

PS, Notes from ShaLT Project Team Seminar, Wednesday 25th January

Attendees: Gabriel Egan, Andy Gurr, Maurice Hindle, Peter Sillitoe, John Wyver (Illuminations)

Agenda

From mapping the ShaLT sites
to mapping the ShaLT narrative

1. **11.30am-1.00pm** Key facts, moments, events and turning points for our period /narrative – identifying the essential elements of the Shakespearean London Theatres story.

Gabriel and Andy (Chair: Maurice)

2. **2.00-3.30pm** Turning the elements identified earlier in 1. into an hour of documentary film: ideas, stories and images that will enable us to communicate what we have to say effectively to our KT (knowledge transfer) audience.

Maurice, John and Peter (Chair: Gabriel)

(Tea from 3pm)

3. **3.30-4.30pm** Coming to some definitive conclusions

Whole group (Chair: Gabriel)

- **1).** It was agreed that the first half should move through the period decade by decade.
- **1570s** – it was agreed that 1576, not 1567 would be the key moment (Theatre rather than the Red Lion).
- GE asked AG to explain the demand for pre-1576 theatre and the impact of the Theatre building.
- AG: Theatre as key building for London performance. Name chosen to evoke Roman classicism. GE comments that the preacher John Stockwood even referred to the Romanish Theatre. [Refs: Stockwood STC 23284 and White STC 25406].

- AG: Catholics much more enthusiastic about play-going all through the period: use of anti-Puritan energy. Opposition nearly always from puritans.
- GE: Information about how Margot Heinemann had complicated this, however. Also, the idea that theatre emerges out of the Reformation. Anti-puritan energy drives the playhouses. Also, the energy that went into Catholic ritual and ceremony is diverted to the playhouse ritual and ceremony.
- GE and AG: Equal weight should be given to St Paul's and Blackfriars in the 1570s. Also, Newington Butts.
- MH: the interesting question about how the Blackfriars and Paul's became more commercial in the 1570s. Westcott started the Paul's boy acting company and he was a recusant.
- AG mentioned iconoclasm in the period alongside the theatres. Puritanical views on ceremony and display. Perhaps Catholic ceremonial energy is being transferred to the theatres through the incorporation of spectacle and display? Hence theatre as a target for puritans alongside 'high' church and the Roman church.
- GE: Key idea of semi-professional actors until the state intervenes and forces capitalisation. Agreed by AG. This happens in the 1550s-70s. [See Ingram, *Business of Playing*]. Capitalisation here refers to the emergence of a market-driven desire/need for the entertainment culture along with the theatres and the companies. (Later formation of Queen's Men in 1583 forces a kind of professionalization onto the actors who are now competing in a market for commercial revenue). Certainly the case when there are numerous companies before and after the 1594 duopoly. But this refers to the idea that this movement can be traced back to the 1550s-70s.
- AG: move in the 1570s to quality rather than quantity of plays.
- GE: on the importance of the accumulation of capital within a few select companies pre-1576. [See Ingram].
- AG: this is regulated in terms of the government as patronage becomes narrower still. Now, only knights of the realm could be patrons rather than 'any' aristocrat. Monopolies are easier to manage also.
- MH: aspects of neo-classicism. AG: Including the Theatre and a neoclassical precedence. London as new Rome. [PS: or Troy?]
- GE: neoclassical fusion with Tudor architecture. AG: Fortune may have been square-ish rather than square (use of right angles).

- MH: Burbage and Leicester's Men. AG: Burbage not chosen as one of the Queen's Men in 1583. Decides to stage plays with patronage of Henry Carey. So protected by the future Lord Chamberlain.
- AG: Also, the son-in-law as Lord Admiral. They work together on 1594 duopoly. Also, crucial patronage of Carey to Burbage.
- **1580s** – GE: key event has to be Walsingham and the Queen's Men in 1583.
- AG: But the Walsingham involvement is only speculation. But clearly there is a desire to create the 'best' company with 12 sharers not 8 – emasculation of the other companies (Sussex's). Lord Chamberlain ill at this point. Queen's Men formed by Privy Councillors Hunsdon/Carey/Walsingham.
- AG: Key point – Queen's Men have a monopoly on court performances. Exclusivity is key for them for the next 5 years.
- AG: 1584 – Mayor has to allow the Queen's Men to perform at the four inns. They are licensed for performance.
- GE: Moving discussion on to the Theatre and the Curtain. How are they used by the companies? AG: We have no evidence. The two are targeted by puritans, though. No hostility seems to have been aimed at the four inns? [PS to double-check this]. Important question of length of residency at one theatre: did they stay long or keep moving?
- AG: Two different types of hostility towards theatres: morality and also public order.
- GE: 1587 and Rose I. Marlowe's plays are being performed somewhere.
- AG: *Tamburlaine* and Kyd performed now. Just a little evidence that *Tamburlaine* is on at the Theatre. But the inns would have been used far more than we know. They are authorised for the Queen's Men but not the other companies.
- GE: key issue – who owns the plays at this point? AG: Shakespeare unique as he owns his own plays up to 1594. Strong evidence that Alleyn owns plays and takes them to the Admiral's Men in 1594. Shakespeare's *Titus* printed with three companies on Q1 title page. Q2 has four.
- GE: Thus, the issue of co-ownership of plays. AG: Marlowe's plays were for 3 companies. Then they all go to the Admiral's along with Kyd, unlike Shakespeare who goes to Chamberlain's Men.
- **1590s** – GE: Key year of 1594. AG's duopoly, but also where to go with alternate views?

