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## **‘M[aster] Monkesters schollars’: Richard Mulcaster, Physical Education, and the Early Modern Boy Companies**

*This article reconsiders the pedagogical theories of leading Elizabethan teacher Richard Mulcaster in the light of early modern boy company repertoires. Focusing on Mulcaster’s teachings relating to the skilled, moving body, the article traces his connections to the Children of Paul’s and the Children of the Blackfriars to suggest that the boy company stage became a site that explored boys’ physical skills. The early modern boy company repertoires, the article ultimately demonstrates, positioned their young actors as ‘Mr Mulcaster’s scholars’.*

Between 1561 and 1586, a troupe of schoolboys graced the court of Elizabeth I with eight performances. Though the texts of these entertainments are lost, some of their titles survive in official records: *Timoclea at the Siege of Thebes* by Alexander, *Perseus and Andromeda*, and *A History of Ariodante and Geneva*.<sup>1</sup> This troupe was not one of the ‘professional’ companies attached to the royal chapels but ‘Munkester’s Boyes’ — pupils of the Merchant Taylors’ school in London under the tutelage of Richard Mulcaster (ca 1531–1611). High master of Merchant Taylors’ from 1561 to 1586, and subsequently of St Paul’s grammar school (founded by John Colet near St Paul’s churchyard) from 1596 until his retirement in 1608,<sup>2</sup> Mulcaster was a central figure in the development of early modern children’s education and drama. As Richard L. DeMolen has argued, in addition to overseeing these court performances, Mulcaster likely wrote them himself, adapting the stories ‘to the age and ability of his young actors’.<sup>3</sup> DeMolen’s suggestion of adaptation is not, however, entirely complimentary, implying that the sweeping classical narratives needed to be scaled back to accommodate the young performers’ limitations. Yet there is no evidence that this ‘ability’ was lacking, whatever the age of the boys. Scholars have long reminded us of the highly theatrical nature of the early modern grammar schoolroom,<sup>4</sup> emphasizing

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the grammar school system's transferability to the boy company stage through its emphasis on gestural rhetoric and emotional literacy.<sup>5</sup> As with his near-contemporaries William Lilly (who preceded him at Paul's) and Nicholas Udall (who taught at Eton and Westminster), Mulcaster seamlessly incorporated performance into his curriculum throughout his career. As John Wesley notes, 'it was ... not uncommon for [grammar school] students to perform one part or act of a play on a daily or weekly basis'.<sup>6</sup> One of Mulcaster's former pupils, James Whitelocke, who was taught by Mulcaster from 1575 to 1588, recalls that 'Yearly [Mulcaster] presented sum playes to the court, in which his schollers wear only actors, and I on[e] among them, and by that meanes taught them good behaviour and audacity'.<sup>7</sup> So effective was this teaching, in fact, that as late as 1604 'one of Maister Mulcaster's Schollers' from St Paul's was selected to deliver a Latin oration during the entry pageant for James I, to which Ben Jonson and Thomas Dekker also contributed.<sup>8</sup>

Though not unique in the promotion and inclusion of drama in the classroom, Mulcaster is a figure around whom the nexus of pedagogy and performance is particularly concentrated. His own theatrical endeavours, which crossed paths with public playwrights such as Jonson and Dekker and, as we shall see, leading boy actors of the late-Elizabethan and Jacobean era, are among the most solid connections between early modern schoolrooms and stages, and an important precursor to the revived Children of Paul's (1599–1608) and Children of the Chapel/Queen's Revels (1600–13) — themselves born out of 'the educational tradition that exploited playing to improve speech and body language'.<sup>9</sup> Critical work on Mulcaster's specific influence over the professional stage has nevertheless tended to stop at fleeting discussion of those early court performances or attempts to locate stage caricatures of Mulcaster in characters such as Holofernes in Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost*.<sup>10</sup> Yet Mulcaster's presence on the professional stages of early modern England went further. In the opening moments of Francis Beaumont's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (performed by the Children of the Queen's Revels in 1607),<sup>11</sup> the garrulous Citizen's Wife takes to the stage and draws the actor playing Humphrey aside, remarking, 'Sirrah, didst thou ever see a prettier child? how it behaves it selfe, I warrant yee, and speakes, and lookes, and pearts up the head? I pray you brother, with your favor, were you never none of M[aster] Monkesters schollars?'.<sup>12</sup> I will return to this moment in my conclusion: for now, I emphasize that Mulcaster remained a presence on early modern stages from those earliest court performances right up to the eve of his retirement.

This article attempts to think through why that might have been. I argue that while no playtexts with which we know Mulcaster to have been involved have

survived, we can trace the influence of his pedagogical theories and practice on the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean children's company stages. The implications of Mulcaster's role at St Paul's grammar school from 1596 have never been fully explored in relation to the repertory performed by the Children of Paul's between 1599 and 1608 (when Mulcaster retired). Though we cannot gauge how directly Mulcaster was involved in performances of the plays by Marston, Dekker, Middleton, and others which comprised that repertory, I argue that there are strong correlations among the pedagogical ideology underpinning Mulcaster's teaching practices in the grammar schoolroom, his pupils' exploits on the court stage, and public performances at Paul's and, indeed, the Blackfriars.

As Edel Lamb notes, 'Childhood and performance ... intersect in early modern educational practices, the games of children and the theatre'.<sup>13</sup> Amanda Eubanks Winkler has recently explored the porous relationship between stage and school by arguing that classroom performances — including those at Mulcaster's schools — were 'haunted by the public stage and the unsavory specter of the professional actor'.<sup>14</sup> The relationship Winkler unpacks was not unidirectional: through their physical engagement with Mulcastrian teaching ideals, the children's company stages were equally haunted by the schoolroom and the spectre of the schoolboy. Adding to Wesley's consideration of the effects of Mulcaster's educational practice on some of his most famous pupils — Edmund Spenser, Lancelot Andrewes, and Thomas Kyd<sup>15</sup> — and following Gina Bloom's brief suggestion that the physical exercises Mulcaster promotes in *Positions* are bound up in his theatrical experience,<sup>16</sup> I consider how the children's company stage showcases precisely the physical skills that form a central tenet of Mulcaster's pedagogy. Tracing overlaps in the physical activities promoted in Mulcaster's *Positions ... for the Training Vp of Children* (1581) and the extratextual physical displays called for in plays performed by the Children of Paul's and, to a lesser extent, the Children of the Chapel, I build on recent work on the virtuosic physicality of early modern players and the spectacular, and particularly sporting, aspects of early modern performance to suggest that, when read through a Mulcastrian lens, the boy company stages become sites that develop and demonstrate corporeal virtuosity.<sup>17</sup>

### **Take Your *Positions*: Education and the Skilled Body**

Having taught for twenty-two years by the time *Positions* was published, as he states in the preface, Mulcaster brought an unparalleled wealth of experience of working in close proximity with countless schoolboys to the idealistic education program the book maps out.<sup>18</sup> Though Mulcaster's pedagogical predecessors

from Quintilian to Erasmus to Thomas Elyot to Roger Ascham had all stressed the importance of a healthful body to a boy's education, Mulcaster's minute attention to the skilled, moving body is particularly notable and, given his theatrical activities, particularly relevant to the professional boy company stage. Critics have long been alert to how the rhetorical training and skilled speaking these earlier writers advocated benefited early modern stage performance; I argue here that Mulcaster's development of a physically-minded mode of learning is equally advantageous. For Mulcaster, writes Jacqueline Cousin-Desjobert, physical education was 'a priority duty', marked by his 'belief in the indivisible unity of body and mind'.<sup>19</sup> Setting out in *Positions* to 'deal with training', Mulcaster notes that the majority of educational writing focuses exclusively on bettering the mind and thus, to its detriment, neglects improvement of the body (B1r, C3v). Indeed, Mulcaster considers 'the strength of witte and hardnes of body' the main criterion for a child's readiness for entering the grammar school given youth's natural capacity to 'beare labour' and thus 'to receiue the learning' (C3r-v). Emphasizing youth's capacity 'to be hoat and chafe, to puffe and blow', and 'to sweat' (P3v), Mulcaster posits a model of education that affords the developing, moving body primacy over the workings of the mind.

