Introduction
Survivors of the Stage

In *Pleasant Notes upon Don Quixot* (1654), printed twelve years after a Parliamentary ordinance outlawed the public performance of plays, Edmund Gayton mourns the loss of "our late stage" and celebrates the endurance of printed playbooks, which

> [s]tand firme, and are read with as much satisfaction as when presented on the stage, they were with applause and honour. Indeed, their names now may be very wel chang'd & call'd the works not playes of *Iohnson, Beaumont and Fletcher, Cartwright*, and the rest, which are survivers of the stage.[1]

The closure of the theatres finally settled an old aesthetic controversy. Four decades prior, Ben Jonson was mocked for naming his play collection *Works* (1616); by 1640, his presumption was still a target for derision: "Pray tell me *Ben*, where doth the mistery lurke, / What others call a play you call a work."[2] In 1654, Gayton affirms the "works" label and its claims for the drama's enduring value, not only for Jonson but also for Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, and William Cartwright (all of whom had been recently published in posthumous dramatic collections), as well as "the rest," a locution that consolidates a wide range of unnamed dramatists into a coherent group. Gayton does not say that the "works" label for plays was always valid. Rather, he locates English drama's transformation in the present moment, that plays' "names *now* may be . . . *chang'd*" into works. The catalyst of this transformation is the theatrical prohibition itself, which spurred theatrical nostalgia, print publication, and play-reading, all crucial factors in English drama's cultural ascendancy. From the perspective of 1654, the recalled theatre is not morally dubious, but is associated with "applause and honour," able to both entertain and edify. Gayton pronounces the theatre dead, but the dramatic work has escaped

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[1] Edmund Gayton, *Pleasant Notes upon Don Quixot* (London: William Hunt, 1654), p. 273.
[2] *Wit's Recreation* (London: Humphry Blunden, 1640), sig. G3v.

alive, "standing firm" in print and supplying similar satisfactions to the reader as it once did to the playgoer. Playbooks are what remain of an idealized theatrical culture, now extinct: the treasured "survivors" of the "late stage."

On 2 September 1642, English Parliament banned public performance with an ordinance stating that "[p]ublic Stage-plays . . . being Spectacles of Pleasure, too commonly expressing lascivious Mirth and Levity," do not agree "with the Seasons of Humiliation" and ordering that "[p]ublic Stage Plays shall cease, and be forborn."[3] This order was issued shortly after the outbreak of the first English Civil War, which had started two weeks earlier, on 24 August 1642. Criticism traditionally regarded the theatrical ordinance as the culmination of a long-standing anti-theatrical grudge borne by the Puritans who dominated Parliament in the mid seventeenth century. Later critics described the ordinance as a pragmatic attempt to establish public safety in a volatile moment by discouraging large gatherings of people.[4] Even more recently, these revisionist accounts have themselves been revised. N. W. Bawcutt notes that, although characterizing the theatrical prohibition as a "Puritan ban" on theatre oversimplifies things, ideology did motivate the 1642 closures.[5] The architect of the ordinance was Francis Rous, a committed Calvinist who characterized playhouses as "Churches of Satan" and advocated the replacement of "lascivious" stage plays with fasting.[6]

No matter Parliament's intention, however, the ordinance of 1642 immediately and lastingly devastated the English theatre industry. Initially framed as a temporary measure, active "while these sad causes and set Times of Humiliation do continue," public performance was banned in England for eighteen years, throughout the English Civil Wars (1642–51) and Interregnum (1649–60), until both English theatre and the monarchy were restored in 1660. It is true that the public stage was never fully silenced; illegal performances continued in London and in the provinces across this period. Yet illegal performance, undertaken in reduced

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[3] "Order for Stage-Plays to Cease," in *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642–1660*, ed. C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1911), pp. 26–7.

[4] Martin Butler, *Theatre and Crisis 1632–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 1–24.

[5] N. W. Bawcutt, "Puritanism and the Closing of the Theaters in 1642," *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 22 (2009), 179–200 (p. 200).

