	3.25			576
	Tuesday														
7/7/1596	Wednesday	troye	Troy		1	9	0	1.45			65	5.54			983
8/7/1596	Thursday	1 pt tambercame	I Tamburlaine the Great			14	0	0.70			32	2.67			475
9/7/1596	Friday	longshancke	Longshanks			15	0	0.75			34	2.86			509
10/7/1596	Saturday	harye the V	Henry V			14	0	0.70			32	2.67			475
11/7/1596	Sunday	bellendon	Bellendon		1	15	0	1.75	6.20	435.75	79	6.68	23.67	419.43	1187
12/7/1596	Monday	toye to please chaste ladeys	A Toy to Please Chaste Ladies			10	0	0.50			23	1.91			339
	Tuesday														
14/7/1596	Wednesday	pythagores	Pythagoras		1	2	0	1.10			50	4.20			746
15/7/1596	Thursday	harye the V	Henry V		1	2	0	1.10			50	4.20			746
16/7/1596	Friday	troye	Troy		1	1	0	1.05			47	4.01			712
17/7/1596	Saturday	focus	Phocasse		1	9	0	1.45			65	5.54			983
18/7/1596	Sunday	the tyncker of totnes	The Tinker of Totnes	ne	3	0	0	3.00	8.20	443.95	68	11.48	31.33	450.76	
Void 19/7/1596 to 26/10/1596															

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					£	s	d								
Void 16/11/1596 to 24/11/1596															
27/10/1596	Wednesday	chynon of England	Chinon of England	2d	2	12	0	2.60			59	9.95			881
28/10/1596	Thursday	doctore foster	Doctor Faustus		1	7	0	1.35			61	5.15			915
29/10/1596	Friday	the ffrenshe docter	The French Doctor			15	0	0.75			34	2.86			509
	Saturday														
	Sunday								4.70	448.65			17.96	468.73	
1/11/1596	Monday	longe mege (All hallows day)	Long Meg of Westminster	al holoday	2	7	0	2.35			53	8.99			797
2/11/1596	Tuesday	chinone of England	Chinon of England			17	0	0.85			38	3.25			576
3/11/1595	Wednesday	the cnake to knowe	A Knack to Know an Honest Man			15	0	0.75			34	2.86			509
4/11/1595	Thursday	doctor fostes	Doctor Faustus			17	0	0.85			38	3.25			576
5/11/1595	Friday	longe mege	Long Meg of Westminster			5	0	0.25			11	0.95			170
6/11/1596	Saturday	the beger	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria		1	10	0	1.50			68	5.73			1017
	Sunday								6.55	455.20			25.02	493.75	
8/11/1596	Monday	the toye to please chaste ladeyes	A Toy to Please Chaste Ladies			13	0	0.65			29	2.48			441
9/11/1596	Tuesday	the ffrenshe docter	The French Doctor			14	0	0.70			32	2.67			475
10/11/1596	Wednesday	chinon	Chinon of England			10	0	0.50			23	1.91			339
11/11/1596	Thursday	the 7 dayes	The Seven Days of the Week		1	15	0	1.75			79	6.68			1187
12/11/1596	Friday	beager	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria			16	0	0.80			36	3.05			542
13/11/1596	Saturday	tambercame	Tamburlaine the Great (I or II)			17	0	0.85			38	3.25			576
	Sunday								5.25	460.45			20.05	513.80	
15/11/1596	Monday	the 7 dayes	The Seven Days of the Week			12	0	0.60		461.05	27	2.29	2.29	516.09	407
Void 16/11/1596 to 24/11/1596															
<i>In the name of god Amen beginynge the 25 of November 1596 as foloweth the lord admerall players</i>															
25/11/1596	Thursday	longe mege	Long Meg of Westminster			11	0	0.55			25	2.10			373
26/11/1596	Friday	at weake	The Seven Days of the Week			17	0	0.85			38	3.25			576
27/11/1596	Saturday	the toye to please chaste ladeyes	A Toy to Please Chaste Ladies			11	0	0.55			25	2.10			373
	Sunday								1.95	463.00			7.45	523.53	
	Monday														
	Tuesday														
	Wednesday														
2/12/1596	Thursday	the beager	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria		1	0	0	1.00			45	3.82			678
	Friday														
4/12/1596	Saturday	Valteger	Valteger	ne	2	10	0	2.50			56	9.56			848
	Sunday								3.50	466.50			13.38	536.91	
	Monday														
	Tuesday														
8/12/1596	Wednesday	Valteger	Valteger		1	15	0	1.75			79	6.68			1187
	Thursday														
10/12/1596	Friday	beager	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria			10	0	0.50			23	1.91			339
11/12/1596	Saturday	Stewtley	Captain Thomas Stukeley	ne	2	0	0	2.00			45	7.65			678
12/12/1596	Sunday	The 7 dayes	The Seven Days of the Week			9	0	0.45	4.70	471.20	20	1.72	17.95903	554.87	305
	Monday														
14/12/1596	Tuesday	Stewtley	Captain Thomas Stukeley		2	0	0	2.00			90	7.64			1356
	Wednesday														
16/12/1596	Thursday	Valteger	Valteger		1	15	0	1.75			79	6.68			1187
17/12/1596	Friday	docter fostes	Doctor Faustus			9	0	0.45			20	1.72			305

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					£	s	d								
		Saturday													
19/12/1596	Sunday	nabucadonizer	Nebuchadnezzar	ne	1	10	0	1.50	5.70	476.90	34	5.74	21.77	576.65	509
	Monday														
21/12/1596	Tuesday	Valtegar	Valtegar		1	5	0	1.25			56	4.77			848
22/12/1596	Wednesday	nabucadonizer	Nebuchadnezzar		1	6	0	1.30			59	4.96			881
23/12/1596	Thursday	the beager	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria			3	0	0.15			7	0.57			102
24/12/1596	Friday	Valtegar	Valtegar			12	0	0.60			27	2.29			407
	Saturday			Furioso									12.60	589.25	
	Sunday								3.30	480.20					
2[8]7/12/1596	Monday	nabucadonizer	Nebuchadnezzar	Xmas day	3	8	0	3.40			77	13.01			1153
2[9]8/12/1596	Tuesday	Stewtley	Captain Thomas Stukeley	2d	3	4	0	3.20			72	12.24			1085
3[0]9/12/1596	Wednesday	Valtegar	Valtegar		1	2	0	1.10			50	4.20			746
30/12/1596	Thursday	that wilbe shalbe	That Will Be Shall Be	2d	2	10	0	2.50			56	9.56			848
31/12/1596	Friday	7 days	The Seven Days of the Week			6	0	0.30			14	1.15			203
1/1/1596	Saturday	Valtegar	Valtegar		2	5	0	2.25			101	8.59			1526
	Sunday								12.75	492.95			48.74	637.99	
3/1/1596	Monday	that wilbe shalbe	That Will Be Shall Be		2	2	0	2.10			95	8.02			1424
4/1/1596	Tuesday	nabucadonizer	Nebuchadnezzar			16	0	0.80			36	3.05			542
5/1/1596	Wednesday	docter fostes	Doctor Faustus			5	0	0.25			11	0.95			170
6/1/1596	Thursday	that wilbe shalbe	That Will Be Shall Be		2	2	0	2.10			95	8.02			1424
7/1/1596	Friday	Joronymo	The Comedy of Jeronymo	ne	3	0	0	3.00			68	11.48			1017
8/1/1596	Saturday	valtegar	Valtegar			12	0	0.60			27	2.29			407
	Sunday								8.85	501.80			33.81	33.81	
10/1/1596	Monday	Stewtley	Stewtley		1	8	0	1.40			63	5.35			949
11/1/1596	Tuesday	Joronymo	The Comedy of Jeronymo		2	0	0	2.00			90	7.64			1356
12/12/1596	Wednesday	nabucadonizer	Nebuchadnezzar			13	0	0.65			29	2.48			441
13/1/1596	Thursday	that wilbe shalbe	That Will Be Shall Be		1	2	0	1.10			50	4.20			746
14/1/1596	Friday	elexander & lodwicke	Alexander & Lodowick	ne	2	15	0	2.75			62	10.52			932
15/1/1596	Saturday	the blinde Beager	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria			9	0	0.45			20	1.72			305
	Sunday								8.35	510.15			31.90	65.71	
17/1/1596	Monday	Jeronymo	The Comedy of Jeronymo		1	0	0	1.00			45	3.82			678
18/1/1596	Tuesday	that wilbe shalbe	That Will Be Shall Be			15	0	0.75			34	2.86			509
19/1/1596	Wednesday	nabucadonizer	Nebuchadnezzar			10	0	0.50			23	1.91			339
20/1/1596	Thursday	stewtley	Captain Thomas Stukeley			11	0	0.55			25	2.10			373
21/1/1596	Friday	valtegar	Valtegar			12	0	0.60			27	2.29			407
22/1/1596	Saturday	Jeronymo	The Comedy of Jeronymo			19	0	0.95			43	3.63	16.61	82.32	644
	Sunday								4.35	514.50					
					£	s.	d.		Co. Loan	Henslowe		Co. Loan			
24/1/1596	Monday	that wilbe shalbe	That Will Be Shall Be		0	17	0	19 7	0.85		82	6.98			1240
25/1/1596	Tuesday	the blinde beager	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria		0	19.03	3	8 0	0.95		61	5.15			915
26/1/1596	Wednesday	nabucadonizer	Nebuchadnezzar		0	9	2	0 3	0.45		21	1.77			314
27/1/1596	Thursday	a woman hard to please	A Woman Hard to Please	ne	2	11	6	7 8	2.55		66	11.22			995
28/1/1596	Friday	longe mege	Long Meg of Westminster		0	7	1	0 11	0.35		18	1.51			268
29/1/1596	Saturday	women hard to please	A Woman Hard to Please	2d	2	3	4	14 0	2.15		64	10.90			
	Sunday								7.30	521.80			40.06	122.38	
31/1/1596	Monday	Joronymo	The Comedy of Jeronymo		1	4	1	15 6	1.20		89	7.54			1339
01/2/1596	Tuesday	woman hard to please	A Woman Hard to Please		1	5	2	11 2	1.25		81	6.90			1226
2/2/1596	Wednesday	what wilbe shalbe	That Will Be Shall Be		1	18	1	3 0	1.90		92	7.83			1390