This stance situates *Positions* within a substantial body of early modern thought emphasizing boys' natural physical aptitude, from Bartholomeus Anglicus — who states that children between the ages of seven and fourteen, being 'softe of fleshe, lythie and plyant of body', and 'able and lyght to moving', are thereby 'wittie to learne'<sup>20</sup> — to Francis Bacon, who observes in 'Of Custome and Education' that 'the Joints are more Supple to all Feats of Activitie, and Motions, in Youth then afterwards'.<sup>21</sup> Throughout the work, Mulcaster stresses the natural aptitude possessed by the young to engage in physical and exertive activity: 'Youth', he states, 'will abyde much exercising, very well ... they finde great ease in labour and sweat, and being strong withal, a litle weariness makes them litle worse' (P3v). The maintenance of such a capacity falls squarely within the educational remit: it is essential, Mulcaster states, that parents and masters take care 'That the exercise of the body still accompanie and assist the exercise of minde, to make a dry, strong, hard, and therefore a long lasting body' (C3v). Central to this project is a rigorous program of physical exercise, both for the maintenance of health (as educational theorists had long acknowledged),<sup>22</sup> and just as importantly for the boys' ongoing 'enskilment':

But now what place hath exercise here? to helpe nature by motion in all these her workinges, and ways for health: to increase and encourage the natural heat, that

it maye digest quickly and expel strongly; *to fashion and frame all the partes of the bodie to their natural and best hauiour* ... And be not these great benefites? (F3r, my emphasis).

Mulcaster envisages an educative system which finds space for a range of physical and recreational activities: the second half of *Positions* is devoted to anatomizing and extolling the virtues of activities as varied as dancing, walking, running, leaping, football, swimming, riding, fencing, and wrestling. Though, describing the Merchant Taylors' school, Mulcaster states that he 'be not the worst appointed within a citie for roome' to practice such exercises (Ff4v), scholars disagree about whether the activities Mulcaster promotes were ever practiced in the early modern schoolroom given, among other things, its physical limitations.<sup>23</sup> Here I am less interested in the specifics of how much physical exercise the timetable at Merchant Taylors' and at Paul's would have permitted, and more with how Mulcaster's ideals find similar articulation and realization on the early modern stage. As recent anthropological work on skills development has shown, examining culturally situated forms of physical education can provide a window onto 'the pervasive, subtle cultivation of physically distinct, enabled bodies'.<sup>24</sup> 'Recognising physical patterns of what Tim Ingold ... has termed "enskilment"', Greg Downey suggests, 'leads to an appreciation of the diverse ways in which societies raise their children. Culturally distinct forms of physical education shape distinctive bodies in a literal sense, forging muscles, crafting tendons, assembling sensory systems and generating physical capabilities'.<sup>25</sup> Considering the ideals of a teacher as experienced, influential, and, crucially, theatrically-minded as Mulcaster with regard to physical education can help us to understand how culture fashioned the bodies of early modern boys in ways that made them ripe for professional stage performance.

Indeed, the boys under Mulcaster's tutelage who appeared in court plays such as *Timoclea* and *Ariodante and Genevra* seem to have possessed the kind of impressive physical skills promoted in *Positions*. Though Mulcaster (regrettably) makes no mention of how proficiencies in running, combat, and dancing could transfer to public performance, his program as a whole includes something of the theatrical. Throughout *Positions* Mulcaster repeatedly invokes as the teacher's 'guide' the figure of Quintilian (Aa4r), whose *Institutio Oratoria* promotes actors as a model for classroom instruction and pays minute attention to the moving body in the performance of public declamations.<sup>26</sup> Also, Mulcaster's own theatrical exploits at court likely provided scope for precisely the kind of physical display his pedagogical program nurtures. Though no text of these plays survives, we can

glean something of their performance from the stories on which they are based and, more solidly, from surviving Revels Office accounts. The story of Timoclea as told in Plutarch's *Lives*, for instance, is bursting with potential for physical display: Timoclea fights in battle and, following her rape, lures her attacker to a well before hurling him in and stoning him to death.<sup>27</sup> If *Ariodante and Genevra* is, as June Schlueter and Misha Teramura suggest, adapted from cantos 4 to 6 of Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, this play may have required Genevra's jealous suitor Polynesso to climb a rope to enter her chamber and could also have culminated in a fighting tournament.<sup>28</sup> The possible source for *Perseus and Andromeda*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, suggests that the actor playing Perseus would have had to fight a sea monster and, subsequently, Andromeda's betrothed, Phineus.<sup>29</sup> The 3l.11s.4d. spent by the Revels Office on weapons including bills, targets, guns, flashes and touch-boxes, arming swords, truncheons, bows, arrows, and daggers for one of the plays (*Timoclea*) indicates that the siege of Thebes and the ensuing violence may have been an elaborately choreographed, spectacular display.<sup>30</sup> It seems inconceivable that Mulcaster would have selected stories so ripe for dazzling feats, or that serious money would have been expended on furnishing their performance with weapons, if the young actors were not physically up to the task.

### Mulcaster and the Boy Companies

A focus on the body's capacity and training permeates Mulcaster's educational project and, most likely, the performances he directed at court, corresponding directly to the plays performed at the makeshift playhouse located in the almonry of Paul's Cathedral.<sup>31</sup> At least a shared ideology around boyish physicality and at most a significant overlap in physical activities played out on the stage and in the grammar school classroom. Though it remains unclear whether Mulcaster was involved in the occasional performances the company known as the Children of Paul's gave in the almonry following the assumption of his mastership at the grammar school in 1596,<sup>32</sup> he was to varying degrees connected to the education of the boys who comprised the troupe. Scholars typically agree that the troupe included the cathedral's ten choristers:<sup>33</sup> as Shen Lin and Linda Phyllis Austern note, the naming of two boys who were recorded as choristers in 1598 in the quarto of the first play performed at Paul's, Marston's *Antonio and Mellida*, corroborates this assumption.<sup>34</sup> Given that none of the plays from the repertory could have been performed with a cast of ten — José A. Pérez Díez notes that the number of speaking roles in the company's plays varies between twenty-one and forty-three<sup>35</sup> — the choir would have required assistance. Pérez Díez, along

with Austern and Roze F. Hentschell before him, assumes (correctly, I think) that supplementary actors would readily have been found at the neighbouring grammar school and may even have 'made up the majority of the ensemble'.<sup>36</sup> Yet these boys were not the only members of the company to have benefited from a Mulcastrian education: according to the choirmaster's indenture, the choristers, too, were required 'to resort to paul's school tow [sic] hours in the forenoon and one hour in the afternoon [in summer] ... and one hour in the forenoon, and one hour in the afternoon [in winter] ... that they may learn the principles of grammar'.<sup>37</sup> Comprised of boys who were either grammar school pupils or choristers who 'were also part-time pupils at Paul's School',<sup>38</sup> the Children of Paul's therefore directly received the influence of Mulcaster's educational practices whether or not he actually produced any of the plays.