[6] Christopher Matusiak, "Elizabeth Beeston, Sir Lewis Kirke, and the Cockpit's Management during the English Civil Wars," *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 27 (2014), 161–91.

theatrical circumstances and subject to punishing raids, could not compare with the economically and creatively vibrant theatrical tradition prior to 1642. The theatrical prohibition effectively eliminated acting and play-writing as viable professions. Gayton's remarks exemplify how the closure of the theatres was described as a form of cultural death in the mid seventeenth century. For eighteen years, the dramatic text was the only legitimate way to consume professional plays, that is, plays produced for the commercial theatres and staged by professional actors starting around 1567, when the first purpose-built theatre was constructed. English playbooks printed after 1642 simultaneously gestured to the death of theatre and enabled the drama to survive.

Theatre Closure and the Paradoxical Rise of English Renaissance Drama in the Civil Wars offers a posthumous history of early modern professional drama during the eighteen-year theatrical prohibition. Despite the perva-sive metaphor about the death of theatre, English drama did not disap-pear during the Interregnum. Nor did the prohibition cause people to simply forget about the professional theatrical tradition of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Indeed, the opposite occurred. Far from being a dramatic dead zone, the era of the theatre ban was a time of intense dramatic production, innovation, and reflection – on the stage, on the page, and in the cultural imagination. Newly rare and illicit, theatrical activity was increasingly prized among theatre practitioners and aficionados; actors and spectators risked imprisonment and steep fines to stage and attend clandestine performances. The decline of theatrical infrastructure and threat of raids led to the advent of a new theatrical form, the "droll": short playlets extracted from professional plays that could be staged cheaply and quickly. In the book market, English drama thrived. There was a surge in first editions of professional plays, reversing the publication trends of the previous four decades. The period witnessed the invention of several new English dramatic forms in print – the first serialized play collection, the first dramatic anthology, the first compre-hensive bibliography of English plays in print – and the proliferation of dramatic commentary in paratexts. Yet even as it appeared in novel forms, English professional drama was associated with a quickly receding cultural past. That 1642 was seen to mark the death of English theatre provided contemporaries with critical distance and a sense of historical otherness that enabled them to take stock of their own theatrical past. This led to pre-1642 drama – what we now call "Renaissance" or "early modern" drama – being viewed as a distinct genre and critical field.

"Old Plays" from "The Last Age"

The year 1642 was regarded as a historical breach. Critics have noted that "the last age" was a phrase consistently used after 1660 to describe the political and cultural life of the pre-1642 period.[7] In *Historia Histrionica* (1699), James Wright's nostalgic dialogue on theatre history, the speaker Lovewit wishes that "they had Printed in the last Age (so I call the times before the Rebellion) the Actors names over the Parts they Acted, as they have done since the Restauration. And thus one might have guest at the Action of the men, by the Parts which we now read in the Old plays."[8] The "last age" is here defined politically (the moment "before the Rebellion") but also in terms of dramatic culture, as a theatrical moment not adequately materialized by print culture: Wright wishes that playbooks printed before 1642 included cast lists (as Restoration playbooks tended to do), to give insights into the performances of long-gone actors. That playbooks printed "before the Rebellion" usually omitted lists of actors' names alongside their parts represents a lost opportunity, a missing historical artefact that cannot be retrieved. Most importantly, Wright's dialogue reveals a conception of a dramatic category linked to a particular period: "old plays" from the "last age." We see similar references across the post-1660 period: as their titles hint, John Dryden's *Essay on the Dramatic Poetry of the Last Age* (1672), appended to his *Conquest of Grenada,* and Thomas Rymer's *Tragedies of the Last Age* (1678) each present the drama of Shakespeare, Fletcher, Jonson, and their dramatic contemporaries as a distinct category of plays from a bygone era. Dryden elsewhere refers to pre-1642 dramatists as an antediluvian breed sundered by a historical cataclysm: "the Gyant Race, before the Flood."[9] When the public theatre resumed in 1660, the pre-1642 plays divided between Thomas Killigrew's King's Company and William Davenant's Duke's Company were called

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[7] See "The Last Age," in David Haley, *Dryden and the Problem of Freedom: The Republican Aftermath, 1649–1680* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 140–72; Jack Lynch, *The Age of Elizabeth in the Age of Johnson* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 7–8, pp. 143–64; Paul Hammond, "The Restoration Poetic and Dramatic Canon," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Volume IV, 1557–1695*, ed. John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie with Maureen Bell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 388–409 (pp. 390–1).