- AG: That year – order to stop plays at the inns; Privy Council minutes are missing. But they reiterate this in 1597 order. November 1594 – Langley starts building the Swan. He may be aware that the full playhouses are to be of more worth as the inns are closed? Similar argument for the arrival of the Boar’s Head also.
- GE: How could the Swan and the Boar’s Head be built with the knowledge of the 1594 duopoly order? AG: They presumed the Privy Council could not enforce the order?
- AG: But it does have success - for five years only the two companies play before the court. 1596-97 – six plays by Chamberlain’s Men at court, but not for the Admiral’s. Is Lord Chamberlain offering protection to them because they cannot use the Theatre and the newly-acquired Blackfriars? [PS to build on this narrative in the Booklet text].
- AG: End of 1594 – Langley and Swan, Woodliffe and Boar’s Head. Do they suspect profit as they do not expect the duopoly to fully function as set out by the Privy Council?
- GE: How important is court performance by now? AG: Indication of government self-interest as a good excuse to license the two companies. Capitalist principle of control. 1603 and the license for the King’s Men – for all the people of London, not just the court. [PS to research / check the death of Chamberlain: was the royal patronage planned, or a response to a new vacancy / gap in patronage?]
- GE: royal patronage as a way of attacking the City.
- AG: A move from one company (the Queen’s Men) to two in 1594. A deal with the Mayor to stop plays in the city. So, Boar’s Head developed into a playhouse from an inn.
- GE: 1597 and the PC seek to pull down all playhouses. AG: This is only part of the politics of playing. They were never going to be pulled down. This can’t happen as the playhouses are in liberties. And who would pay the huge costs?
- MH: Importance of Burbage and the Blackfriars lease of 1596. A key event. GE: Indeed, we should de-emphasise the Globe and the suburbs to a certain extent. Chamberlain’s Men were planning to abandon open theatre. Globe as second-best choice. [This should be emphasised in the Booklet narrative – importance of James Burbage and the purchase]. AG stated that Carey backed Burbage’s action of acquiring the Blackfriars, the evidence being in a letter to a courtier].
- AG: We don’t know the original intention but by 1608 King’s Men have the seasonal switches between Globe and Blackfriars. Can we trace this idea

back to 1594 when they get the Lord Chamberlain to ask for the Crosskeys? [PS: This will be researched in more detail as part of the writing process].

- GE: What happens when they leave Theatre and set up the Globe? There are still two duopoly companies but both now on Bankside?
- AG: Chamberlain's have two years at the Curtain. Possibly at the Swan?
- GE: there is a deal with the Curtain. Reference to *Romeo and Juliet* at the Curtain. [We can infer that it is first played at the Theatre].
- **1600s** - GE: End-of-century anxiety over the royal succession. AG: Elizabeth bans talk of the matter in 1593. Wentworth sent to Tower – where he died – for saying James was the ideal successor.
- AG: 1599 and the Theatre / Globe timbers. Key point – reassembly using parts of the timbers. Possible to rejig joints? Timbers part of the contribution from the Burbages.
- AG: Henslowe's Fortune must be linked to the appearance of the Globe on bankside. Effectively renews the 1594 principle of 2 playhouses north and south. 1600 – PC licenses Fortune and Globe. Swan and Boar's Head still in use at this point, as is the Rose.
- AG: Shortage of playing space – 1600s – Charles's and Lady Elizabeth's Men have no playhouse. Curtain and Red Bull come into play now. 1608-09 – both companies have to have playing spaces. Charles's at Curtain. Title-page of *Chaste Maid* refers to Elizabeth's Men at Swan. Rose pulled down about 1604. Worcester's Men at Rose as late as 1603 with Kempe.
- GE: The boy companies are back at Blackfriars after 1596. Burbage chose to license his indoor playhouse to the boys, despite the issue appearing in *Hamlet*. AG: this was an in-joke for Burbage and the company. Also, boy companies are more respectable and have less accompanying crowd trouble. They slip under the radar in terms of satire, but only for so long. [Note from MH: Burbage and his company perhaps feel safe and secure and are confident that they will ultimately have ascendancy through the ownership of the Blackfriars freehold].
- AG: James I gives Blackfriars precinct to the City – no longer a liberty. But this doesn't matter, as they are now the *King's Men*. James perhaps does this for the purpose of acquiring extra money / revenue.
- GE: sexualised drama of the boy actors. AG: they can be more openly sexual than the adult companies because they are clearly young. Harbage and his idea of the rival traditions.