As I have suggested, boys brought up under the educational ideals Mulcaster espoused in *Positions* would have been aware of the need to foster a wide-ranging physical repertory. Even without confirming Mulcaster's theatrical involvement, we can locate a similarly considerable investment in the training and exhibition of boys' physical skills as described in *Positions* in many of the plays performed at Paul's. *Antonio and Mellida* has attracted scholarly attention due to its highly metatheatrical induction, which has typically been taken as a (possibly satirical) study in the actors' naivete, precocity, and diminutive stature.<sup>39</sup> Less frequently noted is the emphasis the induction — and the play as a whole — places on the skilled, moving bodies of the young actors.<sup>40</sup> Emerging from the tiring house '*with parts in their hands: having cloakes cast over their apparell*', the young actors convey a sense of being down to the wire in becoming 'perfect' for the imminent performance (A3v). Claiming that 'we can say our parts: but wee are ignorant in what mould we must cast our Actors' (A3v), the actors suggest a lack of collective preparation, particularly in terms of physical performance. This suggestion evaporates, however, as soon as the actors begin to demonstrate their physical training. Alberto's subsequent suggestions to his fellow performers centre on how best to convey their characters' physicality: he instructs Piero, for example, to

thus frame your exterior shape,  
 To hautie forme of elate majestie  
 As if you held the palsey shaking head  
 Of reeling chaunce, under your fortunes belt,  
 In strictest vassalage: growe big in thought,  
 As swolne with glory of successfull armes. (A3r)

As Lamb points out, drawing attention to the disparity in the physical sizes of the actor and the character he must represent highlights the ‘compensat[ion] in thought’ an effective performance requires.<sup>41</sup> Such metatheatricality also alerts the audience to the physical working process behind such a compensation, presenting the transformation from boy to ruler before the audience’s eyes: Alberto’s ‘*thus frame your exterior shape*’ presumably calls for physical demonstration. Attending to the minutiae of the body’s capacities clearly interested Mulcaster, and throughout *Positions* he is adamant that what is learned young can entrain the body in minute ways: in his discussion of drawing, for instance, he states that ‘in these young yeares, while the finger is flecible, and the hand fit for frame, it will be fashioned easely’ (E1v). Alberto’s instructions regarding bodily framing suggest similar effects, and such explicit attention to the boy actors’ physical realizations of their characters at the outset of the play invites the kind of spectatorly judgment Simon Smith argues was a mainstay of the early modern theatregoing experience.<sup>42</sup> As the young actor demonstrates his ability to teach his fellows the subtle arts of bodily manipulation, he sharpens spectators’ awareness of the skills that lie behind the performance, winking at the physical training nurtured in the schoolroom a few steps away from the stage.

A similar emphasis on physical enskilment appears in a play often paired with *Antonio and Mellida* in discussions of boy company performances, Ben Jonson’s *Cynthia’s Revels* (performed at the Blackfriars in 1600). Though written for the Children of the Chapel rather than Paul’s, the play nevertheless replicates Mulcaster’s teachings and connects tangentially to him by virtue of its cast members.<sup>43</sup> According to the cast list in the 1616 text of the play, one of the ‘Principal Actors’ was Nathan Field,<sup>44</sup> who was embroiled in a now-notorious ‘kidnapping case’ which saw the company’s managers manipulating a legal warrant to recruit boys for the acting company. A surviving complaint lodged against the managers names Field as ‘a scholler of a gramer schole in London kepte by one Mr Monkaster’.<sup>45</sup> Also named in the complaint are ‘Alvery Trussell an apprentice to one Thomas Gyles’ and ‘Salomman Pavey apprentice to one Peerce’.<sup>46</sup> As Lucy Munro suggests, the two men named are likely the master of the choir school at Paul’s (Pearce), and his predecessor (Giles), indicating that the Chapel company recruited boys from Paul’s — who, like Field, probably experienced Mulcaster’s teaching.<sup>47</sup> Pavey is also named among the ‘Principal Actors’ of *Cynthia’s Revels* and seems to have played the precocious First Child in the play’s metatheatrical induction.<sup>48</sup> Though performed at a separate playhouse, then, *Cynthia’s Revels* provides further evidence of Mulcaster’s influence over boy company performance.



Like *Antonio and Mellida*, Jonson's play is fascinated by the training of the youthful body: the play repeatedly exhibits the physical talents of the actors, and the central role of Amorphus in particular. At several points the play explicitly displays the performing body of this character. Given that Field's name appears first in the 1616 cast list, the role of Amorphus, far and away the largest in the play, was plausibly taken by 'Mr Monkaster's' old pupil.<sup>49</sup> If so, the play joins *Antonio and Mellida* in providing the young actor with the opportunity to revisit the physical lessons he learned under Mulcaster. A scene in which Amorphus instructs the aspiring Asotus in the physical art of courtiership fully bears the distinct theatricality of such competencies. Displaying boy actors engaged in embodied learning, the sequence would appear at home in Mulcaster's *Positions*. Like Mulcaster, Amorphus insists on the movement and modulation of the body when instructing Asotus in the decidedly complex art of making an effective entrance into a lady's chamber:

Tis wel enter'd Sir. Stay you come on too fast; your Pace is too impetuous. Imagine this to be the *Pallace* of your *Pleasure*, or Place where your Lady is pleas'd to be seene: First you present your selfe thus; and spying her you fall off, and walke some two turnes; in which time it is to be suppos'd your Passion hath sufficiently whited your Face? then (stifling a sigh or two, and closing your lippes) with a trembling boldnesse, and bolde terror; you advance your selfe forward. Try thus much I pray you.<sup>50</sup>

Amorphus's close attention to the measure and pacing of Asotus's walk directly corresponds to the minute anatomization of walking in *Positions*, where Mulcaster details how movement may be calibrated to appear 'swift or slow, vehement or gentle, much or litle, moderate, or sore, long and outright, or short and turning: now bearing vpon the whole feete, now vpon the toes, now vpon the heeles' (L2r). Asotus's subsequent attempts at emulation — 'pray God I can light on it. Here I come in you say: and present my selfe?' (F3v) — guided movement by movement by the more experienced courtier, place the performing body under remarkable scrutiny and similarly invite the audience to anatomize his movements and appreciate the effort that goes into modulating them: 'Good', remarks Amorphus, 'Very good' (F3v). The appreciation of such subtle modulations of the body would have been more possible within the close confines of the indoor, candlelit space of the Blackfriars — particularly for those audience members seated on the stage — than on the open-air stages used by the adult companies. We might therefore argue that the parameters of the stage worked in tandem with the physical skills of the actors to demonstrate their subtle and sophisticated level of training.

Even in displaying Asotus's gradual enskilment, however, Amorphus dominates, eventually coming to act three parts in one: his own, the wooing Asotus, and that of the imagined lady he seeks to woo:

But now; put case shee should be Passant when you enter, as thus: you are to frame your Gate ther'after, and call upon her: *Lady, Nymph, Sweete Refuge, Starre of our Court*: Then if shee be Guardant, here: you are to come on, and (laterally disposing your selfe,) swear by her *blushing and well coulored cheeke: the bright dye of her hayre, her Ivorie teeth*, or some such white and Innocent oath, to induce you. If Reguardant; then, maintein your station, Briske, and Irpe, shew the supple motion of your plyant body: but (in chiefe) of your knee, and hand, which cannot but arride her proude Humor exceedingly. (F4r–v)

Overlaid with terms relating to the technical precision required by the fencing match and stately dance — both of which *Positions* treats — Amorphus's instructions directly recall the importance of the 'supple motion of [the] plyant body' that dominates Mulcaster's writing on boys.