[8] James Wright, Historia Histrionica: An Historical Account of the English Stage, *Shewing the Ancient Use, Improvement and Perfection of Dramatick Representations in This Nation in a Dialogue of Plays and Players* (London: William Haws, 1699), p. 3.

[9] John Dryden, "To My Dear Friend Mr. Congreve on His Comedy Call'd the *Double Dealer*," in William Congreve, *The Double Dealer* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1694), sig. a2r–v. See Gunnar Sorelius, *'The Giant Race before the Flood': Pre-Restoration Drama on the Stage and in the Criticism of the Restoration* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1966).

"Principal Old Stock Plays."[10] The designation of "old plays" was not only a critical term deployed by drama critics like Dryden and Rymer, or a means for theatre managers to organize their offerings. The wider public also conceived of pre-1642 plays as a distinct category, as we see from John Evelyn's diary entry of 1661 in reference to *Hamlet*: "Now the old plays begin to disgust this refined age."[11]

References to "old plays" from the "last age" as a way to conceptualize pre-1642 drama were pervasive after 1660. Yet the notion (if not the specific language) of the pre-1642 period as the "last age" was also apparent during the 1640s and 1650s. The perception of historical distance is plastic; once a critical rupture is perceived, even temporally recent moments can seem distant.[12] Critics observe how the violent political, social, and cultural upheaval of the English Reformation produced a sense of historical discontinuity and contrast that came to be seen as the divide between the medieval and early modern periods. Tim Harris observes that historical periods "reflect patterns that have become discernible only from the vantage of hindsight."[13] It is suggested by the etymology of "period," meaning "to terminate": crucial to periodization is the sense of a clearly demarcated end.[14] The first decades of the 1500s came to be regarded by contemporaries as a physical and institutional break with the past; the moment immediately prior came to be seen as "something distant and sharply *different*" as James Simpson explains.[15] As commentators both then and now have noted, the early 1640s effected changes comparable to the Reformation. Thanks to the palpable destruction wreaked by the English Revolution, individuals in the

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[10] John Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus* (London: H. Playford, 1708), p. 9.

[11] John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E. S. de Beer, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), III, p. 304 (26 November 1661).

[12] Angus Vine, *In Defiance of Time: Antiquarian Writing in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 17. See also Lucien Febvre's notion of the "passé imprecis" in *Le Problem de l'incroyance au XVIe siècle: La religion de Rabelais* (Paris: Editions Alain Michel, 1948), pp. 432–3.

[13] Tim Harris, "Periodizing the Early Modern: The Historian's View," in *Early Modern Histories of Time*, ed. Owen Williams and Kristen Poole (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), pp. 21–35 (p. 22).

[14] Nigel Smith, "Time Boundaries and Time Shifts in Early Modern Literary Studies," in *Early Modern Histories of Time*, ed. Owen Williams and Kirsten Poole, pp. 36–53 (p. 37).

[15] James Simpson, "Ageism: Leland, Bale and the Laborious Start of English Literary History, 1350–1550," *New Medieval Literatures* 1 (1997), 213–35 (p. 221). On creation of divide between the medieval and early modern periods, see Margreta de Grazia, "The Modern Divide: From Either Side," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 37.7 (2007), 453–67; Brian Cummings and James Simpson, eds., *Cultural Reformations: Medieval and Renaissance in Literary History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Alexandra Walsham, "History, Memory, and the English Reformation," *The Historical Journal*, 55.4 (2012), 899–938. On periodization, see Ted Underwood, *Why Literary Periods Mattered: Historical Contrast and the Prestige of English Studies* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013).

1640s and 1650s had a sense of living through a moment of abrupt historical change, and of the fundamental alterity of the preceding period, which was chronologically close but culturally distant. Contemporaries conceived of a difference between their present and the past conceived as such, as a moment existing on the other side of a historical watershed.

While references to the "last age" are limited between 1642 and 1660, the period offers many references to "old plays." A report of an illegal performance of Beaumont and Fletcher's *A King and No King* in 1647 states that the players were "playing the old play."[16] The Puritan John Rowe describes a disastrous provincial performance of *Mucedorus* in 1653 by stating, "This Play was an old Play, and had been Acted by some of Santon-Har-court men many years since."[17] The first edition of the pre-1642 professional play titled *The Queen* (1653) is called an "Excellent old play" on its title page. Even though *A King and No King, Mucedorus*, and *The Queen* were in active circulation on stage and in print in the Interregnum, they were classified as "old plays" because the moment in which they were created was seen to be over. The sense of a dramatic watershed helped create the impression of broader historical watershed: that is, part of the formulation of the "last age" as a general term for pre-1642 England was the fact that it was the cultural home to "old plays."