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					£	s	d									
3/2/1596	Thursday	oserycke	Osric		1	9	3	2 1	1.45			0.10	70	5.93		1054
4/2/1596	Friday	woman hard to please	A Woman Hard to Please		1	8	4	3 0	1.40			0.15	70	5.92		1051
5/2/1596	Saturday	valteger	Valteger		1	9	5	13 9	1.45			0.69	96	8.16		1449
	Sunday									8.65	530.45				44.71	167.09
7/2/1596	Monday	oserycke	Osric		0	14	7	16 0	0.70			0.80	68	5.73		1017
8/2/1596	Tuesday	woman hard to please	A Woman Hard to Please	shrove tues	1	9	1	2 1	1.45			0.10	70	5.93		1054
9/2/1596	Wednesday	Jeronymo	The Comedy of Jeronymo		0	17	4	15 2	0.85			0.76	72	6.14		1091
10/2/1596	Thursday	stewtley	Captain Thomas Stukeley		0	18	1	1 0	0.90			0.05	43	3.63		644
11/2/1596	Friday	elexander & lodwicke	Alexander & Lodowick	ne	3	5	0	17 0	3.25			0.85	92	15.68		1390
12/2/1596	Saturday	elexander & lodwicke	Alexander & Lodowick		1	14	9	13 0	1.70			0.65	106	8.97		1593
Void 13/12/1596 to 2/3/1596																
3/3/1596	Thursday	what wilbe shalbe	That Will Be Shall Be	begynnyng lent	0	9	0	16 0	0.45			0.80	56	4.77		848
	Friday															
5/3/1596	Saturday	elexander & lodwicke	Alexander & Lodowick	2d	1	15	0	13 0	1.75			0.65	54	9.16		813
	Sunday									2.20	541.50				13.93	230.32
7/3/1596	Monday	a woman hard to please	A Woman Hard to Please		1	5	6	2 1	1.25			0.10	61	5.17		918
8/3/1596	Tuesday	Jeronymo	The Comedy of Jeronymo		1	1	0	3 4	1.05			0.17	55	4.65		825
9/3/1596	Wednesday	lodwicke	Alexander & Lodowick		1	16	7	4 0	1.80			0.20	90	7.64		1356
	Thursday															
	Friday															
12/3/1596	Saturday	Valteger	Vortigen or Valteger		0	18	9	1 4	0.90			0.07	44	3.69		655
	Sunday									5.00	546.50				21.68	252.00
14/3/1596	Monday	the beager	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria		0	18	3	0 0	0.90			0.00	41	3.44		610
15/3/1596	Tuesday	stewtley	Captain Thomas Stukeley	pd (?mr)	1	5	0	0 0	1.25			0.00	56	4.77		848
	Wednesday															
	Thursday															
	Friday															
19/3/1596	Saturday	guido	Guido	ne	2	0	0	3 1	2.00			0.15	48	8.24		730
20/3/1596	Sunday	elexander & lodwicke	Alexander & Lodowick		0	17	0	4 2	0.85	5.00	551.50	0.21	48	4.04	20.85	272.85
21/3/1596	Monday	nabuchadonizer	Nebuchadnezar		0	5	0	0 3	0.25			0.01	12	1.00		178
22/3/1596	Tuesday	guido	Guido		1	4	0	3 0	1.20			0.15	61	5.15		915
	Wednesday															
	Thursday															
	Friday															
	Saturday															
	Sunday									1.45	552.95				6.16	279.01
28/3/1597	Monday	a woman hard to please	A Woman Hard to Please	Easter Mon	1	11	0	0 0	1.55			0.00	70	5.92		1051
29/3/1597	Tuesday	elexander & lodwicke	Alexander & Lodowick	2d	2	1	0	4 3	2.05			0.21	51	8.65		767
30/3/1597	Wednesday	guido	Guido	2d	2	17	0	0 0	2.85			0.00	64	10.90		966
31/3/1597	Thursday	belendon	Bellendon	mr pd	1	15	0	4 0	1.75			0.20	88	7.45		1322
1/4/1597	Friday	blinde beger of elexandrea	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria		0	5	3	0 0	0.25			0.00	11	0.95		170
2/4/1597	Saturday	valteger	Valteger		0	4	1	1 0	0.20			0.05	11	0.95		170
	Sunday									8.65	8.65				35.29	35.29
4/4/1597	Monday	guido	Guido		1	8	0	4 3	1.40			0.21	73	6.16		1093
5/4/1597	Tuesday	elexander & lodwicke	Alexander & Lodowick		1	2	0	3 5	1.10			0.17	57	4.85		862
6/4/1597	Wednesday	what wilbe shalbe	That Will Be Shall Be		0	7	3	0 8	0.35			0.03	17	1.46		260
7/4/1597	Thursday	V plays in one	Five Plays in One	ne	2	1	0	18 1	2.05			0.90	67	11.30		1002
8/4/1597	Friday	woman hard to please	A Woman Hard to Please		0	5	3	0 0	0.25			0.00	11	0.95		170

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					£	s	d										
		Saturday															
		Sunday							5.15	13.80				26.05	61.34		
11/4/1597	Monday	belendon	Bellendon		1	0	0	14 0	1.00		0.70	77	6.49				1153
12/4/1597	Tuesday	elexander & lodwicke	Alexander & Lodowick		0	14	3	0 1	0.70		0.00	32	2.69				477
13/4/1597	Wednesday	times trimpe & fortus	Time's Triumph and Fortus		1	5	1	0 3	1.25		0.01	57	4.82				856
14/4/1597	Thursday	stewtley	Captain Thomas Stukeley		0	17	0	12 0	0.85		0.60	65	5.54				983
15/4/1597	Friday	V plays in one	Five Plays in One		1	8	2	0 0	1.40		0.00	63	5.35				949
16/4/1597	Saturday	a woman hard to please	A Woman Hard to Please		0	5	3	0 0	0.25		0.00	11	0.95				170
		Sunday								5.45	19.25			27.15	88.49		
18/4/1597	Monday	frenshe comodey	The French Comedy	ne	2	0	1	1 3	2.00		0.06	46	7.89				699
19/4/1597	Tuesday	belendon	Bellendon		0	9	2	0 0	0.45		0.00	20	1.72				305
20/4/1597	Wednesday	V plays in one	Five Plays in One		0	19	0	7 1	0.95		0.35	59	4.98				884
21/4/1597	Thursday	Jeronymo	The Comedy of Jeronymo		0	17	0	3 4	0.85		0.17	46	3.88				689
22/4/1597	Friday	frenshe comodey	The French Comedy		1	2	0	17 1	1.10		0.85	88	7.46				1325
23/4/1597	Saturday	guido	Guido		0	16	1	11 0	0.80		0.55	61	5.15				915
		Sunday								6.15	25.40			33.07	121.56		
25/4/1597	Monday	V plays in one	Five Plays in One		1	13	1	0 0	1.65		0.00	74	6.30				1119
26/4/1597	Tuesday	frenshe comodey	The French Comedy		1	2	0	17 0	1.10		0.85	88	7.45				1322
27/4/1597	Wednesday	elexander & lodwicke	Alexander & Lodowick		1	2	0	0 0	1.10		0.00	50	4.20				746
28/4/1597	Thursday	belendon	Bellendon	mr pd	1	0	0	13 0	1.00		0.65	74	6.30				1119
29/4/1597	Friday	Utter Pendragon	Uther Pendragon	ne	2	14	1	1 3	2.70		0.06	62	10.57				937
30/4/1597	Saturday	what wilbe shalbe	That Will Be Shall Be		0	14	0	17 8	0.70		0.88	71	6.05				1074
		Sunday								8.25	33.65			43.30	164.87		
2/5/1597	Monday	frenshe comodey	The French Comedy		1	0	0	9 3	1.00		0.46	66	5.58				992
3/5/1597	Tuesday	Utter Pendragon	Uther Pendragon		1	5	0	1 0	1.25		0.05	59	4.96				881
4/5/1597	Wednesday	Jeronymo	The Comedy of Jeronymo		0	11	3	14 0	0.55		0.70	56	4.77				848
5/5/1597	Thursday	frenshe comodey	The French Comedy		1	7	1	0 0	1.35		0.00	61	5.15				915
6/5/1597	Friday	V plays in one	Five Plays in One		0	16	0	3 0	0.80		0.15	43	3.63				644
7/5/1597	Saturday	Utter Pendragon	Uther Pendragon		0	14	0	4 0	0.70		0.20	41	3.44	29.10	193.97		610
		Sunday								5.65	39.30						
9/5/1597	Monday	elexander & lodwicke	Alexander & Lodowick		0	14	0	0 0	0.70		0.00	32	2.67				475
10/5/1597	Tuesday	a woman hard to please	A Woman Hard to Please		0	17	3	10 0	0.85		0.50	61	5.15				915
11/5/1597	Wednesday	the comedy of umers	The Comedy of Humours	ne	2	3	0	13 0	2.15		0.65	63	10.71				949
12/5/1597	Thursday	pendragon	Uther Pendragon		0	17	0	0 0	0.85		0.00	38	3.25				576
		Friday															
14/5/1597	Saturday	V plays in one	Five Plays in One		0	7	0	0 0	0.35		0.00	16	1.34				237
		Sunday								4.90	44.20			24.27	218.23		
16/5/1597	Monday	pendrapgon	Uther Pendragon	whit mon.	2	19	0	14 0	2.95		0.70	82	13.96				1237
17/5/1597	Tuesday	elexander & lodwicke	Alexander & Lodowick	2d	3	0	0	3 4	3.00		0.17	71	12.11				1074
18/5/1597	Wednesday	stewtley	Captain Thomas Stukeley	2d	1	12	1	17 0	1.60		0.85	55	9.37				831
19/5/1597	Thursday	the comedy of umers	The Comedy of Humours	2d	2	15	0	0 0	2.75		0.00	62	10.52				932
20/5/1597	Friday	belendon	Bellendon		0	10	0	0 0	0.50		0.00	23	1.91				339
21/5/1597	Saturday	frenshe comodey	The French Comedy		0	14	0	13 6	0.70		0.68	62	5.25				932
		Sunday								11.50	55.70			55.52	273.75		
23/5/1597	Monday	V plays in one	Five Plays in One		1	0	3	0 1	1.00		0.00	45	3.83				681
24/5/1597	Tuesday	comedy of umers	The Comedy of Humours	2d	2	18	0	3 2	2.90		0.16	69	11.70				1041
25/5/1597	Wednesday	Jeronymo	The Comedy of Jeronymo		0	19	0	14 6	0.95		0.73	75	6.40				1136
26/5/1597	Thursday	harye the firste life & death	The Life and Death of Henry 1	ne	2	10	1	3 9	2.50		0.19	61	10.28				911
27/5/1597	Friday	woman hard to please	A Woman Hard to Please		0	5	0	0 0	0.25		0.00	11	0.95				170
28/5/1597	Saturday	elexander & lodwicke	Alexander & Lodowick	mr pd	0	13	1	10 0	0.65		0.50	52	4.39				780