These two early plays suggest that from their re-emergence the children's company stages were places of bodily instruction not unlike the Mulcastrian classroom. Nowhere in the Paul's repertory are the exercising bodies of the boy actors brought more forcefully centre stage than in Marston's *What You Will* (performed 1601). The typically neglected play's best-known 'schoolroom scene' stages a grammar lesson culminating in the cheeky schoolboy Holofernes Pippo narrowly escaping a beating.<sup>51</sup> For Lamb, the scene 'is an opportunity for the boys to display their learning', perhaps operating 'as a highly self-conscious reference to the training and education of the child actors'.<sup>52</sup> Both DeMolen and Gair have taken the buffoonish schoolmaster to be a direct parody of Mulcaster's teachings.<sup>53</sup> The schoolroom scene is not, however, the only, or even the first, instance of instruction in the play. Earlier, the courtier Laverdure instructs his page, Bidet, to dance on the spot:

LAVERDURE *Petite lacque page, page, Bydet* sing  
Giue it the *French* ierk, quick spart, lightly, ha,  
Ha hers a turne vnto my *Lucea*.

QUADRATUS Stand stiffe ho stand, take footing firme stand sure  
 For if thou fall before thy mistres  
 Thy man-hod's dam'd; stand firme — ho good, so, so.  
*The Daunce and Song.* (C3r)

Like elsewhere in the Paul's repertory, this moment of physical instruction demonstrates to the audience the boy actor's physical education. As his onstage spectators instruct him to execute certain movements, the dancing page physically recalls the lessons in grace and motion Mulcaster argued should be central to the grammar schoolroom just as much as the Latin grammar rehearsed in the lesson later in *What You Will*.<sup>54</sup>

As early as *Antonio and Mellida*, the audiences of Paul's and the Blackfriars had seen amply demonstrated the kind of Mulcaster-inflected instruction offered to the likes of Asotus and Bidet. In Marston's play, calls for movement sometimes have little narrative import, serving instead to showcase the varied skills of the actors:

*Enter Forobosco, with two torches: Castilio singing fantastically: Rossaline running a Caranto pase, and Balurdo: Feliche following, wondring at them all.* (C3v)<sup>55</sup>

*Enter Piero, Antonio, Mellida, Rossaline, Galeatzo, Matzagente, Alberto, and Flauia ... Mellida is taken by Galeatzo and Matzagente, to daunce; they supporting her: Rossaline, in like maner, by Alberto and Balurdo: Flauia, by Feliche and Castilio.* (D1v)

*Enter Mellida in Pages attire, dauncing.* (F3v)

These extratextual inset dances are recalled in Marston's *Jack Drum's Entertainment* (performed 1600), whose concluding scenes bring the performing actors yet further outside of the fiction in demonstrably showcasing their physical aptitude. In his unofficial role as master of ceremonies for the concluding entertainment, Sir Edward Fortune commands that an unnamed boy spontaneously perform a galliard.<sup>56</sup> Such a set piece — traditionally open to improvisation<sup>57</sup> — would challenge any performer, not least on a stage also playing host to a minimum of twelve other actors. Perhaps unsurprisingly, this virtuosic display occurs within the scene that brings the professional activity of the real performing company to the forefront of audience consciousness when Sir Edward recounts a visit to watch the onstage company performing: 'I saw the Children of *Powles* last night, / And troth they pleasde me prettie, prettie well, / The Apes in time will do it hand-somely' (H3v). The comment is arguably ironic: though the fledgling company possibly shows room for improvement having been in operation for two years at

the most, plays like *Jack Drum's Entertainment* provide the audience with enough variety in physical skill — pointed to explicitly in the spoken text — to take seriously the notion that not much time will be needed for the 'Apes' to 'do it handsomely'.

In their integration of challenging dances, the Children of Paul's engage with Mulcaster's suggestion in *Positions* that the art form is of particular benefit to children:

with all, it may be so full of nimblenesse and actiuitie, as it may proue an exercise of health, being vsed in wholesome times, and not seeking to supplant rest, as the rule of health at this daie complaineth. And generally of all ages, me thinke it beseemeth children best, to enable, and nimble their iointes therby, & to stay their ouermuch deliting therin in further yeares ... They define *daunsing* to be a certaine cunning to resemble the manners, affections, and doinges of men and women, by motions and gestures of the bodie, artificially deuised in number and proportion. (K1v)

Resembling 'the manners, affectations, and doinges of men and women' is, of course, central to performing the parts of the affectatious courtiers in *Antonio and Mellida*. But the repertory of Paul's is more varied than this in the Mulcastrian activities it stages. The scuffle between Feliche and Castilio in *Antonio and Mellida*, for instance, in which Feliche takes a letter away from Castilio 'by force' and 'spoyle[s] [his ruffe], vnset[s] [his] haire', makes use of the boys' skills in physical combat (E4v). Mulcaster vocally advocated for such exercise, suggesting that 'upright wrastling' — fighting from a standing position, as Feliche and Castilio seem to do — was valuable:

The vehement upright wrastling chafeth the outward partes of the bodie most, it warmeth, strengthneth, and encreaseth the fleshe, though it thinne and drie withall. It taketh awaie fatnesse, puffes, and swellinges: it makes the breath firme and strong, the bodie sound and brawnie, it tighte[n]s the sinews, and backes all the naturall operations. (K2v–3r)

The later *Northward Ho*, written by Thomas Dekker and John Webster and performed at Paul's in 1605, similarly points to exercise's healthful benefits. In the play's opening scene, Bellamont and the elderly Mayberry invite two travellers, Luke Greenshield and Featherstone, to 'walke'.<sup>58</sup> Though the printed text does not indicate the activity's duration, the characters apparently continue walking around or across the stage throughout the unfolding dialogue, as Greenshield

attempts to convince Mayberry that he has slept with his wife. Eventually, Mayberry states, 'This walking is wholesome, I was a cold euen now, now I sweat for't' — presumably alluding to his flustered temperament but also to the physical benefits of the exertive act.<sup>59</sup> For Mulcaster, though 'in *walking* the moderate is most profitable, which alone of all ... hath no point either of to much, or of to litle, and yet it is both much, and straying, which be the two properties of an healthfull walke' (L2r), 'Vehement or to sore and to eager *walking*, is best for cold folkes, and therefore good to driue away trembling or quaking, it increaseth puffing and blowing, and yet dissolueth, and disperseth winde' (L2v). Mayberry, whose advanced age marks him as 'cold' in early modern humoral theory, may therefore adopt a particular mode of walking suited to his age. The act itself, however, is for Mulcaster as beneficial to the boy performing it as it is to maintaining the onstage fiction.

If *What You Will* gives a pronounced nod to the boy actor's instruction in dance, a later scene in the play spectacularly showcases what is possible when such instruction has reached its peak. In act 4 scene 1, Celia, her sister Melezza, and their waiting women Lucea and Lizabetta enter in private conversation. Though entirely devoid of stage directions, the scene (which has been woefully neglected by scholars) suggests that Celia and Melezza play a game of battledore and shuttlecock (the early modern equivalent to badminton) — an unprecedented onstage demand in 1601 which was possibly never repeated. In her opening speech, Celia expresses a longing to play 'with a fether' and requests that her maid, Lucea, bring 'the shuttle-cock' (F1v). Lucea duly does so some thirty lines later: 'Madam here is your shuttle-cock' (F2r). Though the printed text focuses on the unfolding discussion of the many suitors of Celia's sister, Melezza, the women's dialogue is laden with references that suggest continual play at shuttlecock — Lucea's 'you play well', the repeated appearance of 'downe' or 'tis downe serve againe good wench', and the occasional exhalation '(pur)' in the middle of Melezza's speeches being the most obvious examples (F2v–3r).