The closure of the theatres prematurely aged English professional drama as a class of texts, rendering the drama newly venerable and consolidating the wide variety of plays from the previous seven decades into a select grouping. "Old plays from the last age" turned out to be an enduring dramatic category – at least, the plays embraced by that label continue to be thought of as a coherent group, now called "Renaissance" or "early modern" drama, or plays from "Shakespeare's time."[18] In this book, the label "pre-1642 drama" is mostly used for clarity, but "early modern" and "Renaissance" are also used; while these specific labels are anachronistic

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[16] *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, 5–12 October 1647.
[17] John Rowe, *Tragicomoedia, or a Relation of the Wonderful Hand of God at Witney* (Oxford: Henry Cripps, 1653), sig. ¶4v.
[18] Tracing the rise of these later designations for English drama is beyond the scope of this book. But Jakob Burckhardt's *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860) conceived of the "Renaissance" as the rebirth of individuality and subjectivity in line with the cultures of classical antiquity. Referring to Shakespeare as a "renaissance dramatist" emphasized his use of classical dramatic genres, tragedy and comedy and classical sources like Plutarch. The critical term "early modern" gained traction in the 1980s with the advent of New Historicism, which sought to incorporate literary study into a wider account of politics, economics, and history as part of understanding modernity. See David Wiles, "Medieval, Renaissance and Early Modern Theatre," in *The Cambridge Companion to Theatre History*, ed. David Wiles and Christine Dymkowski (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 55–72 (pp. 63–4).

insofar as they were not used in the 1640s and 1650s, they are useful as current critical terms that correspond to a category of drama emerging in the mid seventeenth century. No matter what we call it, the dramatic category and field of study bound by the theatre closures in 1642 has remained remarkably consistent since the 1640s. As Ellen MacKay notes, "the terminus of the English stage's 'golden age' is uncommonly absolute – no date serves the turn of dramatic periodization better than 1642."[19] Martin Wiggins argues that the year 1642 "sliced" dramatic culture like a "guillotine," connecting the stark finality of the theatre closures with the execution of King Charles I, seven years later.[20] As we shall see, contemporaries made the same connection between theatrical and political life in the 1640s and 1650s. Conceiving of a distinct dramatic category defined by 1642 as a terminal boundary is a legacy of mid seventeenth-century discourse.

If the pre-1642 period is the "last age," what about the period from 1642 to 60? Partly because 1642 has served as a reliable period boundary for so long, drama scholars often ignore the subsequent eighteen years, regarding this period as a cultural vacuum.[21] Susan Wiseman observes that, for drama scholars, discussion of the theatrical ordinance of 1642 often replaces study of the next eighteen years.[22] In fact, dramatic publication and performance continued throughout the period, and dramatic criticism flourished like never before. In the 1640s and 1650s, we see the first sustained body of inquiry of the English theatrical and dramatic "past" conceived as the past. The notion that the pre-1642 period represented a distinct cultural moment – the "last age" – with a discrete collection of plays ("old plays") paved the way for a coherent system of critical study and disciplinary analysis.

Crucial to this development was the pervasive sense of cultural loss: a sense of decline spurs an urge to preserve the past. The historiographical impulse gains particular urgency in moments of perceived widespread destruction: "ruins may make historians," as Margaret Aston pithily puts it.[23] This monograph draws on theories about the relationships between

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[19] Ellen MacKay, *Persecution, Plague and Fire: Fugitive Histories of the Stage in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), p. 196.

[20] Martin Wiggins, "Where to Find Lost Plays," in *Lost Plays in Shakespeare's England*, ed. David McInnis and Matthew Steggle (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 255–78 (p. 264).

[21] Susan Wiseman, *Drama and Politics in the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 1–16; Margaret J. M. Ezell, *The Oxford English Literary History, Volume V: 1645–1714: The Later Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. xviii.

[22] Wiseman, *Drama and Politics*, pp. 1–2.