Julian Year Date	Underlining suggests sub-total made	Henslowe's Entry Title	Modern Title from <i>Annals of English Drama</i> Harbage & Schoenbaum 1964	Notes (ne denotes new or revised)	Recorded Receipt			Decimal £.p	Weekly	Cumulative	Approx. percentage of house	Likely company receipts	Weekly	Annually	Total House (Persons)
					£	s	d								
	Sunday								8.25	63.95			39.13	312.88	
30/5/1597	Monday	harye the firste life & death	The Life and Death of Henry 1		0	19	6	0 0	0.95		0.00	43	3.63		644
31/5/1597	Tuesday	the umers	The Comedy of Humours	2d	3	4	1	3 0	3.20		0.15	75	12.81		1136
1/6/1597	Wednesday	frenshe comodey	The French Comedy		0	13	0	4 6	0.65		0.23	39	3.34		593
2/6/1597	Thursday	pendragon	Uther Pendragon		0	16	0	4 6	0.80		0.23	46	3.91		695
3/6/1597	Friday	ffrederycke & basellia	Frederick & Basilea	ne	2	2	1	13 4	2.10		0.67	62	10.58		938
4/6/1597	Saturday	comedy of umers	The Comedy of Humours	2d	3	6	2	14 6	3.30		0.73	91	15.40		1365
	Sunday									11.00	74.95			51.67	364.54
6/6/1597	Monday	what wilbe shalbe	That Will Be Shall Be		0	10	0	16 0	0.50		0.80	59	4.96		881
7/6/1597	Tuesday	comedy of umers	The Comedy of Humours	2d	3	10	0	0 0	3.50		0.00	79	13.39		1187
8/6/1597	Wednesday	harye the firste life & death	The Life and Death of Henry 1		0	12	6	0 0	0.60		0.00	27	2.29		407
9/6/1597	Thursday	fredericke & baselia	Frederick & Basilea		1	0	0	0 0	1.00		0.00	45	3.82		678
10/6/1597	Friday	V plays in one	Five Plays in One		0	11	3	1 0	0.55		0.05	27	2.29		407
11/6/1597	Saturday	the umers	The Comedy of Humours	2d	2	18	0	0 0	2.90		0.00	65	11.09		983
	Sunday									9.05	84.00			38.69	403.24
13/6/1597	Monday	pendragon	Uther Pendragon		1	0	0	0 0	1.00		0.00	45	3.82		678
14/6/1597	Tuesday	harye the firste life & death	The Life and Death of Henry 1		0	14	0	0 0	0.70		0.00	32	2.67		475
15/6/1597	Wednesday	bellendon	Bellendon		0	13	0	0 0	0.65		0.00	29	2.48		441
16/6/1597	Thursday	frenshe comedy	The French Comedy		0	7	0	13 6	0.35		0.68	46	3.91		695
17/6/1597	Friday	the comedy of umers	The Comedy of Humours	2d	2	10	1	4 1	2.50		0.20	61	10.34		917
18/6/1597	Saturday	fredericke & baselia	Frederick & Basilea		0	11	0	14 6	0.55		0.73	57	4.87		865
	Sunday									5.75	89.75			29.70	432.94
20/6/1597	Monday	Jeronemo	The Comedy of Jeronymo		0	14	0	0 0	0.70		0.00	32	2.67		475
21/6/1597	Tuesday	comedy of umers	The Comedy of Humours	midsomer	3	0	0	0 0	3.00		0.00	68	11.48		1017
22/6/1597	Wednesday	henges	Hengist		0	6	0	11 6	0.30		0.58	39	3.34		593
23/6/1597	Thursday	frenshe comedy	The French Comedy		0	8	0	0 0	0.40		0.00	18	1.53		271
24/6/1597	Friday	harye the firste life & death	The Life and Death of Henry 1		0	14	0	0 0	0.70		0.00	32	2.67		475
25/6/1597	Saturday	bellendon	Bellendon		0	7	0	0 0	0.35		0.00	16	1.34		237
	Sunday			mr pd						5.45	95.20			23.60	456.54
27/6/1597	Monday	stewtley	Captain Thomas Stukeley		0	14	0	1 6	0.70		0.08	35	2.96		526
28/6/1597	Tuesday	V plays in one	Five Plays in One		1	0	0	13 11	1.00		0.70	76	6.47		1150
29/6/1597	Wednesday	alexander & lodwicke	Alexander & Lodowick	s.petters	1	2	0	14 0	1.10		0.70	81	6.87		1221
30/6/1597	Thursday	liffe & death of marten swarte	The Life & Death of Martin Swart	2d	2	8	1	11 6	2.40		0.58	67	11.38		1009
1/7/1597	Friday	harye the firste life & death	The Life and Death of Henry 1		0	6	1	12 11	0.30		0.65	43	3.61		641
2/7/1597	Saturday	frenshe comedy	The French Comedy		0	4	2	0 13	0.20		0.05	11	0.97		173
	Sunday									5.70	100.90			35.01	491.55
4/7/1597	Monday	fredericke & baselia	Frederick & Basilea		1	0	1	14 6	1.00		0.73	78	6.59		1170
5/7/1597	Tuesday	what wilbe shalbe	That Will Be Shall Be		0	10	2	0 0	0.50		0.00	23	1.91		339
6/7/1597	Wednesday	liffe & death of marten swarte	The Life & Death of Martin Swart	ne	2	10	1	13 9	2.50		0.69	72	12.19		1081
7/7/1597	Thursday	comedy of umers	The Comedy of Humours		1	8	2	17 1	1.40		0.85	101	8.61		1528
8/7/1597	Friday	Wissman of weschester	The Wiseman of West Chester		1	0	1	0 3	1.00		0.01	46	3.87		687
9/7/1597	Saturday	liffe & death of marten swarte	The Life & Death of Martin Swart		1	13	2	13 1	1.65		0.65	104	8.80		1562
	Sunday									8.05	108.95			44.89	536.44
	Monday														
12/7/1597	Tuesday	Wissman of weschester	The Wiseman of West Chester		0	18	0	1 0	0.90		0.05	43	3.63		647
13/7/1597	Wednesday	comedy of umers	The Comedy of Humours		1	10	1	11 1	1.50		0.55	92	7.84		1393
14/7/1597	Thursday	the wiche of islington	The Witch of Islington		1	7	2	0 0	1.35		0.00	61	5.15		915
15/7/1597	Friday	alexander & lodwicke	Alexander & Lodowick		0	8	0	13 0	0.40		0.65	47	4.01		712
16/7/1597	Saturday	frenshe comodey	The French Comedy		0	9	0	14 0	0.45		0.70	52	4.39		780
	Sunday			mr pd.						4.60	113.55			26.98	563.42



