

ABSTRACT

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The antitheatrical pamphlets published in Shakespeare's England provide an excellent view of the early modern religious engagement with the stage. However, critics have discussed the antitheatrical pamphlets most often by examining the theology or psychology they seem to represent. This study offers an interdisciplinary approach, as it stands at the shifting boundaries between performance studies, religious studies, and theatre historiography. It offers a close reading of puritan religious experience in the "ethnographic grain,"¹ reading the struggle between the puritan and the stage through the lens of a contemporary discourse of embodiment: early modern humoral theory. Puritan practitioners of "spiritual physick" appropriated humoral physiology and integrated it with Calvinist theology to produce the embodied authority of prophetic performative speech. This study's central claim is

¹Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre, and Other Episodes in French Cultural History*, (New York: Vintage, 1985).

that the struggle between the antitheatrical writers and the stage was a social drama, in which each side fought for social control of the authority of performative speech.

I suggest that performance of prophetic speech is the primary signifier of puritan identity in English puritan culture. What distinctively identifies the puritan body is not physiological difference, but cultural practice, visible in the bodily dispositions constructed in puritan culture. The puritan body performs a paradox: it is closed, bridled, contained, and ordered; and it is open, permeable, passionately disclosing, and subject to dangerous motions and disorder. The puritan body *knows* itself as double. It is alienated from the flesh, and therefore constructs itself in a liminal process of becoming. I document evidence of a humorally grounded logic of practice within puritan culture; trace the outlines of the puritan body through the antitheatrical literature; and finally observe the social role of the antitheatrical pamphlets in the market for argument.

The antitheatrical pamphlets order the worldly environment, shaping time and place to privilege the redemptive hegemony they construct. However, the pamphlets' engagement with the market for cheap godly print gradually served to etiolate their ritual authority. While the antitheatrical pamphlets served as "argument" that performed social distinctions, they also mark a transition in the public representation of puritanism, beginning the shift towards the carnivalesque body of the Stage Puritan.

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PURITANS AND PERFORMANCE IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND,
1577-1620

By

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It has become a commonplace to acknowledge the production of a work such as this as the result of a collaborative process. It is difficult to adequately express my sense of the extent to which that is true in my case. The process of writing a dissertation is a process of initiation, in which the writer enters a liminal space, that of the candidate, within which the tribal elders administer gentle corrections until the initiate is ready to emerge. As I make my turn towards emerging, I am profoundly grateful for the process of transformation I have undergone, for which I can take little credit. The work below clearly shows traces of the guiding hands of each member of my dissertation committee; the remaining errors are my own, the unpurged dross that awaits further correction from the community of which I am glad to be a new member.

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Introduction: The Edifying Word

The figure of the early modern English puritan remains elusive and contradictory. Conventionally, puritans are imagined as dour religious moralists intolerant of difference, and ‘anxious’ or ‘fearful’ about performance. On the other hand, the conventions of the Stage Puritan often present a clownish “bellygod,” freely indulging in all kinds of consumption. Kristen Poole has suggested, “Within the context of early modern literature, the figure of the Puritan is...frequently represented through the lens of the grotesque.”² The puritan often occupies the cultural status of grotesque in contemporary theatre scholarship as well, in part because of the continued appeal of Shakespeare’s Puritan characters, but also in part because of scholarly assumptions about the nature of puritan religious experience. Historian Margo Todd finds a post-Christian bias in such historiography, suggesting that “Puritanism” is a fabrication of “the inadequate perspective of historians on subjects to whom they unabashedly condescend, and whom they are more willing to caricature than to try to fully understand.”³ This study approaches puritan culture through the lens of the anti-discipline of performance studies, hoping to offer a view of the puritan body that moves beyond caricature. It is in part a study of the central place of performance in puritan religious experience. I will suggest that performance is decisively at issue in the early modern period, not only within puritan culture but also beyond it. This study’s central claim is that the struggle between the

² Kristen Poole, *Radical Religion from Shakespeare to Milton: Figures of Nonconformity in Early Modern England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 8. See also Robert Hornback, “Verie Devout Asses’: The Stupid Puritan Clown,” *Renaissance and Reformation* 28 (3), (2004), 95-132.

³ Margo Todd, “Puritan Self-fashioning,” in *Puritanism: Transatlantic Perspectives on a Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Faith*, Francis J. Bremer, ed., (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1993), 58.

antitheatrical writers and the stage was a social drama, in which each side fought for social control of the authority of performative speech.

The struggle between religious reformers and the state church in early modern England presents compelling parallels with the struggle between the antitheatrical writers and the stage. Those parallels have long been seen as sufficiently compelling that the two have been collapsed into each other, producing a controversy “between the puritans and the stage.”⁴ Recently the basis of antitheatricity has been more broadly drawn.⁵

However, what is common to both struggles is the appropriation of familiar strategies of representation: preachers preached sermons, writers wrote pamphlets and plays, and actors performed the roles in which they were cast. To speak is to perform the body;⁶ the antitheatrical struggle therefore appears in print as a contest for the authority to decide the norms of performative speech, and thereby to order the proper places of the body. It is a contest that has been resolved by some into a binary⁷ of opposed models of performance, and by others into a mutually constitutive exchange of ideologies and practices.⁸ This study will argue that prophetic performative speech was a central cultural practice not

⁴ See for example Elbert N. Thompson, *The Controversy between the Puritans and the Stage*, (New York: Russell and Russell, 1903 (1966)), *passim*.

⁵ See for example David Scott Kastan, “Performances and playbooks: the closing of the theatres and the politics of drama,” in Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker, (ed.s), *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 169. Kastan challenges the notion that the theatres were closed in 1642 for reasons of either state or religion, attributing it rather to increasing social disorder.

⁶ As Judith Butler puts it, “To embody the norms that govern speakability in one’s speech is to consummate one’s status as a subject of speech.” Judith Butler, *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*, (New York: Routledge, 1997), 133.

⁷ See for example Jonas Barish, *The Anti-Theatrical Prejudice*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 47. Barish diagnoses puritans variously as “megalomaniac” (84), “shameless and compulsive”, full of “resentment and anxiety” (87), and “obstinate and insane” (115).

⁸ See for example Huston Diehl, *Staging Reform, Reforming the Stage: Protestantism and Popular Theater in Early Modern England*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970); Bryan Crockett, *The Play of Paradox – Stage and Sermon in Renaissance England*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995); and Jeffrey Knapp, *Shakespeare’s Tribe: Church, Nation, and Theater in Renaissance England*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

only of the puritan preacher⁹ but of the *godly body* in early modern English puritan culture. Puritan speech was prophetic because it exhorted its hearers to repent of their sins. It was performative because in the act of performing prophetic speech puritans constructed themselves both socially and experientially, in an illocutionary way.¹⁰ I will argue further that humoral patterns of consumption, digestion, retention, and purgation crucially served to construct the godly body, producing the bodily repertoire used to represent both the “grotesque” figure of the stage Puritan and that of the “prophane plaier”¹¹. Theatrical and religious norms of consumption and disclosure competed in the marketplace; I will show that theatre and puritan culture constructed models of authority by means of performance practices that were offered for public consumption in the same civic and national places.