[23] Margaret Aston, "English Ruins and English History: The Dissolution and the Sense of the Past," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 36 (1973), 231–55 (pp. 231–2).

loss, death, desire, and historiography.[24] Censorship inevitably calls more attention to that which is suppressed; people are powerfully motivated to seek out that which is denied to them.[25] Susan Stewart notes that "nostalgia cannot be sustained without loss," suggesting how absence prompts idealization.[26] Jonathan Kramnick notes nostalgia's role in any emerging sense of periodization, arguing that "the present understands itself in terms of a past from which it has broken and toward which it casts a longing glance."[27] Adriana Cavarero argues that biography only becomes complete at the moment of death,[28] recognizing that some measure of closure is necessary before one can generate historical narratives. Mark Salber Phillips notes that a perception of "critical distance" is necessary for the practice of historiography,[29] while Lucy Munro notes the importance of historical "otherness" and contrast to establish cultural archaism.[30] The pervasive impression of the death of theatre after 1642 spurred dramatic and theatrical historiography. The allied processes of recollection (in incipient forms of theatre history and dramatic criticism) and collection (the frenetic publication of full-length plays and creation of dramatic compendia) were material substitutes for the lost theatrical past. As theatrical traditions, practitioners, and buildings were swept away, they entered the realm of the idealized historical imagination.

[24] Jacques Lacan, "La Direction de la Cure," in *Ecrits* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1966), p. 642; Richard Boothby, *Death and Desire (RLE: Lacan): Psychoanalytic Theory in Lacan's Return to Freud* (New York: Routledge, 1991); Michel Foucault, *Les mots et les choses* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1966), pp. 376, 387; Jonathan Dollimore, *Death, Desire and Loss in Western Culture* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1998); Graham Holderness, "'I Covet your Skull': Death and Desire in *Hamlet*," in *Shakespeare Survey*, vol. 60, ed. Peter Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 224–37; Douglas Beecher, "Nostalgia and the Renaissance Romance," *Philosophy and Literature*, 34.2 (2010), 281–301 (pp. 285–6); Harriet Philips, *Nostalgia in Print and Performance, 1510–1613* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019); Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2002).
[25] Michael Holquist, "Corrupt Originals: The Paradox of Censorship," *Papers of the Modern Language Association*, 109.1 (1994), 14–25 (p. 14).
[26] Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1992), p. 145.
[27] Jonathan Brody Kramnick, *Making the English Canon: Print-Capitalism and the Cultural Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 53.
[28] Adriana Cavarero, *Relating Narratives: Storytelling and Selfhood* (New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 12–13. See also Andrew Griffin's *Untimely Deaths in Renaissance Drama: Biography, History, Catastrophe* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019); Michael Neill, *Issues of Death: Mortality and Identity in English Renaissance Tragedy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Frank Kermode, *Sense of an Ending: Studies in Theory of Fiction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967).
[29] Mark Salber Phillips, *On Historical Distance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).
[30] Lucy Munro, *Archaic Style in English Literature, 1590–1674* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Theatre Closure posits a conceptual overlap between the play as a "corpse" (or "body," "relic," or "remnant") and the emergence of a corpus of "old" or "dead" plays.[31] Memorial dramatic editions printed before 1642 gathered the "remnants" of stage plays into published collections, and provide an important analogue for printed drama after the closure of the theatres. In the First Shakespeare Folio of 1623, Ben Jonson elegized the "Memory of My Beloved the Author," the late Shakespeare, and characterized his textual corpus as "what he hath left us." Just as the death of the individual dramatist established the conditions of his canonization and the collection of his corpus, so too was the literary elevation and corporatization of English professional drama a posthumous phenomenon. After 1642, an entire theatrical tradition was memorialized, with printed drama regarded as its priceless bequest. In his commendatory poem to Beaumont and Fletcher's first folio (1647), Roger L'Estrange suggests how the closure disrupted the *topos* of literary immortality that is a conventional feature of memorial volumes: "Beaumont and Fletcher: Return'd? Methinks it should not be / No, not in's works: plays are as dead as he."[32] Beaumont and Fletcher are dead, but so too is the stage. Without the vitality of embodied performance, the playbook is simply a corpse. But the Beaumont and Fletcher folio of 1647 is offered as a handsome volume that largely completes the Beaumont and Fletcher authorial corpus (Figure I.1). From the corpse of English professional theatre, the corpus of English Renaissance drama sprouted and bloomed.