Julian Year Date	Underlining suggests sub-total made	Henslowe's Entry Title	Modern Title from <i>Annals of English Drama</i> Harbage & Schoenbaum 1964	Notes (ne denotes new or revised)	Recorded Receipt			Decimal £.p	Weekly	Cumulative	Approx. percentage of house %	Likely company receipts £	Weekly	Annually	Total House (Persons)
					£	s	d								
10/12/1597	Saturday		Rec'd of Admirals & Pemborkes		1	6	0		1.30	153.00					
17/12/1597	Saturday		Rec'd of Admirals & Pemborkes		2	9	0		2.45	155.45					
24/12/1597	Saturday									155.45					
30/12/1597	Friday		Rec'd of Admirals & Pemborkes		7	16	0		7.80	163.25					
7/1/1597	Saturday		Rec'd of Admirals & Pemborkes		1	10	0		1.50	164.75					
14/1/1597	Saturday		Rec'd of Admirals & Pemborkes		2	10	0		2.50	167.25					
21/1/1597	Saturday		Rec'd of Admirals & Pemborkes		3	9	0		3.45	170.70					
28/1/1597	Saturday		Rec'd of Admirals & Pemborkes		1	8	9		1.44	172.14					
4/2/1597	Saturday		Rec'd of Admirals & Pemborkes		5	0	0		5.00	177.14					
11/2/1597	Saturday		Rec'd of Admirals & Pemborkes		2	16	4		2.82	179.96					
18/2/1597	Saturday		Rec'd of Admirals & Pemborkes		3	9	0		3.45	183.41					
25/2/1597	Saturday		Rec'd of Admirals & Pemborkes		4	15	0		4.75	188.16					
4/3/1597	Saturday		Rec'd of Admirals & Pemborkes		5	11	3		5.56	193.72					
Void or Closure 5/3/1597 to 25/3/1598															
2/4/1598	Sunday		Received of my lorde admerelles mean		1	6	0		1.30	1.30					
9/4/1598	Sunday		Received of my lorde admerelles mean		3	7	6		3.38	4.68					
14/4/1598	Friday		Received of my lorde admerelles mean		2	17	0		2.85	7.53					
22/4/1598	Saturday		Received of my lorde admerelles mean		6	3	6		6.18	13.70					
29/4/1598	Saturday		Received of my lorde admerelles mean		2	12	6		2.63	16.33					
6/5/1598	Saturday		Received of my lorde admerelles mean		4	2	6		4.13	20.45					
14/5/1598	Sunday		Received of my lorde admerelles mean		5	2	0		5.10	25.55					
20/5/1598	Saturday		Received of my lorde admerelles mean		4	6	0		4.30	29.85					
27/5/1598	Saturday		Received of my lorde admerelles mean		3	4	6		3.23	33.08					
3/6/1598	Saturday		Received of my lorde admerelles mean		2	12	6		2.63	35.70					
10/6/1598	Saturday		Received of my lorde admerelles mean		5	16	7		5.83	41.53					

Julian Year Date	Underlining suggests sub-total made	Henslowe's Entry Title	Modern Title from <i>Annals of English Drama</i> Harbage & Schoenbaum 1964	Notes (ne denotes new or revised)	Recorded Receipt			Decimal £.p	Weekly	Cumulative	Approx. percentage of house %	Likely company receipts £	Weekly	Annually	Total House (Persons)
					£	s	d								
17/6/1598	Saturday		Received of my lorde admerelles mean		3	16	0		3.80	45.33					
24/6/1598	Saturday		Received of my lorde admerelles mean		5	7	0		5.35	50.68					
31/6/1598 (1/7)	Saturday		Received of my lorde admerelles mean		5	18	3		5.91	56.59					
8/7/1598	Saturday				2	11	7		2.58	59.17					
Void 9/7/1598 to 28/7/1598															
<b>Here I begyne to Receue the whole gallerys from this daye being 29th. July 1598</b>															
29/7/1598	Saturday				10	14	0		10.70	69.87					
6/8/1598	Sunday				7	10	0		7.50	77.37					
13/8/1598	Sunday				9	9	0		9.45	86.82					
19/8/1598	Saturday				8	12	0		8.60	95.42					
26/8/1598	Saturday				8	2	0		8.10	103.52					
2/9/1598	Saturday				8	14	0		8.70	112.22					
10/9/1598	Sunday				9	3	0		9.15	121.37					
17/09/1598	Sunday				6	18	0		6.90	128.27					
24/9/1598	Sunday				8	2	0		8.10	136.37					
29/9/1598	Friday				5	14	0		5.70	142.07					
7/10/1598	Saturday				6	3	0		6.15	148.22					
14/10/1598	Saturday				7	15	0		7.75	155.97					
21/10/1598	Saturday				10	14	0		10.70	166.67					
28/10/1598	Saturday				5	19	0		5.95	172.62					
5/11/1598	Sunday				8	2	0		8.10	180.72					
12/11/1598	Sunday				5	3	0		5.15	185.87					
19/11/1598	Sunday				6	16	0		6.80	192.67					
24/11/1598	Friday				4	16	0		4.80	197.47					
2/12/1598	Saturday				6	16	0		6.90	204.37					

Julian Year Date	Underlining suggests sub-total made	Henslowe's Entry Title	Modern Title from <i>Annals of English Drama</i> Harbage & Schoenbaum 1964	Notes (ne denotes new or revised)	Recorded Receipt			Decimal £.p	Weekly	Cumulative	Approx. percentage of house %	Likely company receipts £	Weekly	Annually	Total House (Persons)
					£	s	d								
9/12/1598	Saturday				7	16	0		7.80	212.17					
16/12/1598	Saturday			£157-00-00	4	3	0		4.15	216.32					
23/12/1598	Saturday				4	5	0		4.25	220.57					
30/12/1598	Saturday				12	10	0		12.50	233.07					
7/1/1598	Sunday				7	17	0		7.85	240.92					
14/1/1598	Sunday				8	11	0		8.55	249.47					
21/01/1598	Sunday			£198-17-00 left margin	8	13	0		8.65	258.12					
28/1/1598	Sunday				7	6	0		7.30	265.42					
4/2/1598	Sunday				10	17	0		10.85	276.27					
11/2/1598	Sunday				7	10	0		7.50	283.77					
18/2/1598	Sunday				7	10	0		7.50	291.27					
24/2/1598	Saturday			£247-03-00 left margin actual £247.2.0	15	3	0		15.15	306.42					
Void or closure ?25/2/1599 to 25/3/1599															
1599															
26/3/1599	Monday			dew233-17-1	3	18	0		3.90	3.90					
1/4/1599	Sunday				2	2	0		2.10	6.00					
8/4/1599	Sunday		Easter day Easter Monday		3	8	0		3.40	9.40					
15/4/1599	Sunday				13	7	0		13.35	22.75					
22/4/1599	Sunday				13	16	0		13.80	36.55					
29/4/1599	Sunday				11	5	0		11.25	47.80					
6/5/1599	Sunday				8	10	0		8.50	56.30					
13/5/1599	Sunday				9	0	0		9.00	65.30					
20/5/1599	Sunday			left margin 324-00-00 actual £321.19.00	11	11	0		11.55	76.85					
27/5/1599	Sunday				10	8	0		10.40	87.25					

Julian Year Date	Underlining suggests sub-total made	Henslowe's Entry Title	Modern Title from <i>Annals of English Drama</i> Harbage & Schoenbaum 1964	Notes (ne denotes new or revised)	Recorded Receipt			Decimal £.p	Weekly	Cumulative	Approx. percentage of house %	Likely company receipts £	Weekly	Annually	Total House (Persons)
					£	s	d								
3/6/1599	Sunday			left margin 351-00-00 £348.10.00	16	12	0		16.60	103.85					
	Thursday Friday	Void or closure 4/6/1599 to 5/10/1599													
6/10/1599	Saturday				5	3	0		5.15	109.00					
13/10/1599	Saturday			left margin 358-03-00	2	0	0		2.00	111.00					
20/10/1599	Saturday				4	3	0		4.15	115.15					
27/10/1599	Saturday				3	14	0		3.70	118.85					
3/11/1599	Saturday				8	16	0		8.80	127.65					
10/11/1599	Saturday				6	9	0		6.45	134.10					
18/11/1599	Sunday				2	17	0		2.85	136.95					
25/11/1599	Sunday				7	4	0		7.20	144.15					
1/12/1599	Saturday				5	13	0		5.65	149.80					
8/12/1599	Saturday				4	0	0		4.00	153.80					
16/12/1599	Sunday				2	17	0		2.85	156.65					
23/12/1599	Sunday			£59-14-00	3	3	0		3.15	159.80					
30/12/1599	Sunday				10	8	0		10.40	170.20					
6/1/1599	Sunday				9	9	0		9.45	179.65					
13/1/1599	Sunday				6	16	0		6.80	186.45					
20/1/1599	Sunday				3	2	0		3.20	189.65					
27/1/1599	Saturday				1	16	0		1.80	191.45					
3/2/1599	Sunday			left margin £88-01-00	7	14	0		7.70	199.15					
10/2/1599	Sunday				7	13	0		7.65	206.80					
	Void 11/2/1599 to 8/3/1599														
9/3/1599	Sunday				3	13	0		3.65	210.45					
16/3/1599	Sunday				6	0	0		6.00	216.45					
23/3/1599	Sunday		Easter Sunday	£110-04-00	4	17	0		4.85	221.30					

