Eva Griffith's book fills a major gap concerning the world of Shakespearean drama. It tells the previously untold story of the Servants of Queen Anna of Denmark – a group of players parallel to Shakespeare's King's Men – and their playhouse, the Red Bull. Built in vibrant Clerkenwell, the Red Bull lay within the northern suburbs of Jacobean London, with prostitution to the west and the Revels Office to the east. Griffith sets the playhouse in the historical context of the Seckford and Bedingfeld families and their connections to the site. Utilising a wealth of primary evidence including maps, plans and archival texts, she analyses the court patronage of figures such as Sir Robert Sidney, Queen Anna's Chamberlain, alongside the company's members, function and repertoire. Plays performed included those by Webster, Dekker and Heywood – entertainments characterised by spectacle, battle sequences and court-room drama, alongside London humour and song.

EVA GRIFFITH is a theatre historian working on early seventeenth-century entertainment, spectacle and drama. She began acting at the age of seven, performing in many film, television and theatre productions. Owing her entire existence to the performance of Shakespeare (her parents met during an Old Vic touring production of A Midsummer Night's Dream), she was encouraged in an interest in literature and history through united family concerns. As an academic she has researched internationally with the help of fellowships, for example, at the Huntington Library and the Harry Ransom Center in America, gaining funding, prizes and bursaries from the British Academy, the Malone Society and the Society for Theatre Research. She has published on Red Bull-related topics in Huntington Library Quarterly and in Richard Dutton's award-winning Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre. She is currently working on a book concerning the poet, playwright and masque-writer, James Shirley, having written about him for The Times Literary Supplement and Four Courts Press. She acted as Research Associate on The Complete Works of James Shirley at Durham University and is editing a play for this large-scale edition – Changes or Love in a Maze.
A JACOBEAN COMPANY
AND ITS PLAYHOUSE

The Queen's Servants at the Red Bull Theatre
(c. 1605–1619)

EVA GRIFFITH
For my mother, Doria Marguerite Jamieson Griffith

I know a bank where the wild thyme blows
Where oxlips and the nodding violet grows …
There sleeps Titania …

Oberon, in William Shakespeare,
A Midsummer Night’s Dream, Act ii, scene 1
Contents

List of illustrations  page viii
Acknowledgements  x
Note on transliteration  xii
List of abbreviations  xiii

Introduction: The Red Bull playhouse, St John Street  1
1 Elizabethan contexts for a Jacobean playhouse: Clerk
   Kenwell, East Anglia, the Strand and the Liberty of
   the Clink (1586–1603)  29
2 The earl of Worcester, the Essex circle, the Queen’s
   Servants and their playhouses (1589–1607)  58
3 Who were the Queen’s Servants? What was the Red
   Bull like?  71
4 The court and its women: Queen Anna, her circle and
   some women-centred plays  108
5 Entities and splinter groups: the Queen’s Servants
   companies at the courts, in England and in Europe  146
6 The company: 1605–1612  191
7 The company: 1612–1619  224
   Conclusion: St John’s Day at night  258

Select bibliography  265
   The National Archives, Kew  265
   London Metropolitan Archives  266
   Other manuscript sources  268
   Published works  271
   Index  277
Illustrations

The author and publishers acknowledge the following sources of copyright material and are grateful for the permissions granted. While every effort has been made, it has not always been possible to identify the sources of all material used, or to trace all copyright holders. If any omissions are brought to our notice, we will be happy to include the appropriate acknowledgements on reprinting.

1 Map of Clerkenwell including Smithfield to the south. William Morgan, London &c. Actually Survey'd (detail), 1682. London Metropolitan Archives. page 2
2 Title-page of Thomas Heywood, The Foure Prentises of London with the Conquest of Jerusalem (2nd edition, 1632 (the same as first edition, 1615)). Huntington Library, San Marino, California. 18
3 Thomas Seckford, by Isaac Johnson of Woodbridge, 1792. Seckford Foundation, Woodbridge. (www.seckford-foundation.org.uk) 33
4 Small sketch of Seckford Estate, Clerkenwell, with owners of parts, as in Thomas Seckford’s will. Parish of St Mary’s, Woodbridge. (SROI FC25/L3/3/11) 39
5 Anne Bedingfeld of Darsham. Sketch taken from the burial brass in Suckling’s History and Antiquities of the County of Suffolk (London, 1848). 41
7 Title-page of Io: Cooke, Green’s Tu Quoque; or, The Cittie Gallant (London, 1614). Huntington Library, San Marino, California. 87
Illustrations