The contours of the puritan body that will emerge in this study are visible only in the practices and dispositions of the puritan habitus. Puritans appropriated, without changing, the physiology of the humoral body. Distinctions between men and women, old and young, and so forth, are consistent in puritan discourse with those Gail Kern Paster, Michael Schoenfeldt, and others observe in early modern English literature, as grounded in differences of humoral function. What distinctively identifies the puritan body is not physiological difference, but cultural practice, visible in the complex of particular bodily dispositions constructed in puritan culture. The puritan body performs a

⁹ See especially Bryan Crockett ‘s “Introduction,” for a discussion of prophetic speech and preaching. Crockett’s useful suggestion, informing much of my thinking here, is that “paradox might provide a more useful paradigm than [discursive] masking for understanding the period’s performances—whether on the stage or in the pulpit” (op. cit., x).

¹⁰ See the section “On Performance Studies, Speech Act Theory, and Prophetic Speech” below. Austin defines the illocutionary performative as speech in which “the issuing of the utterance is the performing of an action.” See J.L. Austin, *How to Do Things With Words*, J.O. Urmson ed., (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), 6-7.

¹¹ Anthony Munday, *A second and third blast of retrait from plaies and Theaters*, (London: Henrie Denham, 1580), H7^v.

paradox: it is closed, bridled, contained, and ordered; and it is open, permeable, passionately disclosing, and subject to dangerous motions and disorder. The puritan body *knows* itself as double. It is alienated from the flesh, and therefore constructs itself in a liminal process of becoming. Victor Turner's view of the liminal is useful here:

The "hard saying" "except ye become as a little child" assumes new meaning. Unless the fixing and ordering processes of the adult, *sociostructural* domain, are liminally abandoned and the initiand submits to being broken down to a generalized *prima materia*, a lump of human clay, he cannot be transformed, reshaped to encounter new experience.¹²

Puritan discourse repeatedly returns to the role of performance in constructing puritan identity as a "child of God." Puritan practices constructed puritan identity communally, as an obligatory, liminal, participatory process¹³ that reinforced the performative force of embodied puritan practices. The puritan body abandons the ordering categories of the dominant culture, and constructs itself as a resistant force opposed to those categories. The puritan body is constructed in a performative process, a logic of practice that marks puritanism as a distinctive habitus. The cultural practices of puritanism mark the surface of the body as the site for representation of cultural resistance, social persona, and subjecthood. As I will show, the puritan body is consistently knowable in the dominant early modern vocabulary of embodiment.

As Andrew Wear and others have shown, Galen's humoral physiology provided that vocabulary of the body. This study will endeavor to describe the dispositions of the puritan body by noting evidence of the prophetic performative speech act, and of the terminology and paradigms of humoral physiology, as they may be found in the practices of "spiritual physicke" initiated by Richard Greenham, a pioneering practitioner of

¹² Victor Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play*, (New York: PAJ Publications, 1982), 84. Italics his.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 31.

puritan¹⁴ ‘practical divinity.’¹⁵ I will then trace puritan bodily dispositions through a broader view of popular puritan cultural practices, sketch in outline a view of the puritan habitus, and offer evidence of how the puritan body engaged with the theatre. Puritan performance practices resurface in the antitheatrical pamphlets in complex ways. I will note constructions of the body in the antitheatrical pamphlets, comparing the pamphlets’ discourses of the body with puritan cultural practices. Nothing more clearly demonstrates the degree to which the theatre and puritanism were intertwined in early modern culture than the remarkable extent to which scholars of religious history, theatre, and dramatic literature have returned to an examination of the antitheatrical pamphlets.

As Jean-Christophe Agnew aptly suggests, theatre and puritanism were “indispensable enemies.”¹⁶ The common appropriation of humoral physiology, I will suggest, produced an ontology in which the conflict between the prophetic and theatrical kinds of speech was inevitable. However, the production and consumption of prophetic speech as godly cheap print moved in parallel with the commodification of humoral medicine. In the process of marketing the argument of the puritan body, an important development occurred that has been overlooked: I will suggest that the puritan body and the antitheatrical body are distinct in significant ways.

The acting theory that shaped the protean body of the early modern player was grounded in humoral physiology. Joseph Roach’s history of acting methods, *The Player’s Passion*, approaches theories of acting by reading them in the light of Thomas Kuhn’s

¹⁴ See ‘On Early Modern English Religious History’ below, for a discussion of the term ‘puritan’, and an explanation of how I will use the terms puritan, Puritan, and godly.

¹⁵ Kenneth L. Parker and Eric J. Carlson, *‘Practical Divinity’: The Works and Life of Revd Richard Greenham*. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998).

¹⁶ Jean-Christophe Agnew, *Worlds Apart: The Market and the Theatre in Anglo-American Thought, 1550-1750*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 126.

model of the scientific paradigm. Roach notes the ways in which a dominant scientific paradigm serves to shape theatrical practice in a given period. As physiological paradigms of the body shifted, acting method shifted with them. Roach traces those shifts, “without claiming that the actor’s art is per se a science”:

Rather, scientific models have so thoroughly permeated acting theory that its history has inevitably developed in ways analogous to the structure that Kuhn outlines for the history of science and that Foucault develops for the history of knowledge.¹⁷

Roach goes on to appropriate Kuhn’s notion of the “paradigmatic text” that may “dominate a field for generations.” Beginning his historical narrative in the early modern period, Roach finds that the paradigmatic texts that most powerfully shaped early modern acting method were Quintilian’s *Institutio Oratoria* and John Bulwer’s works, *Chirologia: or the Natural Language of the Hand* and *Chironomia: or the Art of Manual Rhetoric*. Bulwer’s works, Roach suggests, showed that he had fully digested “the classical medical doctrines of the Hippocratics and Galen.”¹⁸ Roach’s thorough grounding of early modern acting method in the theory of the humors, and his notion that performance practices make historic shifts in parallel with scientific paradigms of bodily function, inspired me to consider similar questions with respect to religious experience. Why do Puritan bodies appear in a double figuration on the stage? Why do Shakespeare’s Angelo in *Measure for Measure* and Malvolio in *Twelfth Night* seem to have closed bodies? Lucio says of Angelo, “...when he makes water his urine is congealed ice.”¹⁹ Why is it that the leaky bodies to which Gail Kern Paster has drawn our attention – Win Littlewit in *Bartholomew Fair*, the ladies at the christening in *A Chaste Maid at*

¹⁷ Joseph Roach, *The Player’s Passion: Studies in the Science of Acting*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 13.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 33.

¹⁹ *Measure for Measure*, 3.2.103.

Cheapside – are not only female but also Puritan?²⁰ It seems to me that no satisfactory history of the performance of the puritan body has yet been offered.