Julian Year Date	Underlining suggests sub-total made	Henslowe's Entry Title	Modern Title from <i>Annals of English Drama</i> Harbage & Schoenbaum 1964	Notes (ne denotes new or revised)	Recorded Receipt			Decimal £.p	Weekly	Cumulative	Approx. percentage of house %	Likely company receipts £	Weekly	Annually	Total House (Persons)
					£	s	d								
			Easter Monday	left margin											
30/3/1600	Sunday				11	14	0		11.70	11.70					
6/4/1600	Sunday				6	2	0		6.10	17.80					
14/4/1600	Monday				5	10	0		5.50	23.30					
21/4/1600	Monday				6	14	0		6.70	30.00					
29/4/1600	Tuesday				4	10	0		4.50	34.50					
4/5/1600	Sunday				4	7	0		4.35	38.85					
11/5/1600	Sunday				4	15	0		4.75	43.60					
18/5/1600	Sunday				12	4	0		12.20	55.80					
25/5/1600	Sunday				4	7	0		4.35	60.15					
1/6/1600	Sunday				4	17	0		4.85	65.00					
8/6/1600	Sunday				6	11	0		6.55	71.55					
15/6/1600	Sunday				3	13	0		3.65	75.20					
22/6/1600	Sunday				7	2	0		7.10	82.30					
1/7/1600	Tuesday				5	8	0		5.40	87.70					
6/7/1600	Sunday				4	12	0		4.60	92.30					
13/7/1600	Sunday			<->-02-00 left margin £207-02-00	4	12	0		4.60	96.90					

## **Appendix 2**

**Transcription of *Henslowe's Diary*  
by play and income per performance**

Date	Day	Modern Title from Annals of English Drama Harbage & Schoenbaum 1964	Notes	£	Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay	Muly Molloco	Orlando Furioso	Don Horatio	Sir John Mandeville	Harry of Cornwall	The Jew of Malta	Clorys and Orgasto	Pope Joan	Machiavel	I Henry VI	Bendo and Richardo	Four Plays in One	A Looking Glass for London	Zenobia	Jeronymo	Constantine	Jerusalem
		Lord Strange's Men																				
19/2/1591	Saturday	Friar Bacon & Friar Bungay		0.86	0.86																	
20/02/1591	Sunday	Muly Molloco		1.45		1.45																
21/2/1591	Monday	Orlando Furioso		0.83			0.83															
	Tuesday																					
23/2/1591	Wednesday	Don Horatio (Pt.1 Jeronimo?)		0.68				0.68														
24/2/1591	Thursday	Sir John Mandeville		0.63					0.63													
25/2/1591	Friday	Harry of Cornwall		1.60						1.60												
26/2/1591	Saturday	The Jew of Malta	2d.	2.50							2.50											
	Sunday																					
28/2/1591	Monday	Clorys and Orgasto (Ergasto)		0.90								0.90										
29/2/1591	Tuesday	Muly Molloco		1.70		1.70																
1/3/1591	Wednesday	Pope Joan		0.75									0.75									
2/3/1591	Thursday	Machiavel		0.70										0.70								
3/3/1591	Friday	I Henry VI	ne	3.83											3.83							
4/3/1591	Saturday	Bendo (or Byndo) & Richardo		0.80												0.80						
	Sunday																					
6/3/1591	Monday	Four Plays in One		1.58													1.58					
7/3/1591	Tuesday	I Henry VI	2d.	3.00											3.00							
8/3/1591	Wednesday	A Looking Glass for London & England		0.35														0.35				
9/3/1591	Thursday	Zenobia		1.13															1.13			
10/3/1591	Friday	The Jew of Malta	2d.	2.80							2.80											
11/3/1591	Saturday	I Henry VI	2d.	2.38											2.38							
	Sunday																					
13/3/1591	Monday	Don Horatio (Pt.1 Jeronimo?)		1.45				1.45														
14/3/1591	Tuesday	Jeronymo	2d.	3.55																3.55		
	Wednesday																					
16/3/1591	Thursday	I Henry VI (?)		1.58											1.58							
17/3/1591	Friday	Muly Molloco		1.43		1.43																
18/3/1591	Saturday	The Jew of Malta		1.95							1.95											
	Sunday																					
20/3/1591	Monday	Jeronymo		1.90																1.90		
21/3/1591	Tuesday	Constantine		0.60																	0.60	
22/3/1591	Wednesday	Conquest of Jerusalem, I Godfrey of Boulogne		0.90																		0.90
23/3/1591	Thursday	Harry of Cornwall		0.68						0.68												
	Friday																					
25/3/1592	Saturday	Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay		0.78	0.78																	
	Sunday																					
27/3/1592	Monday	A Looking Glass for London & England	Easter Mon.	2.75														2.75				
28/3/1592	Tuesday	I Henry VI	2d.	3.40											3.40							
29/3/1592	Wednesday	Muly Molloco	2d.	3.10		3.10																
			Totals	52.50	1.64	7.68	0.83	2.13	0.63	2.28	7.25	0.90	0.75	0.70	14.18	0.80	1.58	3.10	1.13	5.45	0.60	0.90
			Performances	32	2	4	1	2	1	2	3	1	1	1	5	1	1	2	1	2	1	1
			Av. per perf.	1.64	0.82	1.92	0.83	1.06	0.63	1.14	2.42	0.90	0.75	0.70	2.84	0.80	1.58	1.55	1.13	2.73	0.60	0.90

























Date	Day	Modern Title from Annals of English Drama Harbage & Schoenbaum 1964	Notes	£	II Tamburlaine the Great	II Godfrey of Boulogne	Tasso's Melancholy	The Venetian Comedy	I Tamburlaine the Great	Doctor Faustus	The French Doctor	A Knack to Know an Honest Man	The Grecian Comedy	Warlamchester	The Wiseman of West Chester	The French Comedy	Long Meg of Westminster	Seleo and Olympio	The first part of Hercules	Godfrey of Boulogne	The second part of Hercules	The Seven Days of the Week
25/4/1595	Friday	The Wiseman of West Chester	2d	2.90											2.90							
26/4/1595	Saturday	The Wiseman of West Chester	2d	3.00											3.00							
27/4/1595	Sunday	II Godfrey of Boulogne		1.45		1.45																
	Monday																					
29/4/1595	Tuesday	Warlamchester		1.45										1.45								
30/4/1595	Wednesday	Long Meg of Westminster		1.35													1.35					
Dated 31/4		Doctor Faustus		1.10					1.10													
1/5/1595	Thursday	Long Meg of Westminster	2d	2.50													2.50					
2/5/1595	Friday	Seleo & Olympio	2d	2.50														2.50				
3/5/1595	Saturday	The French Doctor		0.55						0.55												
	Sunday																					
5/5/1595	Monday	A Knack to Know an Honest Man		1.15							1.15											
6/5/1595	Tuesday	The Wiseman of West Chester		2.00											2.00							
7/5/1595	Wednesday	The first part of Hercules	ne	3.65															3.65			
8/5/1595	Thursday	The Venetian Comedy		1.50			1.50															
9/5/1595	Friday	Seleo & Olympio		1.30													1.30					
10/5/1595	Saturday	Warlamchester		1.45										1.45								
	Sunday																					
12/5/1595	Monday	The French Comedy		1.40												1.40						
13/5/1595	Tuesday	Long Meg of Westminster		1.40													1.40					
14/5/1595	Wednesday	Tasso's Melancholy		1.00			1.00															
15/5/1595	Thursday	The Wiseman of West Chester		1.85											1.85							
16/5/1595	Friday	The Grecian Comedy		1.65									1.65									
17/5/1595	Saturday	Godfey of Boulogne		1.10																1.10		
	Sunday																					
19/5/1595	Monday	Seleo & Olympio		1.15													1.15					
20/5/1595	Tuesday	The first part of Hercules	2d	3.45															3.45			
21/5/1595	Wednesday	I Tamburlaine the Great		1.10					1.10													
22/5/1595	Thursday	II Tamburlaine the Great		1.25	1.25																	
23/5/1595	Friday	The second part of Hercules	ne	3.50																	3.50	
24/5/1595	Saturday	The French Doctor		1.10						1.10												
	Sunday																					
26/5/1595	Monday	The Wiseman of West Chester		1.55											1.55							
27/5/1595	Tuesday	The first part of Hercules	2d	3.00															3.00			
28/5/1595	Wednesday	The second part of Hercules	2d	3.10																	3.10	
29/5/1595	Thursday	Seleo & Olympio		1.45													1.45					
30/5/1595	Friday	Warlamchester		0.45										0.45								
31/5/1595	Saturday	The French Comedy	pd	0.75												0.75						
1/6/1595?	Sunday	? This gap due to double entry by 31.4 (sic) entry?																				
	Monday																					
3/6/1595	Tuesday	The Seven Days of the Week	ne	3.50																		3.50
			Totals	61.60	1.25	1.45	1.00	1.50	1.10	1.10	1.65	1.15	1.65	3.35	11.30	2.15	5.25	6.40	10.10	1.10	6.60	3.50
			Performances	34	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	3	5	2	3	4	3	1	2	1
			Av. per perf.	1.81	1.25	1.45	1.00	1.50	1.10	1.10	0.83	1.15	1.65	1.12	2.26	1.08	1.75	1.60	3.37	1.10	3.30	3.50