The scope of such a match would, of course, have entirely depended upon the dimensions of the Paul's stage, a matter of debate. Scholars challenge W. Reavely Gair's picture of a stage as small as 70 square feet (6.5m<sup>2</sup>) in the face of Herbert Berry and Roger Bowers's more recent examination of archaeological evidence of the almonry in which the playhouse was located.<sup>60</sup> Berry plausibly suggests that, given the almonry 'lay along much of the west wall of the cloisters' which was 'about 94 feet [28.7m] long', the playhouse 'could have been some 29 [8.8m] feet wide inside and much longer'.<sup>61</sup> As José A. Pérez Díez has more recently suggested, if galleries did not flank the Paul's stage, these dimensions seem to indicate

a performance space almost as wide as that of the second Blackfriars (around 30 feet, or 9.1m); indeed, ‘if we consider that, instead of performing on one end of the room, the Children of Paul’s had set the stage against one of the hall’s longer side walls, the width could have been even greater’.<sup>62</sup> These potential dimensions are, incidentally, somewhat larger than the stage of the modern-day reconstructed Sam Wanamaker Playhouse (20 feet, or 6.3m, wide),<sup>63</sup> where four adult actors found it perfectly possible to play a vigorous battledore and shuttlecock game in my 2018 Research in Action workshop based on this scene. Moreover, Marston, who had already written several physically-oriented plays for this company by the time *What You Will* was staged, would not likely call so explicitly for a game that was impossible to stage in the playhouse.

A seventeenth-century forerunner of the Wooster Group’s *To You, the Birdie!* (*Phèdre*) (2000–6) — which ‘incorporates the “real time” of game playing, as the principal characters repeatedly return to play a fast-paced game of badminton “live on the stage”’<sup>64</sup> — the scene calls for multiple planes of attention from actor and audience alike: the dialogue that propels the plot as well as the unfolding, ‘real time’ game. This scene also crucially demonstrates yet another of the activities Mulcaster advises for young boys because racquet games such as tennis and shuttlecock ‘practis[e] euery kinde of motion, euery ioynt of the body, and all without danger’ (N4v).<sup>65</sup> Temporarily transforming the stage into a shuttlecock court, the scene ‘sportifies’ the theatre,<sup>66</sup> inviting playgoers, in Gina Bloom’s words, ‘to work by way of phenomenological analogy through their experience of spectatorship in the theatre, reminding them that the theatre, like a game, is an interactive medium that demands cognitive, emotional, and embodied engagement from its participants’.<sup>67</sup>

Given the exuberant, Mulcaster-inflected physicality of the stage at Paul’s, one of its most diligent spectators unsurprisingly seized on the boy actors’ corporeal capacities in his own writings for the playhouse. William Percy, who wrote numerous plays with a view to having them performed at Paul’s, incorporates similar demands into his deeply strange *Arabia Sitiens, or Mahomet and His Heaven* (ca 1601). In the version of the play written for boy actors (Percy reworked it for an adult performance),<sup>68</sup> Mahomet introduces a dance to ‘passe the Tyme’ (4.1.12).<sup>69</sup> He and three other actors arrange themselves on the stage as though on the points of a compass, each holding ‘a cullourd Ball’ (4.1.20.2 sd). While singing a syncopated ‘*Song Logically*’ (4.1.14ff),<sup>70</sup> the actors frequently switch positions (a total of sixteen times) and ‘chang[e] their Balles with other’ — that is, throw them back and forth (4.1.20.2 sd, 3 sd).<sup>71</sup> Julie Ackroyd is correct, I think, in pointing out that the boys’ version of the song is more difficult than that amended

for 'Actors' — ie adults — appended to the manuscript, which does not include ball-throwing and requires of dancers less frequent position changes.<sup>72</sup> The use of balls exclusively in the version envisaged for the Paul's troupe correlates with another of Mulcaster's suggestions for exercises specifically geared towards maintaining health and skill in boys:

Playing at the *ball* in generall is a strong exercise, & maketh the bodie very nimble, & strengtheneth all the vitall actions ... This playing abateth grossenes, and corpulence, as al other of the same sort do: it maketh the flesh sownd and soft, it is very good for the armes, the greene and growing ribbes, the back, & by reason the legges are mightly stirred therby, it is a great furtherer to strength, it quickneth the eyes by looking now hither, now thither, now up, now downe, it helpeth the ridgebone, by stowping, bending and coursing about. (N4r–4v)

Taken together with its counterpart in *What You Will*, whose author Percy knew and may even have approached with his own scripts for performance at Paul's,<sup>73</sup> the scene conjures an image of a boys' troupe adept at combining vocals, props management, and virtuosic movement all at once. Though produced by a theatrical 'outsider', Percy's writings, as Matteo A. Pangallo suggests, 'reveal what Percy thought was feasible and how specific actions and materials might be changed to suit different performance auspices'.<sup>74</sup> Whether or not *Arabia Sitiens* was performed, the fact that Percy went to such lengths to incorporate this level of physical interaction demonstrates his close engagement with the capacities of the Paul's actors. Given the physical exuberance promoted by the master who taught the boys (however infrequently) — and exhibited time and again in the plays which were performed at Paul's — Percy might have reasonably thought an extensive sequence of ball-throwing would be a good fit for the company. His inclusion of the sequence in *Arabia Sitiens* demonstrates the extent to which the Paul's troupe established themselves as specialists in precisely the sort of exercises and regulated movement promoted by the schoolmaster.

## Conclusion

By the time the Wife in Beaumont's 1607 *Knight of the Burning Pestle* dragged one of the 'pretty' Queen's Revels boys aside to enquire whether he was 'never none of M[aster] Monkesters schollars', the boy company stages of early modern London had presented ample evidence of the benefits of Mulcaster-inspired physical training. I have argued in this article that closer attention to the pedagogical ideals

which held sway in the same institutions that gave rise to the children's companies can alert us to their repertoires' emphasis on physical training and virtuosic sporting display. At Paul's, where Mulcaster had the most influence (either directly or indirectly), playgoers had repeated opportunities to glimpse the boys demonstrating the fruits of their physical education by performing the very activities he saw as central to the pedagogical project. So embedded was this mode of training into the Paul's repertory, in fact, that before long playwrights could assume a natural aptitude among the boys to do anything from scuffle — as in George Chapman's *Blurt, Master Constable* (performed 1601)<sup>75</sup> — to carry one another across the stage — as Raphe does the 'drowned' Alberdure in the unattributed *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll* (performed 1600).<sup>76</sup> As anthropologists such as William H. McNeill have shown, movement — particularly the drill- or dance-like movement exhibited time and again on the stage at Paul's — can help foster 'social cohesion' through a kind of '[m]uscular bonding':<sup>77</sup> through their emphasis on co-ordinated, Mulcaster-inspired motion, the Children of Paul's seem to have fostered a tight theatrical collective in which anything was physically possible.

There is more to the reference to 'M[aster] Monkesters schollars' in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* than meets the eye. The boy who attracts the Wife's attention is plausibly — even likely — Nathan Field, the real-life Mulcaster scholar whom Beaumont knew personally.<sup>78</sup> In the light of this article, the Wife's comment reads as more than an in-joke relating to the actor's early years as it also suggests a recognizably Mulcastrian physical stage practice. The movements of the actor's body, after all, prompt the Wife's remarks. If the actor also took the role of the equally 'pretty' (in the skilled sense)<sup>79</sup> Amorphus in *Cynthia's Revels*, the enmeshing of Mulcaster's physical teachings and the boys' company dramaturgy was present from the very beginning of its professional activity. Like Paul's, the Blackfriars stage functioned as a site of Mulcaster-inspired physical entrainment and display: characters in that repertory caper,<sup>80</sup> fight with swords and cudgels,<sup>81</sup> scuffle and wrestle,<sup>82</sup> climb trees and poles,<sup>83</sup> and — perhaps most excitingly — play a full game of boules.<sup>84</sup> Though Field brought a certain amount of experience of being taught by Mulcaster to the company, the great master's influence possibly extended as far over the Children of the Chapel as it did the Children of Paul's. Perhaps, in our consideration of the talents of the early modern boy company actors, we ought more readily to consider them all, in some way, as 'M[aster] Monkesters schollars'.