The process by which a paradigmatic text might permeate the performance theory of a particular culture is to be found in the multifarious, ambiguous, and even at times paradoxical field of practice, shaped in and by bodily dispositions. Richard Greenham's *Works*, first published in 1599, went on to become a paradigmatic text for puritan practical divinity; however, in the first section of this study I will focus on puritan practices through Greenham's work at Dry Drayton in the 1570's and 1580's, a period coinciding with the emergence of the antitheatrical pamphlets, by means of notes taken at his feet by his students. Those notes have recently been rediscovered as Rylands English Manuscript 524, and issued in a new edition by Kenneth Parker and Eric Carlson.²¹ Greenham established in his manse what Parker and Carlson call a "household seminary", where he developed methods for treating the afflicted conscience: "It was the first of its kind and a truly significant innovation in clerical education, filling a crucial gap: the absence of any *practical* training for ministry."²² Through a discussion of this early work, I will show that the paradigm of the humoral body is as helpful to an understanding of puritan religious experience and practices as it is to understanding early modern English theatrical practices.

To attend to the traces of the puritan body I must of necessity take an interdisciplinary approach. This project synthesizes contributions from a wide range of

²⁰ See Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern Europe*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 21-63.

²¹ Rylands English Manuscript 524 (hereafter REM524) records observations and epigrams taken from a period of study with Greenham in 1580-84. Patrick Collinson attributes REM524 to Arthur Hildersham (see *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 494-5), but Parker and Carlson challenge that attribution, suggesting Laurence Chaderton as a candidate. Both Hildersham and Chaderton later became noted leaders of the puritan movement.

²² Parker and Carlson, 21. Italics theirs.

disciplines: religious historiography, theatre historiography, ritual and sociological theory, anthropology, performance studies, speech act theory, and humoral medicine. It will be helpful at this point to introduce each contribution.

Historical Context

On Early Modern English Religious History

Henry VIII's Act of Supremacy (1534) is one of a series of Acts produced between 1531 and 1536 that separated England from papal authority, replacing it with an Erastian structure in which the monarch became the Supreme Head of the Church of England. However, as A.G. Dickens notes, "the Henrician Reformation cannot be equated with a Protestant Reformation."²³ It was during Edward VI's brief reign that England was moved towards official protestantism, and that development was met with popular resistance. Mary's accession returned the nation to Catholicism for a time; religious uncertainty and unrest continued throughout the sixteenth century in England, and popular adoption of a protestant, Anglican tradition would have to wait until well into the seventeenth century.²⁴

There is substantial evidence that the official theological stance of protestant England was Calvinist.²⁵ However, Debora Shuger notes the difficulty of fixing a stable official position on almost any issue in the period: "...so-called subversive ideas keep surfacing...within the confines of orthodoxy." Nevertheless, Shuger suggests, religion is the "cultural matrix for explorations of virtually every topic." Within that cultural

²³ A.G. Dickens and Dorothy Carr (ed.s), *The Reformation in England to the Accession of Elizabeth I*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1968), 46.

²⁴ Diarmaid MacCulloch, "The Reception of the Reformation," in his *The Later Reformation in England, 1547-1603*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), 125-143.

²⁵ MacCullough, *The Later Reformation*, 72. MacCullough notes 90 vernacular editions of Calvin's works and 56 of the works of Theodore Beza were published by 1600 in England.

matrix, “habits of thought did not move in a steady, unilinear direction from interpenetrating boundaries to compartmentalized space.” Inconsistency and uncertainty characterized the habits of thought of the period, often producing intellectual paradox: “Both sides of any given contradiction may be held by a single individual, sometimes in a single work.”²⁶

The establishment of England as a Protestant nation and the cultural changes that attended that development swept aside centuries-worth of religious, social and economic structures, including ways of seeing, knowing, and imagining nationhood. What remained, and was to remain until the Glorious Revolution of 1689, was a contested view of the nation that was religiously conditioned and grounded. Statements of the ideal were particularly significant in a period when the national polity was open to negotiation.²⁷ In that context, the maintenance of national stability and authority presented Elizabeth I with a significant challenge. Diarmaid MacCullough notes that “principled dissent to the Elizabethan Settlement came from two directions: Catholic and radical Protestant.”²⁸ In order to steer between them, Elizabeth adopted the *via media*. Theodore Dwight Bozeman traces the theological roots of the *via media* back to the Henrician Reformation, calling the theological principle of *adiaphora* “the corner-stone of Anglicanism.” Since specific details of church discipline and ritual were not necessary to salvation, they were indifferent, *adiaphora*, and should therefore be determinable by the church hierarchy.

“This entire pattern, with its candid delimitation of scriptural authority, was taken over by

²⁶ Debora Kuller Shuger, *Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance: Religion, Politics, and the Dominant Culture*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 1-16.

²⁷ See Debora Kuller Shuger, *Political Theologies in Shakespeare's England: The Sacred and the State in Shakespeare's Measure for Measure*, (London: Palgrave, 2001). Shuger itemizes an impressive list of vision statements for the emerging Protestant nation, including More's *Utopia*, King James' *Basiliikon Doron*, Hooker's *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, and many others

²⁸ MacCullough op. cit., 144.

the Elizabethan church.”²⁹ To be “precise” was therefore to assert the superior authority of Scripture over against the official church position.

Any attempt to trace the history of puritan prophetic performative speech faces an apparent challenge from the outset, however: no satisfactory definition of puritanism has been arrived at. As Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales put it, “Attempts to define early-modern English ‘puritanism’ and to agree on a common usage for the noun and adjective ‘puritan’ have been going on for well over 400 years.”³⁰ The difficulty of naming and defining puritanism has itself become a topic for religious historians.³¹ Those who were called puritans at the time frequently rejected the term in print; Patrick Collinson has long abjured the term, preferring to adopt the name they often gave themselves – the ‘godly’ – a stance that has itself been subject to criticism.³² Granting the fluid and provisional nature of any such terminology, I will call the hotter sort of protestants “puritans”, the stage representations of them “Puritans”, and Christian religiosity in general “godliness.” I hope thereby to suggest that the Puritan is a more particular phenomenon than puritanism; I understand ‘puritan’ to be more useful as an

²⁹ Theodore Dwight Bozeman, *To Live Ancient Lives: The Primitivist Dimension in Puritanism*, (Chapel Hill, NC: Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1988), 57-65. It was Bozeman’s penetrating discussion of puritan history that first alerted me to its performative nature, which he calls “dramatic identification” with “a continual theophany” (16). On the question of *adiaphora*, see also Collinson, *English Puritanism*, (London: Historical Association, 1984), 15.

³⁰ “Introduction” in Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales (eds.), *The Culture of English Puritanism 1560-1700*, (London: Macmillan, 1996), 1.