Date	Day	Modern Title from Annals of English Drama Harbage & Schoenbaum 1964	Notes	£	II Godfrey of Boulogne	I Tamburlaine the Great	Doctor Faustus	The French Doctor	A Knack to Know an Honest Man	The Grecian Comedy	The Wiseman of West Chester	The Siege of London	Long Meg of Westminster	Seleo and Olympio	The first part of Hercules	The second part of Hercules	The Seven Days of the Week	Longshanks	Crack Me This Nut	The New World's Tragedy	The Disguises	The Wonder of a Woman	
9/9/1595	Tuesday	The Wiseman of West Chester		2.20							2.20												
10/9/1595	Wednesday	Longshanks	2d	3.00														3.00					
11/9/1595	Thursday	Doctor Faustus		1.60			1.60																
12/9/1595	Friday	Crack Me This Nut	2d	3.00															3.00				
13/9/1595	Saturday	The Seven Days of the Week		1.90													1.90						
	Sunday	Long Meg of Westminster		0.80								0.80											
15/9/1595	Monday	I Tamburlaine the Great		1.05		1.05																	
16/9/1595	Tuesday	II Godfrey of Boulogne		1.00	1.00																		
17/9/1595	Wednesday	The New World's Tragedy	ne	3.25																3.25			
18/9/1595	Thursday	A Knack to Know and Honest Man		0.85				0.85															
19/9/1595	Friday	The French Doctor		0.80			0.80																
20/9/1595	Saturday	The Siege of London		0.85								0.85											
21/9/1595	Sunday	The Seven Days of the Week		2.20													2.20						
22/9/1595	Monday	The first part of Hercules		1.55											1.55								
23/9/1595	Tuesday	The second part of Hercules		1.15												1.15							
24/9/1595	Wednesday	Crack Me This Nut		2.10															2.10				
25/9/1595	Thursday	The New World's Tragedy		1.90																1.90			
26/9/1595	Friday	Doctor Faustus		0.65			0.65																
	Saturday																						
2[7]8/9/1595	Sunday	Crack Me This Nut	2d	3.30																3.30			
29/9/1595	Monday	The Wiseman of West Chester		0.75							0.75												
[2]30/9/1595	Tuesday	Longshanks		1.60														1.60					
	Wednesday																						
2/10/1595	Thursday	The Disguises	ne	2.15																	2.15		
3/10/1595	Friday	Seleo & Olympio		0.75										0.75									
4/10/1595	Saturday	Long Meg of Westminster		0.55								0.55											
5/10/1595	Sunday	The Seven Days of the Week		2.00													2.00						
6/10/1595	Monday	The Wiseman of West Chester		0.85							0.85												
7/10/1595	Tuesday	The New World's Tragedy		1.60																1.60			
8/10/1595	Wednesday	Crack Me This Nut		1.30															1.30				
9/10/1595	Thursday	The Grecian Comedy		0.50						0.50													
10/10/1595	Friday	The Disguises		1.45																	1.45		
	Saturday																						
12/10/1595	Sunday	The first part of Hercules		1.45											1.45								
13/10/1595	Monday	The second part of Hercules		1.25												1.25							
14/10/1595	Tuesday	The Seven Days of the Week		0.85													0.85						
15/10/1595	Wednesday	The Wonder of a Woman	ne	2.65																		2.65	
16/10/1595	Thursday	The Disguises		0.50																	0.50		
17/10/1595	Friday	The Seven Days of the Week		1.40													1.40						
	Saturday																						
19/10/1595	Sunday	The Wiseman of West Chester		0.85							0.85												
			Totals	55.60	1.00	1.05	2.25	0.80	0.85	0.50	4.65	0.85	1.35	0.75	3.00	2.40	8.35	4.60	9.70	6.75	4.10	2.65	
			Performances	37	1	1	2	1	1	1	4	1	2	1	2	2	5	2	4	3	3	1	
			Av. per perf.	1.50	1.00	1.05	1.13	0.80	0.85	0.50	1.16	0.85	0.68	0.75	1.50	1.20	1.67	2.30	2.43	2.25	1.37	2.65	







Date	Day	Modern Title from Annals of English Drama Harbage & Schoenbaum 1964	Notes	£	The Jew of Malta	Doctor Faustus	Tamburlaine the Great	A Knack to Know an Honest Man	The Wiseman of West Chester	The Seven Days of the Week	Longshanks	Crack Me This Nut	The New World's Tragedy	The Wonder of a Woman	Barnardo and Fiammetta	A Toy to Please Chaste Ladies	Henry V	Chinon of England	Pythagoras	The first part of Fortunatus	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria	Julian the Apostate
20/2/1595	Friday	The first part of Fortunatus		1.10																1.10		
	Saturday																					
22/2/1595	Sunday	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria		1.80																	1.80	
23/2/1595	Monday	Pythagoras	Shrove mon	1.70															1.70			
24/2/1595	Tuesday	Chinon of England	Shrove Tue	2.80														2.80				
25/2/1595	Wednesday	The Seven Days of the Week (?)		1.00						1.00												
26/2/1595	Thursday	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria	2d	3.00																	3.00	
27/2/1595	Friday	Longshanks	mr pd all due	1.50							1.50											
? Plague Closure 28/2/1595 to 11/4/1596 Or lintern closure for repairs?																						
12/4/1596	Monday	Barnardo & Fiammetta	Easter Mon	1.50											1.50							
13/4/1596	Tuesday	A Toy to Please Chaste Ladies		1.95												1.95						
14/4/1596	Wednesday	The first part of Fortunatus		0.90																0.90		
15/4/1596	Thursday	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria		2.00																	2.00	
16/4/1596	Friday	A Knack to Know an Honest Man		0.55				0.55														
17/4/1596	Saturday	The Wiseman of West Chester		1.50					1.50													
	Sunday																					
189/4/1596	Monday	Doctor Faustus		0.60		0.60																
20/4/1596	Tuesday	The Jew of Malta		1.00	1.00																	
21/4/1596	Wednesday	Longshanks		0.70							0.70											
22/4/1596	Thursday	Pythagoras		0.90															0.90			
23/4/1596	Friday	Chinon of England		1.00														1.00				
24/4/1596	Saturday	Henry V		0.75													0.75					
	Sunday																					
26/4/1596	Monday	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria	mr pd	2.00																	2.00	
27/4/1596	Tuesday	The New World's Tragedy		1.95								1.95										
28/4/1596	Wednesday	Longshanks		1.00							1.00											
29/4/1596	Thursday	Julian the Apostate	ne	2.35																		2.35
30/4/1596	Friday	The Wiseman of West Chester		0.50				0.50														
1/5/1596	Saturday	The Wonder of a Woman		1.10										1.10								
2/5/1596	Sunday	Chinon of England		1.00														1.00				
3/5/1596	Monday	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria		1.75																	1.75	
4/5/1596	Tuesday	Pythagoras		1.00															1.00			
5/5/1596	Wednesday	Doctor Faustus		1.00		1.00																
6/5/1596	Thursday	Tamburlaine the Great (I or II)	ne	2.35			2.35															
7/5/1596	Friday	Crack Me This Nut		0.90								0.90										
	Saturday																					
	Sunday																					
9/10/5/1596	Monday	Julian the Apostate	mr pd	1.30																		1.30
			Totals	44.45	1.00	1.60	2.35	0.55	2.00	1.00	3.20	0.90	1.95	1.10	1.50	1.95	0.75	4.80	3.60	2.00	10.55	3.65
			Performances	32	1	2	1	1	2	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	2	5	2
			Av. per perf.	1.39	1.00	0.80	2.35	0.55	1.00	1.00	1.07	0.90	1.95	1.10	1.50	1.95	0.75	1.60	1.20	1.00	2.11	1.83