Theatre Closure and Theatrical Decline

The closure of the theatres immediately compromised the livelihoods of theatre professionals. In *The Actors Remonstrance or Complaint, for the Silencing of Their Profession, and Banishment from Their Severall Play Houses* (1643), the anonymous author complains of the economic fallout following the theatrical ordinance. Having lost the "Profession which had before maintained us in comely and convenient Equipage," actors are now "left to live upon our shifts, or the expence of our former gettings, to the

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[31] On analogy between "corpse" and "corpus", see Susan Zimmerman in *The Early Modern Corpse and Shakespeare's Theatre* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005); Thea Cervone, "The Corpse as Text: The Polemics of Memory and the Deaths of Charles I and Oliver Cromwell," *Preternature: Critical and Historical Studies on the Preternatural*, 2.1 (2013), 47–72 (pp. 48–9).

[32] Roger L'Estrange, "On the Edition of Mr Francis Beaumonts, and Mr John Fletchers PLAYES Never Printed Before," in Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *Comedies and Tragedies* (London: Humphrey Moseley and Humphrey Robinson, 1647), sig. c1r.
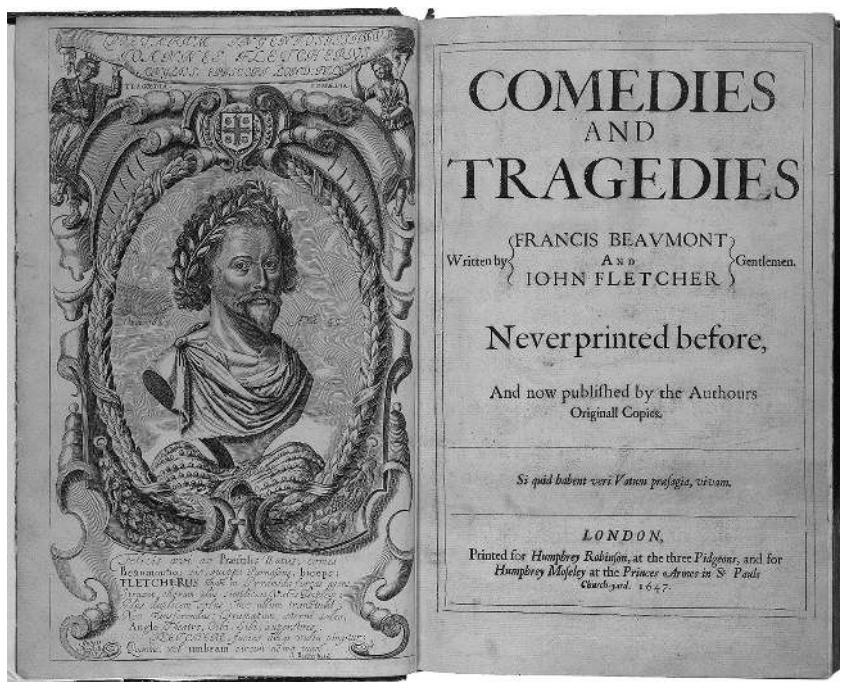
Figure I.1   Frontispiece and title page from Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher,
Comedies and Tragedies (Humphrey Moseley and Humphrey Robinson, 1647).
Courtesy of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

great impoverishment and utter undoing of ourselves, wives, children, and
dependents."[33] The economic damage extended beyond actors and their
families, to playwrights, doorkeepers, and musicians, to the "tiremen" and
others who worked behind the scenes on costumes, wigs, and props,[34] to
the "tobacco-men" and others who sold items and services to spectators.
The author fears that the industry will never recover, noting that "such a
terrible distresse and dissolution hath befallen us, and all those that had
dependance on the stage that it hath quite unmade our hopes of future
recoverie."[35] Such pessimism, however, is belied by the intended function
of the petition, which requests permission to resume playing. Had the

[33] *The Actors Remonstrance or Complaint, for the Silencing of Their Profession, and Banishment from
Their Severall Play Houses* (London: Edward Nickson, 1643), p. 4.
[34] On theatrical labours, see Natasha Korda, *Labour's Lost: Women's Work and the Early Modern
English Stage* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).
[35] *The Actors Remonstrance*, p. 4.