³¹ See Peter Lake, “Puritan Identities,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 35 (1984), 112-23, and “Defining Puritanism—again?” in Francis J. Bremer (ed.), *Puritanism: Transatlantic Perspectives on a Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Faith*, (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1993); Patrick Collinson “A Comment: Concerning the Name Puritan,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 31 (1980): 483-88, and “The Theatre Constructs Puritanism,” in *The Theatrical City: Culture, Theatre and Politics in London, 1576-1649*, David L. Smith, Richard Strier, and David Bevington (ed.s) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); and Chapter One, “The Definition of a Puritan,” of Christopher Hill’s *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England*, (New York: Schocken Books, 1967). See also Kristen Poole’s substantial bibliographical note on the subject, n.13, op. cit., 189-90.

³² Ramie Targoff strongly chides Patrick Collinson and Christopher Haigh for their valorization of “Puritanism” as the “most vigorous and devotionally serious branch of early modern English Protestantism.” See her *Common Prayer: The Language of Public Devotion in Early Modern England*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 7.

adjective than a proper noun, though even that distinction must be admitted to be provisional.

Ironically enough, however, the contested nature of the term ‘puritan’ has so blurred its status in historiography that its liminal aspect has disclosed itself to religious historians, as Durston and Eales observe:

These factors, then, have done much to muddy the waters of puritan historiography, and to leave puritanism resembling not so much Hill’s dragon or Collinson’s elephant but, to use W. J. Sheils’s phrase, a much more elusive ‘Protean beast.’³³

This image of the puritan as a shape-shifting protean, which reverses Barish’s binary formulation,³⁴ has been appropriated by Kristen Poole and applied to discussion of “sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literary tradition.” Poole cites Ormerod’s *Picture of a Puritane* (1605):

For as *Proteus* changed himselfe into diuers shapes, & appeared sometimes like a flame of fire, sometimes like a Bull, and sometimes like a terrible Serpent: so the Puritane changeth himselfe likewise into diuers shapes, & appeareth sometimes like a Protestant, sometimes like a Papist, & sometimes like an Anabaptist.

This recognition of the “compromised and sliding categories” evoked by the word “puritan” allows Poole to accept it as a polyvalent signifier of transgression, a view that I appropriate in this study.³⁵

Puritan history viewed as political history has produced a series of politically inflected terms to describe them. “Moderate puritans” are conformists who prefer to

³³ Durston and Eales op. cit., 6.

³⁴ Barish constructs a binary of signification, placing the puritans, on the one hand, as subjects and advocates of “a principle of inflexibility” recapitulated from Plato and Tertullian, and, on the other, the protean, self-fashioning players, whose hearts, souls, lips, and every bodily sign were playfully changeable. See Barish op. cit., 92-106 *passim*.

³⁵ Poole op. cit., 14, 5, 12.

focus on practical divinity, and to defer to the official power of the state church, as Peter Lake suggests:

If the core of the moderate puritan position lay neither in the puritan critique of the liturgy and polity of the church nor in a formal doctrinal consensus, where can it be located? It lay in the capacity, which the godly claimed, of being able to recognize one another in the midst of a corrupt and unregenerate world.³⁶

The radical branch of the movement is called “presbyterian,” comprising those who produced the political documents most often turned to by scholars seeking to define puritanism. Collinson suggests that Stubbes’ position (1583) on matters of political reform is representative of the mainstream of moderate puritanism: bishops are acceptable to some puritans as part of a structure for the maintenance of discipline. John Field and the Presbyterians are the radical left of the puritan movement.³⁷ Elsewhere, however, Collinson has argued that Stubbes ought not to be considered puritan: “Stubbes devoted much of *The second part of the Anatomie of Abuses*...to a trenchant denunciation of the principles of ecclesiastical puritanism.”³⁸ Lake summarizes the two views, moderate and radical, suggesting that puritanism is either Collinson’s idea – “focused on civil and liturgical reform” – or, as Lake puts it, is “a distinctively zealous or intense subset of a larger body of reformed or protestant doctrines or positions.”³⁹ Lake concludes that “there was no such thing as a unitary Elizabethan or Anglican settlement but merely a number of competing readings of a series of inherently ambiguous, even

³⁶ Peter Lake, *Moderate puritans and the Elizabethan church*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 282.

³⁷ Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 102. Hereafter, *EPM*. Collinson calls Field “the Lenin of Elizabethan Puritanism” in *Archbishop Grindal 1519-1583: The Struggle for a Reformed Church*, 169.

³⁸ Patrick Collinson, “Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism as Forms of Popular Religious Culture,” in Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales (eds.), *The Culture of English Puritanism 1560-1700*, (London: Macmillan, 1996), 34.

³⁹ Peter Lake, “Defining Puritanism – Again?” in Bremer, op. cit., 3.

unstable, legal, social, institutional, and theological ‘texts.’”⁴⁰ To read is therefore a troubled act in early modern religious culture; it served to performatively construct both faith and polity, and to privatize authority.⁴¹

Puritanism is politically polyvalent. Nevertheless, it is sometimes summarized as a series of transgressive protests over matters of church discipline, and the government’s corresponding redressive actions.⁴² The printing of tracts and pamphlets as rhetorical weapons in the struggle over conformity began with what Collinson calls “the famous *Briefe discourse against the outward apparell*, the earliest puritan manifesto.” An official reply was prepared and thus the pattern was formed.⁴³ Struggles over church discipline rose to a series of crises, which forced the queen and the episcopate to issue a series of injunctions. The arc of those crises may be sketched simply thus: the Vestiarian Controversy of 1566, the Admonition Controversy of 1572, the suppression of the presbyterian movement after 1583, and the Hampton Court Conference in 1604. In Collinson’s view, the first of these marks the rise of puritan presbyterianism as a political movement, and the last marks its effective demise under the Tudor regime:

Although Bancroft’s campaign for subscription [after Hampton Court] was to arouse a resistance more impressive even than that which had greeted Whitgift’s first onslaught twenty years before, the puritans were never again to confront the government as a reasonably united and cohesive party with a single programme for the purification of the English church.⁴⁴

Taking this view has led some to define puritanism as a sect entirely focused on *adiaphora*; Peter Stallybrass, for example, points to the Vestiarian Controversy to suggest

⁴⁰ Ibid., 29.

⁴¹ See Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker, (ed.s), *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). Michael Schoenfeldt’s chapter in that book, “Reading Bodies,” is of particular relevance here.

⁴² This view forms the intellectual spine of Collinson’s book *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*.

⁴³ *EPM*, 77-8.

⁴⁴ *EPM*, 465-6.

that puritanism was centrally concerned with clothing.⁴⁵ Viewing puritan Vestiarian ideology as strictly sartorial allows him to trim puritan discourse to fit it within his greater argument. However, approaching this first struggle through the classifying lens of the puritan gaze allows a broader view of the acts of social distinction their discourse performs.