- GE: Modern audience would be put off by the association of the boy actors and sexuality. AG: they can push the boundaries through satire. But, it undoes them and they are short-lived in the 1600s. Also, 'sexualised' performances were also less 'realistic' – adult companies can therefore develop in terms of skilful acting.
- GE: 1608 and the King's Men finally at Blackfriars. Playing starts here late 1609. Growth in their income. In summer have a pre-selected audience. Idea that after 1610 the Globe is more 'common'. But the well-to-do still use it – Buckingham was seen at the Globe.
- GE: The question of indoor / outdoor playing? Globe's music room now in sight - like the Blackfriars.
- AG: the issue of the winch at BF – no evidence that the Globe had one. GE: retro-fitted at Globe after 1608? Shakespeare exploits this in a later play like *Cymbeline*.
- MH: High status of the musicians. For instance, Robert Johnson. AG: music becomes a stronger feature – off-stage music and mood music as used by Webster for one. Music used as audience enter the playhouse. Interesting tale about Whitelock and his own music from the 1630s. GE: use of musicians regularised at both Globe and Blackfriars as both houses perform the same plays.
- **1610s** – GE: 1600s bleeds into next decade via consistency and lack of overall change. All companies now have royal patrons. AG: more and more of a sense of royalty protecting theatre. When monarchy goes down in the 1640s – so too does theatre. After 1603 the King's Men have greater security and status, owing to their name and court performances. A growing culture of royalty and theatre to be aimed at in 1642 (in terms of opposition to Charles from the city and puritans.)
- AG: Importance of the Fletcher plays for the King's Men and Blackfriars in terms of an upper-class audience.
- AG: London population doubles across 60-70 years. Immigrants at the suburbs as central London already full. By 1640 the suburbs are more central as London extends outwards. MH: they pay twice the taxes.
- GE: The Hope is the first dual-purpose theatre building. No stage posts on the actual stage; replacement for the old bearbaiting house next door. AG: contract signed within a month of Globe I burning down. Modelled on Swan (at least the staircases). Has a removable stage owing to the bears. Problems with danger and animal smells (bears and also the dogs).
- GE: By this point we have the Hope, new Globe and Swan on the southbank. Jonson's *Bartholomew's Fair* at Hope. Hope is used by

Elizabeth's Men. But, playing is a secondary business here – only twice a week.

- GE: Hope last of the prominent outdoor theatres. Blackfriars as model for the future – Cockpit and Salisbury Court. AG: Alleyn tried for an indoor theatre on the site of the Mermaid tavern. [Note: was Whitefriars modelled on Blackfriars? It only lasted for 5 years].
- GE: When does playing alter in terms of types of plays for indoor / outdoor? AG: Actors had always had to adapt, so not too hard to switch between Globe and BF, partly owing to the idea of travelling players. Note that the King's Men were able to leave a playhouse empty for half the year. Thus, the supreme company in London.
- GE: Evidence for the Swan as a type of legal venue. [Note: is this after 1620? What type of legal venue?]
- **1620s** - GE / AG: in 1620s title-pages name Globe and BF. After 1625 there is an emphasis on BF.
- GE: 1625 – Charles on throne; reduction of no. of company patrons. AG: Central control rather than patronage – Revels company not patronised but licensed by the Master of the Revels. Plague kills off a few companies who are reborn with new names. GE: Duopoly completely gone now. AG: This goes back to 1600 and the emergence of Worcester's Men (which ends the duopoly as a third company is allowed).
- GE / AG: in 1620s King's Men in a very good situation, despite the plague. AG: the only company not to be renamed in 1625. Later: two companies - King's Men and Duke of York's Men; 1660 and a duopoly again. Salisbury Court is the last hall theatre to be built in the period before the civil wars.
- **1630s** - GE: 1620s onwards – opposition to king building up to 1642. AG: theatre linked by political opposition to manifestations of royal power. This goes right back to King's Men in 1603 when monarchical attachment to theatre is taken to a new level. In 1642 Parliament closes the theatres and acts instead of the king or the Privy Council. Parliament in many ways insignificant until it goes against the king – for instance, 1642 closure. AG: plays seen by puritan opposition as royalist propaganda. Even though regicide is shown in various plays there has been a sense that this is a royalist stage. This goes back to the key point about the number of Catholics interested in the stage.
- Puritans resist idolatry - dress in black, etc. A divide in society.
- 1620-42: Alliance of gentry and cavaliers.