Date	Day	Modern Title from Annals of English Drama Harbage & Schoenbaum 1964	Notes	F	The Jew of Malta	II Tamburlaine the Great	I Tamburlaine the Great	Doctor Faustus	Tamburlaine the Great	The Wiseman of West Chester	Longshanks	The Siege of London	Crack Me This Nut	A Toy to Please Chaste Ladies	Henry V	Chinon of England	Pythagoras	The first part of Fortunatus	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria	Julian the Apostate	Phocasse				
11/5/1596	Tuesday	The first part of Fortunatus		0.90														0.90							
12/5/1596	Wednesday	Tamburlaine the Great (I or II)		2.25					2.25																
13/5/1596	Thursday	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria		2.00															2.00						
14/5/1596	Friday	The Jew of Malta		1.20	1.20																				
16/5/1596	Sunday	Chinon of England		1.65												1.65									
17/5/1596	Monday	Tamburlaine the Great (I or II)		2.30					2.30																
18/5/1596	Tuesday	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria	2d	2.45															2.45						
19/5/1596	Wednesday	Phocasse	ne	2.25																	2.25				
20/5/1596	Thursday	Julian the Apostate		0.70																0.70					
22/5/1596	Saturday	Pythagoras	mr pd	1.35													1.35								
23/5/1596	Sunday	Phocasse		1.95																		1.95			
24/5/1596	Monday	The first part of Fortunatus		0.70														0.70							
25/5/1596	Tuesday	Tamburlaine the Great (I or II)		1.00					1.00																
26/5/1596	Wednesday	Henry V		1.15											1.15										
27/5/1596	Thursday	Chinon of England		0.45												0.45									
	Friday																								
	Saturday																								
	Sunday																								
31/5/1596	Monday	Pythagoras	Whitmonday	3.00													3.00								
1/6/1596	Tuesday	Chinon of England	2d	3.00												3.00									
2/6/1596	Wednesday	Longshanks	2d	3.00							3.00														
3/6/1596	Thursday	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria		2.05															2.05						
4/6/1596	Friday	Phocasse		1.55																		1.55			
5/6/1596	Saturday	Tamburlaine the Great (I or II)		1.40					1.40																
	Sunday																								
7/6/1596	Monday	Crack Me This Nut	mr pd	1.40									1.40												
8/6/1596	Tuesday	The Wiseman of Chester		1.00						1.00															
9/6/1596	Wednesday	A Toy to Please Chaste Ladies		0.90										0.90											
10/6/1596	Thursday	I Tamburlaine the Great		1.40			1.40																		
11/6/1596	Friday	II Tamburlaine the Great	ne	3.00		3.00																			
12/6/1596	Saturday	Doctor Faustus		0.85				0.85																	
	Sunday																								
14/6/1596	Monday	The Siege of London		1.50								1.50													
15/6/1596	Tuesday	Pythagoras		1.15													1.15								
16/6/1596	Wednesday	Phocasse		1.00																		1.00			
17/6/1596	Thursday	Henry V		1.35											1.35										
	Friday																								
19/6/1596	Saturday	I Tamburlaine the Great	mr pd	1.80			1.80																		
20/6/1596	Sunday	II Tamburlaine the Great		1.75		1.75																			
			Totals	53.40	1.20	4.75	3.20	0.85	6.95	1.00	3.00	1.50	1.40	0.90	2.50	5.10	5.50	1.60	6.50	0.70	6.75				
			Performances	33	1	2	2	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	3	2	3	1	4				
			Av. per perf.	1.62	1.20	2.38	1.60	0.85	1.74	1.00	3.00	1.50	1.40	0.90	1.25	1.70	1.83	0.80	2.17	0.70	1.69				

Date	Day	Modern Title from Annals of English Drama Harbage & Schoenbaum 1964	Notes	£	The Jew of Malta	II Tamburlaine the Great	Bellendon	I Tamburlaine the Great	Doctor Faustus	The French Doctor	The Wiseman of West Chester	The Siege of London	Longshanks	Crack Me This Nut	A Toy to Please Chaste Ladies	Henry V	Chinon of England	Pythagoras	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria	Phocasse	Troy	Paradox	The Tinker of Totness
21/6/1596	Monday	The Jew of Malta		0.65	0.65																		
22/6/1596	Tuesday	Phocasse	2d	2.50																2.50			
22/6/1596		Troy	ne	3.45																	3.45		
23/6/1596	Wednesday	Crack Mr This Nut		0.60										0.60									
	Thursday																						
25/6/1596	Friday	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria		0.95															0.95				
26/6/1596	Saturday	I Tamburlaine the Great		1.50				1.50															
27/6/1596	Sunday	II Tamburlaine the Great		1.00		1.00																	
	Monday																						
	Tuesday																						
	Wednesday																						
1/7/1596	Thursday	Paradox	ne	2.25																		2.25	
2/7/1596	Friday	Troy		1.20																	1.20		
3/7/1596	Saturday	Doctor Faustus		0.70					0.70														
	Sunday																						
5/7/1596	Monday	Phocasse	mr pd	1.10																1.10			
6/7/1596	Tuesday	The Siege of London		0.75								0.75											
7/7/1596	Wednesday	The Wiseman of West Chester		0.80						0.80													
8/7/1596	Thursday	II Tamburlaine the Great		1.15		1.15																	
4/7/1596	Friday	The French Doctor		0.70					0.70														
	Saturday																						
	Sunday																						
5/7/1596	Monday	The Blind Beggar of Alexandria		0.85															0.85				
	Tuesday																						
7/7/1596	Wednesday	Troy		1.45																	1.45		
8/7/1596	Thursday	I Tamburlaine the Great		0.70			0.70																
9/7/1596	Friday	Longshanks		0.75								0.75											
10/7/1596	Saturday	Henry V		0.70												0.70							
11/7/1596	Sunday	Bellendon		1.75		1.75																	
12/7/1596	Monday	A Toy to Please Chaste Ladies		0.50										0.50									
	Tuesday																						
14/7/1596	Wednesday	Pythagoras		1.10														1.10					
15/7/1596	Thursday	Henry V		1.10												1.10							
16/7/1596	Friday	Troy		1.05																	1.05		
17/7/1596	Saturday	Phocasse		1.45																1.45			
18/7/1596	Sunday	The Tinker of Totness	ne	3.00																		3.00	
Void 19/7/1596 to 26/10/1596																							
27/10/1596	Wednesday	Chinon of England	2d	2.60													2.60						
			Totals	36.30	0.65	2.15	1.75	2.20	0.70	0.70	0.80	0.75	0.75	0.60	0.50	1.80	2.60	1.10	1.80	5.05	7.15	2.25	3.00
			Performances	28	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	3	4	1	1
			Av. per perf.	1.30	0.65	1.08	1.75	1.10	0.70	0.70	0.80	0.75	0.75	0.60	0.50	0.90	2.60	1.10	0.90	1.68	1.79	2.25	3.00















**Appendix 3**

**Transcription of *Henslowe's Diary***

**total income by play title**

<i>Play</i>	<i>Sheets</i>	<i>Performances</i>	<i>Total take</i>	<i>Average/perf.£</i>	<i>Company Av.£</i>
Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay	4	9	9.49	1.05	4.03
Muly Molloco	4	14	24.00	1.71	6.56
Orlando Furioso	1	1	0.83	0.83	3.15
Don Horatio	2	3	4.08	1.36	5.19
Sir John Mandeville	4	8	8.08	1.01	3.86
Harry of Cornwall	3	4	4.88	1.22	4.66
The Jew of Malta	16	36	62.23	1.73	6.61
Clorys and Orgasto	1	1	0.90	0.90	3.44
Pope Joan	1	1	0.75	0.75	2.87
Machiavel	3	3	3.10	1.03	3.95
I Henry VI	5	17	35.03	2.06	7.88
Bendo and Richardo	3	3	3.55	1.18	4.53
Four Plays in One	1	1	1.58	1.58	6.02
A Looking Glass for London	3	4	5.75	1.44	5.50
Zenobia	1	1	1.13	1.13	4.30
Jeronymo	10	33	50.10	1.52	5.81
Constantine	1	1	0.60	0.60	2.29
Jerusalem	2	2	3.20	1.60	6.12
Brandimer	1	2	2.30	1.15	4.40
Titus and Vespasian	3	10	22.58	2.26	8.63
II Tamburlaine the Great	11	19	36.48	1.92	7.34
The Tanner of Denmark	1	1	3.68	3.68	14.05
A Knack to Know a Knave	2	7	12.90	1.84	7.05
The Jealous Comedy	1	1	2.20	2.20	8.41
The Comedy of Cosmo	1	2	3.70	1.85	7.07
The Guise	4	11	17.50	1.59	6.08
God Speed the Plough	1	2	3.60	1.80	6.88
Huon of Bordeaux	1	3	4.45	1.48	5.67
The Pinner of Wakefield	1	5	7.80	1.56	5.97
Buckingham	1	4	7.45	1.86	7.12
Richard the Confessor	1	2	2.45	1.23	4.68
William the Conqueror	1	1	1.10	1.10	4.21
Friar Francis	1	3	6.35	2.12	8.09
Abraham and Lot	2	3	4.70	1.57	5.99
The Fair Maid of Italy	2	3	2.70	0.90	3.44
King Lud	1	1	1.10	1.10	4.21
Titus Andronicus	3	5	8.35	1.67	6.39
The Ranger's Comedy	5	11	13.25	1.20	4.61
King Leir	1	2	3.20	1.60	6.12
Cutlack	4	12	14.90	1.24	4.75
Hester and Ahasuerus	1	2	0.65	0.33	1.24
Bellendon	9	25	31.10	1.24	4.76
Hamlet	1	1	0.40	0.40	1.53
The Taming of a Shrew	1	1	0.45	0.45	1.72
Galiaso	4	9	12.85	1.43	5.46
Philipo and Hippolito	3	12	17.08	1.42	5.44
II Godfrey of Boulogne	6	11	18.28	1.66	6.35
The Merchant of Emden	1	1	3.40	3.40	13.00
Tasso's Melancholy	7	12	18.03	1.50	5.74
Mahomet	5	8	12.30	1.54	5.88
The Venetian Comedy	6	11	14.28	1.30	4.96
I Tamburlaine the Great	9	13	19.15	1.47	5.63
Palamon and Arcite	2	4	6.85	1.71	6.55
The Love of an English Lady	2	3	4.80	1.60	6.12
Doctor Faustus	14	25	29.20	1.17	4.47
Tamburlaine the Great	5	10	16.60	1.66	6.35
The French Doctor	7	14	16.15	1.15	4.41
A Knack to Know an Honest Man	10	21	29.95	1.43	5.45
Caesar and Pompey	4	7	10.50	1.50	5.74
The Grecian Comedy	6	11	13.00	1.18	4.52