8 Interior and exterior of Hayward’s Place, London EC1. Images © the author. 92

9 ‘Plott or Survey’ attached to indenture of lease of 1679/80, showing the site of the Red Bull yard to the north-east. 95

10 Sketch of the exterior of the ‘Red Bull play house’ (detail from larger drawing of St John Street property, 1660s). Gloucestershire Archives, D1799/P12. (www.gloucestershire.gov.uk/archives) 97

11 Sketch of the estate showing two halves, with ‘New buildings’ to the east and the ‘Duke of Newcastle’s wall’ to the west of the estate c. 1650s[?]. With kind permission of the Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich. (SROI HD21/480) 101


13 Title-page of anon, Swetnam the Woman-Hater, Arraigned by Women (London, 1620). Huntington Library, San Marino, California. 141
This book represents work going back to my MA and PhD at King’s College London, when Gordon McMullan sent me to Shakespeare’s Globe to visit Andrew Gurr with my research. First thanks should go to Professor Gurr, who put me on the road towards theatre history and its historians.

Further thanks should go to the following: Gordon McMullan, Ann Thompson and Richard Proudfoot at King’s; Caroline Barron, Vanessa Harding and Julia Merritt of the Medieval and Tudor London Seminar at the Institute of Historical Research; Olwen Myhill and Matthew Davies, also of the Institute. Other invaluable historian friends include Andrew Ashbee, Helen Payne, Paul Griffiths, John Clark, Barbara Todd, Duncan Harrington and Jessica Freeman. My gratitude towards fellow literature scholars goes to Lucy Munro, John Lavagnino, Rebecca Bailey, Richard Rowland and Sue Wiseman, along with Barbara Ravelhofer, Eugene Giddens and Teresa Grant of the Shirley Project. Warm thoughts also go out to the friends I made while researching James Shirley and teaching at Durham University.

The British Academy funded all my postgraduate higher education and provided some post-doctoral funding to further the book research. The University of London helped me make my first trip to the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. At this institution I was able to follow up my researches studying C. W. Wallace’s notes, housed there. Speaking of the Americas, thanks should also go to the following people for their conversation at four Shakespeare Association of America conferences and other places: Richard Dutton, Dave Kathman, Bill Lloyd, Alan Nelson, Sally-Beth MacLean (of Records of Early English Drama) and John Astington, as well as the extraordinary William Ingram. Texts from Sir Robert Sidney’s papers appear by kind permission of Viscount de L’Isle from his private collection. For Sarah Stanton of Cambridge University Press, who has been unconscionably patient, I also give thanks.
Acknowledgements

Archivists who have helped me in particular include Louise Kennedy of Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich as well as Paul Evans of Gloucestershire Archives and Wendy Hawke and Jeremy Smith of the London Metropolitan Archives. Very special gratitude is due to Tim Wales, a historian, researcher and friend, as well as to the equally kind Sir Henry and Lady Bedingfeld and their family of Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk. I am also grateful to my friends among the performing fraternity who supported me during my researches: Sonia Ritter, Tamsin Lewis, Duncan Law, Rosalind Cressy and all the actors of the Lions part company, as well as all others who supported my efforts. The end of the book's preparation was supported by a Carlyle membership at the London Library.

As the mantra goes, the thanks go to these people; all the mistakes are mine. Most of what was achieved was managed as a single-parent student, so another kind of thanks goes to my mother, Doria Griffith, and my son, John O’Riordan. To my husband, Paul Klein, I am always grateful for the laughter he invokes to keep me on the right side of sane.
Note on transliteration

For transcriptions from original texts, italics are used to expand contracted words; carets (^) appear in order to show where inserted words and phrases begin and end; and for deletions, ‘strike-through’ is employed for deleted parts. Primary source transcriptions have been given for documentary evidence, yet secondary sources are also referred to for those who wish to consult these works. For early modern printed texts, with a lack of modern editions of Red Bull plays, original quartos have mainly been used and transcriptions from these have been conservatively biased. Signature numbers or ‘sigs’ (appearing as ‘A2v’ or ‘E4’) have been employed as the only page references available in these books.
Abbreviations

TNA The National Archives, Kew
LMA London Metropolitan Archives
LPL Lambeth Palace Library
SROI Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich
MSC Malone Society Collections
St JPR Robert Hovenden, ed., *A True Register of All the Christenings, Mariages, and Burialles in the Parise of St James, Clerkenwell, from the Yeare of Our Lorde God 1551*, 6 vols. (London: Harleian Society, 1884–94)

Int. Interrogatory (a question put to witnesses in a court case)
sig. signature (page reference in early modern books)