Each of the four political crises noted above are, at bottom, struggles over the limits of the classifying action of puritan performative speech. Peter Milward suggests Vestiarian Controversy was “first expressed”⁴⁶ in such documents as the puritan publication “Fortress of Fathers” (1566). The opening preamble of “Fortress of Fathers” states its resistance “Against such as wold bring in an Abuse of idol stouff, and of thinges indifferent...” The limits of *adiaphora* are here encroached upon by puritan speech, which immediately challenges “th’ Auctoritie of Princes and prelates.” The preamble to “Fortress of Fathers” concludes with a citation from Acts 9:6: “Go into the Citie and hit shalbe told the[e] what thou shalt do.”⁴⁷ Acts 9, of course, narrates the familiar story of Saul’s conversion on the Damascus road: hearing God speak from a “light from heaven,” Saul is struck blind, and the men with him lose their powers of speech. In Damascus, a disciple named Ananias⁴⁸ is sent by God to restore Saul’s sight; as soon as Ananias lays hands on Saul, “something like scales fell from Saul’s eyes, and he could see again.”⁴⁹ To

⁴⁵ Peter Stallybrass, “Worn Worlds: Clothes and Identity on the Renaissance Stage,” in Margreta de Grazia, Maureen Quilligan, and Peter Stallybrass, (ed.s), *Subject and Object in Renaissance Culture*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 305.

⁴⁶ Peter Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age: A Survey of Printed Sources*, (London: Scolar, 1977), 25.

⁴⁷ I.B., “The fortresse of fathers,” (1566), 2. STC (2nd Ed.) 1040, Early English Books Online, accessed September 27, 2007.

⁴⁸ This name will, of course, surface again in Jonson’s *The Alchemist* (1611).

⁴⁹ Acts 9:18, NIV.

the early modern reader of this document, the classifying of *adiaphora* was announced as an aspect of the reformation of the gaze by means of prophetic speech.

The necessity for the Tudor regime to control speech in order to maintain public order predates Elizabeth's accession. Edward VI issued a proclamation "Prohibiting Private Innovations in Ceremonies" in 1548; the sovereign considered "nothing so much to tend to the disquieting of his realm as diversity of opinion and variety of rites and ceremonies concerning religion..." Those "rash and seditious" preachers preaching "contrary to this proclamation" are threatened with incarceration.⁵⁰ Shortly thereafter, another proclamation was issued "Prohibiting Unlicensed Preaching, Specifically of Bigamy and Divorce," which instituted the licensing of all preachers in England.⁵¹ Later that same year, another proclamation "Prohibiting Sermons; Ordering Homilies to Be Read" was issued, "Wherefore his highness, minding to see very shortly one uniform order throughout this his realm, and to put an end of all controversies in religion," enjoined all preachers, licensed or otherwise, to cease preaching and to read the "godly homilies heretofore set forth" instead, until the licensing of preachers should be completed.⁵² The use of sovereign proclamations to contain transgressive speech was continued under Mary, and sustained by Elizabeth almost immediately upon her accession.⁵³ With the proclamation of the "Injunctions for Religion" known as the Elizabethan Settlement, the conditions for the early modern struggle between prophetic

⁵⁰ Hampton Court, 6 February 1548, 2 Edward VI, in Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin, (ed.s), *Tudor Royal Proclamations: Volume 1, the Early Tudors (1485-1553)*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1964), 416-7.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 421-3.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 432-3.

⁵³ Hampton Court, 26 May 1555, 1 & 2 Philip and Mary, and Westminster, 27 December, 1558, I Elizabeth I; in Hughes and Larkin op. cit., Vol. 2, 53-5 and 102-3.

and sovereign speech, the “competing readings” of authority that Peter Lake noted above, were set.

The proximity of puritan practices to the official position on the role of prophetic speech can be seen in Elizabeth’s Injunctions of 1559. Elizabeth’s regime marked its own strong distinctions from the practices of the Catholic court that preceded hers, in the proclamation “Announcing Injunctions for Religion”.⁵⁴ The second of the fifty-three items of the Injunctions enjoins the preachers of the realm to declare, against the “superstition and hypocrisy crept into divers men’s hearts,” that “images, relics, or miracles” are an “abuse.”⁵⁵ Item 23 extends this invitation to iconoclasm:

Also, that they shall take away, utterly extinct, and destroy all shrines, covering of shrines, all tables, candlesticks, trindles, and rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition, so that there remain no memory of the same in walls, glasses, window, or elsewhere within their churches and houses; preserving, nevertheless, or repairing, both the walls and the glass windows. And they shall exhort all their parishioners to do the like within their several houses.⁵⁶

This proclamation shapes godly practices of prophetic speech under Elizabeth, in which context it is “exhorted”, by effacing the objects of memory inherited from the ritual speech practices of the Marian regime. Bourdieu suggests that “To understand ritual practice, to give it back both its reason and its *raison d’etre*...means restoring its practical necessity by relating it to the real conditions of its genesis...” For a nation teetering perilously close to a religious civil war, it was a matter of practical necessity for the “material bases”⁵⁷ of Marian practices itemized in the injunction’s list to be rendered “utterly extinct” by the power of sovereign speech, which appropriated the mouths of

⁵⁴ Ibid., 117.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 118.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 123.

⁵⁷ Bourdieu, *Logic of Practice*, 97.

Elizabeth's churchmen to reiterate the royal utterance.⁵⁸ Puritan prophetic speech differs from sovereign performative speech by challenging and appropriating sovereign authority; in doing so it offers what Peter Lake calls a "competing reading" of the same theological text. Puritan prophetic speech differs also, as noted above, in the encroachment upon *adiaphora* produced by its classifying zeal.

The preamble of "Fortress of Fathers" is followed by a table listing the "Names of the Fathers in this fortresse" and "The places whereon those fathers...do stand." After the table, puritan zeal is invoked in the performance of an immediate distinction: "To all such as unfainedly hate (in the zeale of a Godly love) all monuments, and remnautes of Idolatrie."⁵⁹ The document turns to a lengthy exposition of the proper roles of princes and magistrates, following Bucer in arguing that "The princes in dede, & the Magistrates of all places may be called heddes, but not in the ecclesiasticall body, but in the politick bodie, and in the politique government."⁶⁰ Scriptural authority is repeatedly called upon, exegeted through a reformed hermeneutic. That authority explicitly claims power over *adiaphora*:

...for there is such strength in this poison of indifferent thinges, that hit can make men that were before in other matters talkative, and most fullest of wordse, utterly doume and speachles, and other that were eloquent to be now stutters...and some that were Christians to be Epicures, that is to say, godless and of no religion...⁶¹

For puritans, to ignore things indifferent *as* indifferent is to risk silencing godly speech.

Taking cue from Elizabeth's own proclamation, "The Fortress of Fathers" relentlessly presses for classifying *all* the objects associated with Catholicism as idolatry; its

⁵⁸ See Items 3, 4, 5, 6, and 8, Hughes and Larkin op. cit., Vol. 2, 118-120.

⁵⁹ I.B., op. cit., 4.

⁶⁰ Ibid., A3, 15.

⁶¹ Ibid., B4, 33.

particular target, finally named halfway through the document, is the “surplesse,” but the central social action it performs is the extension of godly distinctions.