<i>Play</i>	<i>Sheets</i>	<i>Performances</i>	<i>Total take</i>	<i>Average/perf.£</i>	<i>Company Av.£</i>
Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay	4	9	9.49	1.05	4.03
Diocletian	2	2	4.85	2.43	9.27
Warlamchester	3	7	8.40	1.20	4.59
The Wiseman of West Chester	14	32	54.90	1.72	6.56
The Set at Mawe	2	4	6.00	1.50	5.74
The Siege of London	6	10	14.20	1.42	5.43
Valteger	5	13	15.50	1.19	4.56
The French Comedy	6	17	18.50	1.09	4.16
Long Meg of Westminster	6	16	24.20	1.51	5.78
The Mack	1	1	3.00	3.00	11.47
Seleo and Olympio	6	9	11.63	1.29	4.94
The first part of Hercules	5	11	25.60	2.33	8.90
Godfrey of Boulogne	1	1	1.10	1.10	4.21
The second part of Hercules	4	8	17.30	2.16	8.27
The Seven Days of the Week	8	22	39.10	1.78	6.80
The second part of Caesar	1	2	3.75	1.88	7.17
Antony and Vallia	2	3	3.00	1.00	3.82
The first part of Caesar	1	1	1.10	1.10	4.21
Longshanks	8	14	21.40	1.53	5.85
The Seige of London	2	2	2.40	1.20	4.59
Olympio and Heugenyo	1	1	0.90	0.90	3.44
Crack Me This Nut	8	16	23.55	1.47	5.63
The New World's Tragedy	5	11	16.85	1.53	5.86
The Disguises	2	6	7.25	1.21	4.62
The Wonder of a Woman	5	9	12.95	1.44	5.50
Barnardo and Fiammetta	4	7	8.55	1.22	4.67
A Toy to Please Chaste Ladies	7	9	9.65	1.07	4.10
Henry V	6	13	19.70	1.52	5.79
The Welshman	1	1	0.35	0.35	1.34
Chinon of England	6	14	22.55	1.61	6.16
Pythagoras	4	12	19.30	1.61	6.15
II The Seven Days of the Week	1	2	4.20	2.10	8.03
The first part of Fortunatus	3	6	8.60	1.43	5.48
The Blind Beggar of Alexandria	8	22	34.30	1.56	5.96
Julian the Apostate	2	3	4.35	1.45	5.54
Phocas	2	7	11.80	1.69	6.45
Troy	1	4	7.15	1.79	6.84
Paradox	1	1	2.25	2.25	8.60
The Tinker of Totness	1	1	3.00	3.00	11.47
Captain Thomas Stukeley	5	10	14.45	1.45	5.53
Nebuchadnezzar	3	8	8.85	1.11	4.23
That Will Be Shall Be	5	12	13.80	1.15	4.40
Alexander and Lodowick	5	15	22.90	1.53	5.84
A Woman Hard to Please	3	11	13.20	1.20	4.59
Osric	1	2	2.15	1.08	4.11
Guido	1	5	8.25	1.65	6.31
Five Plays in One	4	10	10.46	1.05	4.00
Time's Triumph and Fortus	1	1	1.25	1.25	4.78
Uther Pendragon	2	7	10.25	1.46	5.60
The Comedy of Humours	3	13	31.91	2.45	9.39
The Life and Death of Henry I	2	7	8.25	1.18	4.51
Frederick and Basilea	2	4	4.65	1.16	4.45
Hengist	1	1	0.30	0.30	1.15
The Life and Death of Martin Swart	1	2	4.05	2.03	7.74
The Witch of Islington	2	3	2.75	0.92	3.51
Hardicanute	1	1	0.80	0.80	3.06
Friar Spendleton	1	2	2.70	1.35	5.17
Bourbon	1	1	0.93	0.93	3.54
Ninus and Semiramis	1	1	0.50	0.50	1.91
Total plays listed 118					
<b>TOTALS</b>		<b>889</b>	<b>1332.55</b>	<b>1.50</b>	<b>5.73</b>

## **Appendix 4**

### **Burbage Theatres Speculative annual revenue and capital accounts**

REVENUE												
Julian	Playing Days achieved	Income from Box Office	Rentals from Properties	Total Income	Rent Payable	Parish Rates etc.	Legal Costs	Wages	Housekeeper Drawings	Total Costs	Operating Profit	Loan /capital Repayments
1576		£0	£2	£2	34		2			£36	-£34	-£34
1577	49	£159	£3	£162	14	20	2	30	0	£66	£96	£96
1578	46	£150	£5	£155	14	20	8	24	26	£92	£63	£63
1579	65	£211	£5	£216	14	20	10	24	46	£114	£102	£102
1580	55	£179	£10	£189	14	20	0	24	46	£104	£85	£85
1581	49	£159	£10	£169	14	20	2	24	46	£106	£63	£63
1582	70	£210	£15	£225	0	20	5	42	46	£113	£112	£112
1583	154	£220	£15	£235	0	20	2	43	46	£111	£124	£124
1584	181	£259	£30	£289	14	20	2	44	46	£126	£163	£163
1585	160	£229	£37	£266	14	20	2	42	46	£124	£142	£142
1586	148	£212	£37	£249	14	20	7	42	46	£129	£120	£120
1587	127	£182	£37	£219	14	20	7	41	46	£128	£91	£91
CAPITAL												
Julian Year	Tenement Works	Theatre Works	Assets Total value	Capital investment Burbage	Capital investment Brayne	Interest & penalties	Loans Repaid	Loans Outstanding	Of which Mortgage	Drawn from Revenue	Net Capital Value	
1576		400	400	-50	-239	0	0	111		£0	£289	
1577	10	50	460	-50	-239	100	£96	175		£96	£285	
1578	10		470	-50	-239		£63	122		£63	£348	
1579			470	-50	-159	25	£22	125	125	£102	£345	
1580			470	-50	-74		£0	125	125	£85	£345	
1581	10		480	-41	-41		£20	105	105	£63	£375	
1582			480	5	5		£20	85	85	£112	£395	
1583	50		530	30	30		£15	70	70	£124	£460	
1584	130		660	11	11		£10	60	60	£163	£600	
1585	20		680	56	56		£10	50	50	£142	£630	
1586			680	57	57		£5	45	45	£120	£635	
1587		60	680	16	5		£10	35	35	£91	£645	
				170	159							

REVENUE												
Julian	Playing Days achieved	Income from Box Office	Rentals from Properties	Total Income	Rent Payable	Parish Rates etc.	Legal Costs	Wages	Housekeeper Drawings	Total Costs	Operating Profit	Loan /capital Repayments
1588	127	£168	£37	£205	14	20	10	42	26	£112	£93	£93
1589	180	£238	£37	£275	14	20	10	43	46	£133	£142	£142
1590	190	£251	£37	£288	14	20	15	43	46	£138	£150	£150
1591	200	£264	£37	£301	14	20	15	45	46	£140	£161	£161
1592	101	£133	£37	£170	14	20	10	40	46	£130	£40	£40
1593	30	£40	£37	£77	14	20	5	20	46	£105	-£28	-£28
1594	225	£297	£37	£334	14	20	5	43	46	£128	£206	£206
1595	206	£272	£37	£309	14	20	5	42	46	£127	£182	£182
1596	172	£227	£37	£264	14	20	15	40	46	£135	£129	£129
1597	200	£264	£37	£301	14	20	10	49	46	£139	£162	£162
1598	140	£185	£27	£212	15	30	10	40	34	£129	£83	£83
1599	80	£106	£0	£106	15	25	20	40	0	£100	£6	£6
1600	190	£251	£0	£251	15	25	10	45	0	£95	£156	£156
CAPITAL												
Julian Year	Tenement Works	Theatre Works	Assets Total value	Capital investment J.Burbage	Capital investment C.Burbage	Interest & penalties	Loans Repaid	Loans Outstanding	Of which Mortgage	Drawn from Revenue	Net Capital	Asset
1588			680	40	40		£109	30	30	£93	£650	
1589			680	71	11	60	£189		0	£142	£740	
1590			680	75	75		£339			£150	£740	
1591			680	80	80		£500			£161	£740	
1592			680	20	20		£540			£40	£740	
1593			680	-14	-14		£512			-£28	£740	
1594			680	103	103		£718			£206	£740	
1595			680	91	91		£900			£182	£740	
1596		600	£1,280	-536	64		£1,029			£129	£1,280	
1597		200	1,480		-38		£1,191			£162	£1,480	
1598			800	Sharers	45		£1,273			£83	£800	
1599		250	950	-250	6					£6	£1,150	
1600		150	1,200	78	-72					£156	£1,300	
				-172	411							