## Notes

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For Enzo.

- 1 John Wesley, 'Mulcaster's Boys: Spenser, Andrewes, Kyd', PhD thesis (University of St Andrews, 2008), 70–1.
- 2 Richard L. DeMolen, *Richard Mulcaster (c. 1531–1611) and Educational Reform in the Renaissance* (Nieuwkoop, 1991), xi.
- 3 Ibid, 154.
- 4 See Rebecca W. Bushnell, *A Culture of Teaching: Early Modern Humanism in Theory and Practice* (Ithaca, 1996); Lynn Enterline, *Shakespeare's Schoolroom: Rhetoric, Discipline, Emotion* (Philadelphia, 2012); Ursula Potter, 'Performing Arts in the Tudor Classroom', in *Tudor Drama Before Shakespeare, 1485–1590: New Directions for Research, Criticism, and Pedagogy*, ed. Lloyd Kermode, Jason Scott-Warren, and Martine van Elk (Basingstoke, 2004), 143–65.
- 5 See Julie Ackroyd, *Child Actors on the London Stage, circa 1600: Their Education, Recruitment and Theatrical Success* (Sussex, 2017), 23–58; John H. Astington, *Actors and Acting in Shakespeare's Time: The Art of Stage Playing* (Cambridge, 2010), 38–75; Jeanne H. McCarthy, *The Children's Troupes and the Transformation of English Theater 1509–1608: Pedagogue Playwrights, Playbooks, and Play-Boys* (London, 2017), 22–38. Kathryn M. Moncrief and Kathryn R. McPherson's collection on pedagogy and performance surprisingly does not consider boy actors in conjunction with schoolboys: see *Performing Pedagogy in Early Modern England: Gender, Instruction and Performance* (Aldershot, 2013).
- 6 Wesley, 'Mulcaster's Boys', 71.
- 7 See Robert S. Knapp, 'The Academic Drama', in *A Companion to Renaissance Drama*, ed. Arthur F. Kinney (Oxford, 2002), 257–65, esp. 261.
- 8 DeMolen, *Richard Mulcaster*, 143.
- 9 Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearian Playing Companies* (Cambridge, 1996), 218. For more on the shared ideologies and realities of education and professional theatre in the period, see Richard Preiss and Deanne Williams, eds, *Childhood, Education and the Stage in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2017), a book whose essays pay 'specific attention to the cultural and ideological matrices of theatre and education in which children were always enmeshed and for whose ends they were made to signify' (4). Curiously, no essay in the collection mentions Mulcaster's teaching or theatrical practice.

- 10 Richard L. DeMolen, 'Richard Mulcaster and the Elizabethan Theatre', *Theatre Survey* 13.1 (1972), <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0040557400004828>. A notable exception is the third chapter of Darryll Grantley's study of education's shaping force on early modern drama, though this still does not consider the overlaps between Mulcaster's teachings and the boy companies. See Grantley, *Wit's Pilgrimage: Theatre and the Social Impact of Education in Early Modern England* (London, 2000), 71–102.
- 11 Performance dates are based on those given in Martin Wiggins, in association with Catherine Richardson, *British Drama 1533–1642: A Catalogue*, 10 vols (Oxford, 2012-).
- 12 Francis Beaumont, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (London, 1613; STC: 1674), B4r.
- 13 Edel Lamb, *Performing Childhood in the Early Modern Theatre: The Children's Playing Companies (1599–1613)* (Basingstoke, 2009), 93.
- 14 Amanda Eubanks Winkler, *Music, Dance, and Drama in Early Modern English Schools* (Cambridge, 2020), 162.
- 15 Wesley, 'Mulcaster's Boys'.
- 16 Gina Bloom, *Voice in Motion: Staging Gender, Shaping Sound in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia, 2007), 32.
- 17 See Tom Bishop, 'Shakespeare's Theater Games', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 40.1 (2010), <https://doi.org/10.1215/10829636-2009-014>; Gina Bloom, 'Games', in *Early Modern Theatricality*, ed. Henry S. Turner (Oxford, 2013), 189–211; Gina Bloom, *Gaming the Stage: Playable Media and the Rise of English Commercial Theater* (Ann Arbor, 2018); Erika T. Lin, 'Recreating the Eye of the Beholder: Dancing and Spectacular Display in Early Modern English Theatre', *Dance Research Journal* 43.1 (2011 Supplement), <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0149767711000246>; Erika T. Lin, *Shakespeare and the Materiality of Performance* (Basingstoke, 2012); and Evelyn Tribble, *Early Modern Actors and Shakespeare's Theatre: Thinking with the Body* (London, 2017).
- 18 Richard Mulcaster, *Positions VVherin those Primitiue Circumstances Be Examined, which Are Necessarie for the Training Vp of Children, Either for Skill in Their Booke, or Health in Their Bodie* (London, 1581; STC: 18253), A1v. All subsequent references to this text cite signature numbers parenthetically.
- 19 Jacqueline Cousin-Desjobert, *Richard Mulcaster c. 1531–1611: Un éducateur de la Renaissance anglaise* (Paris, 2013), 176, 119 (my translation).
- 20 Bartholomeus Anglicus, *Batman vppon Bartholome His Booke 'De Proprietatibus Rerum' ... Profitable for All Estates, as well for the Benefite of the Mind as the Bodie*, trans. Stephen Batman (London, 1582; STC: 1538), O1r.
- 21 Francis Bacon, *The Essayes or Counsels, Ciuill and Morall, of Francis Lo. Verulum, Viscount St. Alban. Newly Written* (London, 1625; STC: 1148), Hh1r. Scholars are

- beginning to take seriously the phrase 'feats of activity' as a highly theatrical term: see Clare McManus, 'Feats of Activity and the Tragic Stage', *Engendering the Stage*, last modified 30 April 2019, <http://engenderingthestage.humanities.mcmaster.ca/2019/04/30/feats-of-activity-and-the-tragic-stage/>.
- 22 In his defence of archery, *Toxophilus*, Ascham declares the particular suitability of youths to shooting, an exercise which 'encreaseth strength, and preserveth health moost, beinge not vehement, but moderate, not overlaying any one part with werysomnesse, but softly exercisyng every parte with equalnesse'; Roger Ascham, *Toxophilus the Schole of Shootinge Contayned in Two Bookes* (London, 1545; STC: 837), B3r. Elyot, expanding the discussions of youthful physicality of his earlier *The Boke, Named The Governour in The Castel of Helth*, prefigures Ascham in stating the aptness of youth to exert themselves through sport. See Thomas Elyot, *The Castel of Helth ... Whereby Every Manne May Knowe the State of His Owne Body, the Preservation of Helth, and How to Instructe Welle His Physytion in Syckenes That He Be Not Deceyved* (London, 1539; STC: 7643), G2r–v.
  - 23 See William Barker, ed., *Richard Mulcaster's Positions Concerning the Training Up of Children* (Toronto, 1994), xxiii; Dennis Brailsford, *Sport and Society: Elizabeth to Anne* (London, 1969), 41; and DeMolen, *Richard Mulcaster*, 12. Brailsford does, however, suggest that while Mulcaster's recommended activities were likely not practiced nationwide, 'In his own schools, at Merchant Taylors' and during the last years of the century at St. Paul's, Mulcaster's zeal for the physical well-being of his pupils undoubtedly showed in practice' (44). Barker likewise admits that Mulcaster seems to speak from experience — in his consideration of whether all boys will have a ready supply of shirts to change into after exercise, for instance (Barker, 380; Mulcaster, R2r–v).
  - 24 Greg Downey, 'Educating the Eyes: Biocultural Anthropology and Physical Education', *Anthropology in Action* 12.2 (2005), 57, <https://doi.org/10.3167/096720105793233922>.
  - 25 Ibid.
  - 26 Quintilian, *The Orator's Education, Volume I: Books 1–2*, ed. and trans. Donald A. Russell (Cambridge, MA, 2002), 1.11.1, 8–11; 239–41; Quintilian, *The Orator's Education, Volume V: Books 11–12*, ed. and trans. Donald A. Russell (Cambridge, MA, 2002), 11.3.69–128; 121–51.
  - 27 See John H. Astington, 'Timoclea at the Siege of Thebes', *Lost Plays Database*, last modified 2010, [https://lostplays.folger.edu/Timoclea\\_at\\_the\\_Siege\\_of\\_Thebes](https://lostplays.folger.edu/Timoclea_at_the_Siege_of_Thebes).
  - 28 See June Schlueter and Misha Teramura, 'Ariodante and Geneva', *Lost Plays Database*, last modified 2015, [https://lostplays.folger.edu/Ariodante\\_and\\_Genevra](https://lostplays.folger.edu/Ariodante_and_Genevra); Wiggins and Richardson, *British Drama 1533–1642: A Catalogue*, 2.312.