The puritan body revealed in early modern religious politics is, above all, a body that performs a resistant refusal to be silenced. It claims the right to speak about any matter it views as having ritual significance. In late sixteenth century England, official religious discourse was uncertain and contested. Indeed, its uncertainty was an aspect of policy; as part of the effort to solidify sovereign power adiaphorism was protected by sovereign proclamation, and transgressive puritan speech attacking adiaphorism was suppressed. The struggle over speech was a struggle for power over the ritualized body; discourse could only be effectively transformed into practice within the space produced by the speaking body.

On Theatre Historiography, the Antitheatrical Pamphlets and Cheap Print

John Northbrooke’s pamphlet, *A Treatise Against Dicing, Dancing, Plays, and Interludes, with Other Idle Pastimes*, appeared in 1577. It has frequently been suggested that its publication was occasioned by the opening of The Theatre in 1576, and the spate of theater building that ensued in and around London.⁶² It is less frequently observed that Northbrooke’s pamphlet appeared in the midst of a significant crisis in the history of English puritanism. As Patrick Collinson has noted, 1577 was the year in which puritan prophesyings were officially suppressed.⁶³ The measure was not effective, in part because

⁶² It now seems clear that the Red Lion (1567) preceded The Theatre by nearly ten years. See Janet S. Loengard, “An Elizabethan Lawsuit: John Brayne, his Carpenter, and the building of the Red Lion Theatre,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* 34, 1983: 298-310.

⁶³ Patrick Collinson, “The Godly: Aspects of Popular Protestantism,” in *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism*, (London: Hambledon Press, 1983), 8. A prophesying was an open meeting of preachers at which a series of sermons were performed, attended by and afterwards discussed amongst the godly public. See Chapter One below.

Archbishop Grindal was sympathetic to them and refused to implement the order;⁶⁴ prophesyings continued with slight changes after 1577 as exercises, contributing to the development of the puritan habitus, as I hope to show. For now, it suffices to note that the struggle between radical puritan leaders and the episcopate reached a crisis in late 1583 with the appointment of Whitgift as Archbishop of Canterbury; Whitgift immediately set about enforcing conformity to the Book of Common Prayer, a process that resulted in the silencing of a number of puritan preachers.⁶⁵ During that same period, 1577-1583, six more antitheatrical pamphlets appeared; the form was sustained thereafter by less frequent contributions, until the massive *Histriomastix* of William Prynne, published in 1633, marked the final major contribution to the genre in the early modern period.⁶⁶ Seven of the fourteen early modern antitheatrical publications therefore appeared during the same period that the crown was endeavoring to suppress puritan prophetic speech. As such, they strategically addressed a particular historic situation that had *two* vectors: the one focusing on religious cultural struggle, and the other focusing on the public theatre's appropriation of performative speech in constructing what Jean-Christophe Agnew has called "a new social contract between itself and its audience."⁶⁷

It is, to be sure, remarkable that five new theatres were built in London in the short period preceding Northbrooke's pamphlet: St Paul's (c.1575); the first Blackfriars (1576); The Theatre (1576); The Playhouse at Newington Butts (1576); and The Curtain (1577).⁶⁸ However, the significance of these new civic places is that they gave

⁶⁴ *EPM*, 167.

⁶⁵ *EPM*, 244-271 *passim*.

⁶⁶ A chronological list of the antitheatrical pamphlets may be found below in Appendix A.

⁶⁷ Agnew, *op. cit.*, 11.

⁶⁸ Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage, 1574-1642*, 3rd ed., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 117-121.

architectural expression to emerging patterns of representation, as Agnew suggests; they marked the historical shift of the cultural meaning of the market “from a place to a process to a principle to a power.”⁶⁹ Agnew brings ‘market as place’ together with ‘market as action’: “thus confronting the conditions of its own performance, [the theater] invoked the same problematic of exchange – the same questions of authenticity, accountability, and intentionality – at issue in the “idea of [the] market.”⁷⁰ The new theatres were markets for a model of performative speech that directly challenged the ritual authority of prophetic speech to construct the godly body. As I will show, the public theatre offered that challenge by appropriating the very civic places in which puritan prophetic speech had, itself, taken refuge: on the margins of the city, in the Liberties and suburbs. The rise of the public theatre therefore forced puritan culture to fight for its survival on two fronts at once: against the ecclesiastical authorities, and against what it viewed as the theatrical appropriation of performative speech.

The antitheatrical pamphlets are indisputably religious in orientation.⁷¹ From an anthropological point of view, they have a ritualizing function. The antitheatrical pamphlets are, for the purposes of this study, an aspect of puritan ritual practice. As Catherine Bell describes it, ritual practice is: “(1) situational; (2) strategic; (3) embedded in a misrecognition of what it is in fact doing; and (4) able to reproduce or reconfigure a

⁶⁹ Agnew, *op. cit.*, 56.

⁷⁰ Agnew, *op. cit.*, 11. See also David Hawkes’ *Idols of the Marketplace: Idolatry and Commodity Fetishism in English Literature, 1580-1680*, (London: Palgrave, 2001) which usefully connects puritan objections to the stage to the emergent market economy. Hawkes defines idolatry as a “confusion of ends and means;” the idea of the ‘means’ will surface again.

⁷¹ A number of studies question or deny outright the puritan status of many of the antitheatrical pamphlet writers – see, for example, Peter Lake’s *The Antichrist’s Lewd Hat*, Margaret Jane Kidnie’s “Introduction” to her edition of Philip Stubbes’ *The Anatomy of Abuses*, and Alexandra Walsham’s “A Glose of Godlines’: Philip Stubbes, Elizabethan Grub Street, and the invention of Puritanism,” in Susan Wabuda and Caroline Litzenberger (ed.s), *Belief and Practice in Reformation England*. However, as I propose a more anthropologically inflected approach to the antitheatrical pamphlets, the religious status of the pamphlets’ authors is perhaps less significant than the existence of market demand for the cultural work the pamphlets performed.

vision of the order of power in the world, or what I will call ‘redemptive hegemony.’”⁷² Since ritual practices function in ways that are situational and strategic, approaching them through theological texts or placing them within larger transhistorical schema would simply reproduce the weaknesses of much of the existing historiography of early modern antitheatricality. Lynn Hunt, citing Roger Chartier, points toward the historiographical framework for this study: “Chartier insists that historians of culture must not replace a reductive theory of culture as reflective of social reality with an equally reductive assumption that rituals and other forms of symbolic action simply express a central, coherent, communal meaning.”⁷³ History “in the ethnographic grain” accepts what Robert Darnton calls the fundamental opacity of the past; it is precisely when we cannot read the meanings of past events that we must pay close attention, listening for the “meaning inscribed by contemporaries.”⁷⁴ To many of us, the grotesque figure of the puritan apparently continues to provoke the same reaction as the initially incomprehensible cat massacre Darnton examines; why, we wonder, would any human want to do that?⁷⁵

Treating the antitheatrical pamphlets as a local body of knowledge will, I hope, allow me to examine more closely the appropriation and dissemination of puritan discourses of the body. As far as is possible, I will focus particularly on evidence dating from the late 1570’s and 1580’s, and then suggest threads that might be followed from that period forward as far as 1620. The accession of James I to the English throne

⁷² Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 81. A fuller discussion of my view of the anthropology of ritual can be found below.