- September 1642 closure of theatres by Act of Parliament legally shutting down plays and playing. The ordinance identifies the function of plays as propaganda.
 - **1640s** – GE: illicit plays are staged and contradict Parliament. AG: political subversion.
 - After **1660** – GE: order to *have* women on stage. [PS Note: is this from Charles II?] AG: Importance of George Jolly who uses Red Bull / Cockpit / Salisbury Court, trying to restore pre-42 theatre and style of playing. But, can't compete with the new scenic stage / women / music. Move to spectacle rather than words – eg Davenant's 'opera' etc. Duopoly restored and awarded to Davenant and Killigrew by Charles II and his brother. All outdoor theatres are now destroyed. GE: Theatre becomes expensive and for the well-to-do only. AG: This is the case until the nineteenth century and the music halls for the working class.
-

- **2).** The Documentaries. MH: Idea of an overview film?
- JW: Important to understand how the film is to be used.
- GE: Online / DVD / TV / teaching packs.
- JW: Suggested potential problems with a broadcaster such as Sky Arts or BBC 3. It was agreed to steer clear of this approach. A need to decide who, exactly, are the audience? Also, TV or online? Can't be both.
- MH: Importance of YouTube as an avenue. PS: V and A Online also.
- AG: Potential usefulness of a 60 minute programme? JW: Lack of visual material could mean that one long programme encounters difficulties. Idea of about 10 sections which could be structured for the DVD menu.
- JW: Essential need for establishing visual attraction and activity. eg actors can give an animated story
- GE: the idea of actors performing segments of play-texts. Actors known to him at the Globe. AG: For instance, the visual attraction of actors at the Globe performing *Hamlet*. A 'then and now' segment on the play. For instance, those from the 'Read Not Dead' shows at the Globe. [GE has supplied phone numbers to PS].
- MH: Lenny Henry and *Comedy of Errors* at Grey's Inn? JW: problems with the rights to the production.

- GE: Actors to supply fragments of texts acted out, plus interviews. AG: Mark Rylance and *R III* at the Globe. Possibility of working with the Globe for filming. JW: someone could take the audience 'round the Globe.
- GE: The issue of 'pavement sites' eg Theatre. JW: use of virtual reality. AG: Has contact for this. MH: Joanna Tompkins – we can use her 3D theatre models for the website and her 2013 lecture. These are not appropriate for the films, however.
- JW: Important not to spend excessive amounts on graphics. Do scripting alongside visual thinking. GE: Surviving buildings can be used, such as the Inns of Court. Court buildings also, including Jones's Banqueting House.
- GE: Twelve items / sites to dramatize? AG: 5 mins on archaeology, an intro piece, 6 chronological pieces, plays at court, boy players?
- GE: six separate pieces of time, eg 1570s etc.
- AG: importance of using Hollar. Go through period via sites and the plays. Match plays to each decade. GE: use Hollar to zoom in and out at the start of each film. JW: keep it simple. 5 mins = 500 words.
- GE: For instance, one film on the theatres each side of river (Theatre and Rose). Then use VR to go to one of the sites.
- AG: suggestion – Rose and Kyd / Theatre and Curtain in the 1590s / 1600, *Hamlet* and the Globe / BlackFriars, *Tempest* and *Malfi* / Cockpit and '*Tis Pity*. All films to use Hollar at start. A narrative and chronological approach, using actors for interviews also. JW: better to use voice-over. But, could have an actor walking around the Rose?
- JW: different voices for each film. MH: For instance, Lenny Henry and the Inns of Court. Suggested that the ShaLT team spend some time thinking about the academic content of each film. Different visuals on offer: virtual reality / stills of title-pages and folios / material in the museum / surviving buildings and sites, including traces such as road names. GE: manuscripts also.
- AG: Also, costume and even foodstuffs – fragments of clothing from the Rose archaeology.
- JW: no need for each film to have the same visual aspects. Hollar can link it all together. Possibly put together 10 different films - have a think about each 500 word segment?
- MH: Following the suggestions of JW and colleagues, we agree to think through what could be represented by 10 x 5 minute films, each starting with a shot of Bankside on Southwark Cathedral mixing to the same shot in Hollar's Long View. Important to bear in mind the principles voiced by

JW to ensure a viable 5 minute visual experience that captures the interest of the audience: One scene / One Play / One Place and Time.

- Each film to take the voice of an actor 'speaking out' from a suitable play to create an organic approach that will engage the viewer and help them learn something they didn't know before about that scene / play / place and time.