- 29 Wiggins and Richardson, *British Drama 1533–1642: A Catalogue*, 2.109–10.
- 30 Ibid, 107; Astington, ‘Timoclea’; Albert Feuillerat, ed., *Documents Relating to the Office of the Revels in the Time of Queen Elizabeth* (Louvain, 1908), 206, 208–11.
- 31 Establishing the precise location of the ‘playhouse’ has proven notoriously difficult, though scholars are now generally in agreement that W. Reavely Gair’s suggestion of a minuscule playhouse within the cloisters is implausible. The ‘playhouse’ in fact seems to have been located on one of the floors of the almonry where the choirmaster and his singing charges lived and rehearsed. See W. Reavely Gair, *The Children of Paul’s: The Story of a Theatre Company, 1553–1608* (Cambridge, 1982), 54–60; Herbert Berry, ‘Where Was the Playhouse in which the Boy Choristers of St Paul’s Cathedral Performed Plays?’, *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 13 (2001), 101–16; Roger Bowers, ‘The Playhouse of the Choristers of Paul’s, c. 1575–1608’, *Theatre Notebook* 54.2 (2000), 70–85. Most recently, José A. Pérez Díez has nuanced these suggestions, arguing that the ‘playhouse’ was in fact the same room used for the singing school in the almonry; ‘The “Playhouse” at St Paul’s: What We Know of the Theatre in the Almonry’, in *Old St Paul’s and Culture*, ed. Shanyin Altman and Jonathan Buckner (Cham, 2021), 197–220.
- 32 From 1599, the master of this company was Edward Pearce, who was appointed choirmaster that same year (see Gurr, *The Shakespearian Playing Companies*, 219, 339). Picking up on Michael Shapiro’s tentative suggestion that playing at Paul’s may have resumed as early as 1596–97, some scholars have, however, suggested that Mulcaster was initially responsible for the earlier revival before passing the company on to Pearce. Shapiro locates in a 1660 account of a Middle Temple entertainment from Christmas 1597–98 a reference to going to ‘any Play at Pauls’ among a list of offences chargeable by mock trial. However, given that the account, usually attributed to Benjamin Rudyard, was not published until half a century after playing at Paul’s had come to an end, and that the ambiguous reference to ‘Pauls’ cannot be taken as definitive evidence of professional playhouse activity, I remain sceptical of the evidential weight of this reference. See Shapiro, ‘*Le Prince d’Amour* and the Resumption of Playing at Paul’s’, *Notes and Queries* 18.1 (1971), <https://doi.org/10.1093/nq/18-1-14>. Those who tentatively follow Shapiro’s suggestion include DeMolen, *Richard Mulcaster*, 166–7; DeMolen, ‘Richard Mulcaster and the Elizabethan Theatre’, 35; Wesley, ‘Mulcaster’s Boys’, 72.
- 33 See Astington, *Actors and Acting*, 52–6; Herbert Berry in Glynne Wickham, Herbert Berry, and William Ingram, eds, *English Professional Theatre, 1530–1660* (Cambridge, 2000), 307; Gair, *The Children of Paul’s*; and Shen Lin, ‘How Old Were the Children of Paul’s?’, *Theatre Notebook* 45.3 (1991), 125–7.

- 34 Linda Phyllis Austern, *Music in English Children's Drama of the Later Renaissance* (Philadelphia, 1992), 20; Lin, 'How Old Were the Children of Paul's?', 125. The two boys in question are John Norwood and Robert Coles, who are named in a stage direction at the beginning of act 4, scene 1 of *Antonio and Mellida*: 'Enter Andrugio, Lucio, Cole and Norwood'; John Marston, *The History of Antonio and Mellida. The First Part* (London, 1602; STC: 17473), F4v. (All subsequent references cite signature numbers in this edition parenthetically.) As Andrugio and Lucio are the only characters on stage at this point, the two boys must have played these two roles.
- 35 Pérez Díez, 'The "Playhouse" at St Paul's', 199.
- 36 Austern, *Music in English Children's Drama*, 7; Roze F. Hentschell, "'Our Children Made Enterluders": Choristers, Actors, and Students in St Paul's Cathedral Precinct', *Early Theatre* 19.2 (2016), 185–7, <https://doi.org/10.12745/et.19.2.2837>; Pérez Díez, 'The "Playhouse" at St Paul's', 199. Pérez Díez's suggestion that the 'playhouse' was more frequently used as a singing school lends further credence to the notion of overlaps between pedagogical and performance activity at Paul's.
- 37 Roze F. Hentschell, *St Paul's Cathedral Precinct in Early Modern Literature and Culture: Spatial Practices* (Oxford, 2020), 173.
- 38 *Ibid.*, 172. This hybrid composition of choirboys and grammar school pupils was not unique to Paul's. Evidence recently brought to light by Lucy Munro suggests that the Children of the Chapel/Queen's Revels also exploited a legal loophole to recruit choristers as actors until 1606. See Munro, 'Living by Others' Pleasure: Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan*, and Theatrical Profit', *Early Theatre* 23.1 (2020), 114–16, <https://doi.org/10.12745/et.23.1.4165>.
- 39 See Claire M. Busse, "'Pretty Fictions" and "Little Stories": Child Actors on the Early Modern Stage', in *Childhood and Children's Books in Early Modern Europe: 1550–1800*, ed. Andrea Immel and Michael Witmore (London, 2006), 75–101, esp. 83; Lamb, *Performing Childhood*, 20; Bart van Es, *Shakespeare in Company* (Oxford, 2013), 200; and Michael Witmore, *Pretty Creatures: Children and Fiction in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca, 2007), 108–27.
- 40 An exception is Evelyn Tribble's chapter on the play, which focuses on the skilled physical performance of old age by the juvenile troupe. See Tribble, 'Kinesic Intelligence on the Early Modern English Stage', in *Movement in Renaissance Literature: Exploring Kinesic Intelligence*, ed. Kathryn Banks and Timothy Chesters (Basingstoke, 2018), 213–24.
- 41 Lamb, *Performing Childhood*, 20.
- 42 Simon Smith, 'Acting Amiss: Towards a History of Actorly Craft and Playhouse Judgement', *Shakespeare Survey* 70 (2017), 188–99.