⁷³ Lynn Hunt, *The New Cultural History*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 12.

⁷⁴ Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1984), 3, 5.

⁷⁵ Durston and Eales (op. cit., 29) note an ironically close parallel: “The antiquary William Camden joked that the town was chiefly famous for ‘cakes and zeal’, and a popular doggerel rhyme described how a Banbury puritan had hanged his cat on Monday for killing a mouse on Sunday.”

produced a marked shift in the cultural status and strategies of puritanism, as did the rise of Arminianism;⁷⁶ Colin Rice has shown that William Prynne's *Histriomastix* (1633), for example, emerged from a very different political and religious situation from that of the earlier antitheatrical pamphlets; it therefore deployed different strategies.⁷⁷ As Peter Lake has pointed out, to "leap effortlessly from the likes of Gosson, Stubbes and Rainolds to William Prynne" is to "do scant justice to the contingencies, complexities and ironies of the intervening decades."⁷⁸

The implications for embodied religious practice of the circulation of the antitheatrical pamphlets in an economy of print and speech have also been overlooked. The circulation of godly print, as has been well documented⁷⁹, provided an important cultural site for the developing practices of puritan culture. Though no specific evidence of the consumption of antitheatrical pamphlets remains, the works noted below will help me to suggest in my fourth chapter how the antitheatrical pamphlets might have circulated. It is known that they did so; Philip Stubbes' *The Anatomie of Abuses* (1583) went through six editions.⁸⁰ Stubbes' heated work, and that of his fellow pamphlet writers, was held in hands, stuffed in pockets, read out loud by candlelight, and no doubt

⁷⁶ Named for Jacobus Arminius (1559-1609), Arminianism is a view of Christianity that holds doctrines of universal grace and free will, and denies predestination. *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 2nd ed., Lindsay Jones (ed.), (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2005), 492.

⁷⁷ Colin Rice, *Ungodly delights: Puritan opposition to the theatre, 1576-1633*, (Alessandria, Italy: Edizioni dell'Orso, 1997), 129-177. Barish's use of Prynne as representative of the whole body of antitheatrical "Puritan" discourse seems all the more unfortunate, considering Rice's contribution.

⁷⁸ Lake, *Lewd Hat*, 570-1.

⁷⁹ See Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth Century England*, (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1981); Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); and Peter Lake with Michael Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists, and Players in Post-Reformation England*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002) (hereafter *Lewd Hat*), all of which will be helpful for my discussion below.

⁸⁰ Alfred W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, *A short title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of English books printed abroad, 1475-1640*. 2nd ed. (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976-91), 370.

discussed and debated in homes, church precincts, and market squares across early modern England. Agnew usefully reinforces materialist approaches to puritan culture such as Christopher Hill's;⁸¹ however, I will show that the puritan prophetic performative competed with the theatre, vying for the cultural role of "ontologically subversive" force. Like the theatre, puritan performative speech endeavored to draw boundaries between itself and the "ceremonial imperatives of medieval town life;" like the theatre, puritan speech re-inscribed the geography of London in its practices, taking root, before the theatre did so, in the "liberties;"⁸² and, as Bryan Crockett has shown, puritan preaching practices shared with the theatre the reconstruction of public space, in ways resonant with the Globe's "Wooden O."⁸³

The idiom of puritan prophetic speech offers significant consistencies across spoken and written forms of discourse. Peter Lake, writing with Michael Questier, has comprehensively shown how tropes, images, and theological ideology in the antitheatrical pamphlets tie them not only to the murder pamphlet and other forms of cheap print, but also to similar tropes in both early modern dramatic literature and sermons. Lake connects the emergence of cheap print with the creation of a 'public sphere.'⁸⁴ Lake uses the godly idiom of sermons and pamphlets, both, as evidence of "the

⁸¹ See Hill, *op. cit.* Peter Lake notes the influence of Hill's materialist view on others, such as Keith Wrightson's *Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling, 1525-1700*, (New York: Academic Press, 1979).

⁸² Agnew *op. cit.*, 112-3; Steven Mullaney suggests the liberties served as "a culturally maintained domain of ideological ambivalence and contradiction, where established authority reached and manifested, in spectacular form, the limits of its power to control or contain what exceeded it." See *The Place of the Stage: License, Play, and Power in Renaissance England*, rev. ed., (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), vii-ix. To be sure, not all the London public theatres were located in the liberties; and neither were all the churches with puritan ministers. However, I will show some surprising parallels between theatre and puritanism in their use of the liberties.

⁸³ Crockett *op. cit.*, 1-2. Crockett shows that puritan theologian Martin Bucer proposed a circular design for reformed churches with the pulpit at the centre. Crockett compares Bucer's design with the structure of the Globe Theatre, and also with the outdoor pulpit at Paul's Cross, finding striking parallels.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, xxii.

relations between perfect protestantism and puritan populism and Grub Street,⁸⁵ only now with the commercial theatre added into the mix.”⁸⁶ Alexandra Halasz further develops those ideas in *The Marketplace of Print*, which examines the emergence of print capitalism in early modern England, and the social world it constituted. Halasz notes early the ambivalent status of the pamphlet, poised between print and speech:

The pamphlets’ ephemerality associates them with the orality of gossip, their printedness with the authoritative texts that they materially resemble. Yet it is their printedness that allows them to circulate like gossip. Thus equivocally positioned, pamphlets are an anomaly.⁸⁷

The orality of the antitheatrical pamphlets is further underlined by puritan cultural practices such as prophesyings, fasts, exercises, and catechism teaching – all practices within which the consumption of godly print took place. The pamphlets’ ambiguous status also poses a challenge for scholars seeking to categorize them as ‘cheap’ print, and their producers as ‘hack’ Grub Street writers:

The categorization of pamphlets by their commodity status, rather than by their authors, titles, or discursive kind draws attention to them as *only* pamphlets and thus distinguishes them from other discourses produced in small formats and sold in the marketplace. Yet no clear and stable lines can be drawn to distinguish between a pamphlet, a small book, and a book. Indeed pamphlets were sometimes collected and bound into books by booksellers as well as readers.⁸⁸

If early modern categories of print materiality are thus blurred, so too are the categories of discourse they appropriate. On the one hand, “no clear and stable lines” can be drawn between pamphlets and books; on the other, the pamphlets were texts for oral performance, and, Halasz suggests, circulated like gossip. The boundary between the

⁸⁵ Derived from an actual street in Moorfields which no longer exists, Grub Street is a term applied to hack writers of almanacs, pamphlets, and broadsides of indifferent literary quality. *Cambridge Guide to Literature in English*, 3rd ed., Dominic Head (ed.), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, 1993, 2006), 466.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, xxii.

⁸⁷ Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 3.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.

printed pamphlets and their oral performance is unstable; it seems reasonable to suggest that the authority the godly pamphlets appropriated is continuous with the authority of puritan prophetic performative speech, which would confirm their attraction to a godly consumer.