- 43 Jonson owned a copy of *Positions*. Though Barker argues that he refers to the work 'Nowhere in his published writing', I suggest that its influence on Jonson is nevertheless discernible in *Cynthia's Revels* and its performance by some of Mulcaster's former pupils. See Barker, ed., *Richard Mulcaster's Positions*, xxxvi.
- 44 Ben Jonson, *The VVorkes of Beniamin Ionson* (London, 1616; STC: 14752), Z3v.
- 45 Cited in F.H. Fleay, *A Chronicle History of the English Stage* (London, 1890), 128.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Lucy Munro, *Children of the Queen's Revels: A Jacobean Theatre Repertory* (Cambridge, 2005), 37–8. See also Harry R. McCarthy, 'The Circulation of Youthful Energy on the Early Modern London Stage: Migration, Intertheatricality, and "Growing to Common Players"', *Shakespeare Survey* 73 (2020), 55–9.
- 48 Matthew Steggle, 'Casting the Prelude in *Cynthia's Revels*', *Notes and Queries* 50.1 (2003), <https://doi.org/10.1093/nq/500062>.
- 49 See Gurr, *Shakespearean Stage*, 117; Steve Orman, 'Nathan Field's Theatre of Excess: Youth Culture and Bodily Excess on the Early Modern Stage (1600–1613)', PhD thesis (Canterbury Christ Church University, 2014), 237.
- 50 Ben Jonson, *The Fountaine of Selfe-Loue. Or Cynthias Reuels* (London, 1601; STC: 14773), F3v. Subsequent references to this edition are cited parenthetically.
- 51 John Marston, *VVhat You VVill* (London, 1607; STC: 17487), C4r–D1r. Subsequent references to signature numbers in this edition appear parenthetically.
- 52 Lamb, *Performing Childhood*, 103
- 53 DeMolen 'Richard Mulcaster', 36–7; Gair, *The Children of Paul's*, 140–1.
- 54 For more on the extraordinary demands *What You Will* makes of its actors, see Will Tosh, 'John Marston's *What You Will*, Plausible Plants and the Children of Paul's', in *Old St Paul's and Culture*, ed. Shanyn Altman and Jonathan Buckner (Cham, 2021), 243–65.
- 55 Ross W. Duffin suggests that Rosaline's 'Caranto pase' is performed to 'a skipping compound duple meter and a fast tempo', further signalling the impressive nature of the set piece. See Ross W. Duffin, *Some Other Note: The Lost Songs of English Renaissance Comedy* (Oxford, 2018), 274.
- 56 John Marston, *Iacke Drums Entertainment: or The Comedie of Pasquill and Katherine* (London, 1601; STC: 7243), H3v–4r. Subsequent references to this edition appear parenthetically.
- 57 Barbara Ravelhofer defines a galliard as a 'five-step routine in triple time, which gave much space to elaboration and diversification by choreographers, solo exhibition by dancers ... and on-the-spot improvisation in performance'. See Barbara Ravelhofer, 'Middleton and Dance', in *The Oxford Handbook of Thomas Middleton*, ed. Gary Taylor and Trish Thomas Henley (Oxford, 2012), 131–46, 132.

- 58 Thomas Dekker and John Webster, *North-vvard Hoe* (London, 1607; STC: 6539), A2v.
- 59 Inset walking also occurs in Thomas Dekker's *Satiromastix*, performed at Paul's in 1601, when Horace 'walkes vp and downe'; Thomas Dekker, *Satiro-mastix. Or The Vntrussing of the Humorous Poet* (London, 1602; STC: 6521), E4r–v. In perhaps another exhibition of the healthy body Mulcaster's teaching strives to foster, a stage direction in Middleton's *Michaelmas Term* (performed 1604–06) dictates that Falslight enter 'like a Porter, sweating'; Thomas Middleton, *Michaelmas Terme* (London, 1607; STC: 17890), D3v.
- 60 Berry, 'Where Was the Playhouse'; Bowers, 'The Playhouse'.
- 61 Berry, 'Where Was the Playhouse', 113.
- 62 Pérez Díez, 'The "Playhouse" at St Paul's', 208.
- 63 Will Tosh, *Playing Indoors: Staging Early Modern Drama in the Sam Wanamaker Playhouse* (London, 2018), 67.
- 64 Nick Kaye, *Multi-Media: Video, Installation, Performance* (London, 2007), 139. For more on the production, see 'To You, the Birdie!', *The Wooster Group*, last modified 2006, <http://thewoostergroup.org/to-you-the-birdie>.
- 65 See Harry R. McCarthy, *Boy Actors in Early Modern England: Skill and Stagecraft in the Theatre* (Cambridge, forthcoming).
- 66 I borrow the term from Ivo Jirásek and Geoffrey Zain Kohe. See 'Readjusting Our Sporting Sites/Sight: Sportification and the Theatricality of Social Life', *Sport, Ethics and Philosophy* 9.3 (2015), <https://doi.org/10.1080/17511321.2015.1065433>. See also Donald Hedrick, 'Real Entertainment: Sportification, Coercion, and Carceral Theater', in *Thunder at a Playhouse: Essaying Shakespeare and the Early Modern Stage*, ed. Peter Kanelos and Matt Kozusko (Selinsgrove, 2010), 50–66.
- 67 Bloom, 'Games,' 193.
- 68 On the differences between the two versions of the play, see Gair, *The Children of Paul's*, 62–4; Matteo A. Pangallo, *Playwriting Playgoers in Shakespeare's Theater* (Philadelphia, 2017), 133.
- 69 William Percy, *Mahomet and His Heaven: A Critical Edition*, ed. Matthew Dimmock (Aldershot, 2006). Parenthetical citations reference this edition.
- 70 Duffin plausibly conjectures that the song was intended to be sung in a round at 4/4 time (*Some Other Note*, 565).
- 71 On the complex nature of the scene, see Ackroyd, *Child Actors*, 176–8; Dimmock in Percy, *Mahomet*, 242–7; Jonathan H. Long, 'The Music in Percy's Play Manuscripts', *Renaissance Papers, 1980* (London, 1980), 39–44, 41–2.
- 72 Ackroyd, *Child Actors*, 177.

- 73 See Patrick Kincaid, 'John Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan* and William Percy's *The Cuck-Queanes and Cuckolds Errants*', *Notes and Queries* 48.3 (2001), 309–10, <https://doi.org/10.1093/nq/48-3-309>.
- 74 Pangallo, *Playwriting Playgoers*, 128.
- 75 Thomas Dekker, *Blurt Master-Constable. Or The Spaniards Night-Walke* (London, 1602; STC: 17876), C1r.
- 76 Anon, *The Wisdome of Doctor Dodypoll* (London, 1600; STC: 6991), F1r.
- 77 William H. McNeill, *Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History* (Cambridge, MA, 1995), 10, 2.
- 78 See McCarthy, 'The Circulation of Youthful Energy', 56–7; Orman, 'Nathan Field's Theatre of Excess', 238. On Beaumont's connection to Field, see Hilton Kelliher, 'Francis Beaumont and Nathan Field: New Records of Their Early Years', *English Manuscript Studies* 8 (2000), 26–7.
- 79 *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (Oxford, 2019), s.v. 'pretty, adj. A.1.a.'
- 80 George Chapman, *Al Fooles* (London, 1605; STC: 4963), E2v; John Day, *Lavv-Trickes, or, Who VVould Have Thought It* (London, 1608; STC: 6416), D3r.
- 81 Chapman, *May-Day A VVitty Comedie* (London, 1611; STC: 4980), H3r; Ben Jonson, *Ben: Ionson, His Case is Alterd* (London, 1609, STC: 14757), D4r–v.
- 82 Beaumont, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, G1r; George Chapman, Ben Jonson, and John Marston, *Eastward Hoe* (London, 1605; STC: 4971), A4v.
- 83 Chapman, Jonson, and Marston, *Eastward Hoe*, F2r; Jonson, *Case is Alterd*, G2r; Marston, *Parasitaster, or The Fawne* (London, 1606; STC: 17483), H3r.
- 84 Day, *The Ile of Gvls* (London, 1606; STC: 6412), E1r–E2r. The match was staged at the same Research in Action workshop as the badminton match in *What You Will* (see above).