As was the case for puritan prophetic speech, the boundary between puritan pamphlet printing and sovereign performative speech was marked in law. It was also marked in the violence that attends sovereign performative speech: John Penry was hanged for allegedly writing the Marprelate pamphlets.⁸⁹ Halasz suggests the relation between legal and public speech:

The surviving documents that seek to regulate the public discourse mediated by the book trade speak of the “printing, putting to sale, or uttering” of texts. In the language of statute and proclamation, to utter is simply to publish.⁹⁰

Tracing the levels of utterance in the antitheatrical pamphlets will help clarify the social action they performed in the market for what Shakespeare’s Rosencrantz calls “argument,”⁹¹ a notion that captures both the rhetorical and the performative aspects of the antitheatrical pamphlets: an argument is the premise for a plot, and therefore constructs character and action on the stage.

Puritan prophesyings were held on market day, and during large fairs.⁹² Puritan pamphlets, as a body, announced the place of puritan speech in the marketplace; as Lake has shown, godly pamphlets formed part of an economy of print that included murder pamphlets and other sensational forms. Far from attempting to “resolve the complex

⁸⁹ *EPM*, 391-3.

⁹⁰ Halasz op. cit., 51.

⁹¹ *Hamlet* 2.2.378. Commenting on the struggle between the children’s and adult companies, Rosencrantz suggests “There was for a while no money bid for argument, unless the poet and the player went to cuffs in the question.”

⁹² See Chapter Two below. Margaret Spufford notes a synod held at Stourbridge Fair in 1587 (*Contrasting Communities*, 261.) See also Collinson, *Godly People*, 357.

problematic of market exchange by repressing its most vivid figurative expression,” it would seem that the antitheatrical pamphlets may have been attempting to elbow the stage aside in order to maintain the dominant market position of the ritualizing function of godly speech. Following threads in Dekker’s *Gull’s Hornbook*, Halasz notes striking parallels in the market practices of pamphlet and player:

Like the commodity-pamphlet, actors and the theater were vagrant. Indeed, the routes of playing companies on tour and the established distribution channels of the book trade probably coincided significantly. In contrast to actors, however, pamphlets are “unliveried,” or rather the question of livery is radically different.⁹³

The vagrant actor, performing his uncertain social status in both his onstage roles and his peripatetic bodily “distribution”, was nevertheless often protected by the authority of noble patronage, which his livery extended. Godly pamphlets similarly were protected by, and extended, the deputized authority granted them by the prophetic voice: they claimed to speak for God. Market forces served to reinforce the value of reiteration:

...if one pamphlet awakens interest, several flame it, and the interest excited is both immediate (providing for quick sale) and transitory (providing for quick succession).⁹⁴

The transitory nature of the pamphlet echoes the transitory nature of speech; reiteration is necessary and, in fact, useful. If the antitheatrical pamphlets published over the period in question repeat their arguments, that repetition may in fact have heightened their market value, scholarly condescension notwithstanding.

There is little concrete evidence of the consumption of cheap print of any kind in sixteenth century England. Margaret Spufford offers the only specific evidence she was able to find, a brief glimpse of a petty chapman marketing his wares in the churchyard at

⁹³ Halasz op. cit., 181.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 33.

Balsham, Cambridgeshire.⁹⁵ Any suggestion of the value placed on his products by their consumers would be speculative, in Spufford's view. However, the antitheatrical pamphlets can be confidently placed within an economy of cheap print that had quite porous boundaries. The emergent print economy in early modern England was granted authority in some measure by its use of printed godly language, a practice to which the antitheatrical pamphlets materially contributed.

If market forces served to reinforce the value of reiteration, they also eventually served to isolate that reiteration from the communally produced authority of puritan prophetic performative speech. The process of puritan engagement with the press, I will show, introduced commodification and the play of optation into the liminal practices that constructed the puritan body. While appropriating the paradoxical figure of the puritan body, the antitheatrical pamphlets irrevocably transformed its social function. The antitheatrical body presents striking continuities with the puritan body, but it differs as well in significant ways. The antitheatrical body continues to present the surface of the body as the site for representing religious identity, but it also progressively undermines the obligatory, participatory elements of the puritan habitus. The pressures of the market opened the way for the scandalous bodily inversion presented on the stage in the 1590s as the grotesque figure of the Stage Puritan.

On Theatre and Stage Puritans

In his paper "The Theatre Constructs Puritanism," Patrick Collinson suggests that the Stage Puritan first appeared in 1588 as part of a satirical response to the equally

⁹⁵ Margaret Spufford, *Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 208. "In 1578, a man was 'selling of lytle bookes in Balsham churchyard.'" Balsham is not far from Richard Greenham's parish in Dry Drayton.

satirical Martin Marprelate pamphlets.⁹⁶ Given the volatility of the term “puritan”, and its predominant use in the sixteenth century as an epithet, Collinson suggests that the satirical stage representation of puritanism came to define actual puritanism in the popular imagination. As he says elsewhere,

My argument has been either that audiences and readers learned what a puritan was from the torrent of these fictions released by Martin Marprelate; or that these fictions helped them identify, label and hate the puritan who had been all the time in their midst.⁹⁷

Collinson’s suggestion resonates with my use of Judith Butler’s formulation of hate speech. To be sure, there was ecclesiastical vitriol on both sides of the case; both sides would seem to have been appropriating an unauthorized citational form of sovereign performative speech.⁹⁸ Given the ambiguous status of pamphlets in general suggested by Halasz, poised between print and speech, it should come as no surprise that evidence Collinson offers can serve to further locate the Marprelate controversy within the greater struggle over transgressive speech. He notes:

Even argument was silenced as more legitimate publications were suppressed. The very press on which the livelihood of Martin’s original printer, Robert Waldegrave, depended was sawn in half.⁹⁹

Government pursuit of the Marprelate presses, and their destruction, further extended the social status of puritan speech as transgressive and resistant.

⁹⁶ Patrick Collinson, “The Theatre Constructs Puritanism.” In *The Theatrical City: Culture, Theatre and Politics in London, 1576-1649*. David L. Smith, Richard Strier, and David Bevington (ed.s) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 157-169. Collinson says, “This argument arises from the interest of a historian of religion in the construction of religious identities partly, and in the case of Puritanism largely, by a process of negative stigmatisation, but also by a measure of reciprocal self-recognition in the stigmatised.”

⁹⁷ Patrick Collinson, “Ecclesiastical Vitriol: religious satire in the 1590’s and the invention of Puritanism,” in *The Reign of Elizabeth I: court and culture in the last decade*, John Guy (ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 169.

⁹⁸ See the subsection “On Performance Studies, Speech Act Theory, and Prophetic Speech” below.

⁹⁹ Collinson, “Ecclesiastical Vitriol”, 157.

Just as the antitheatrical pamphlets used humoral vocabulary to protect the ordering action of prophetic performative speech, so the conventions of the Stage Puritan constructed the puritan body by means of a humoral [re]ordering of containment and disclosure. The dramatists who constructed the early modern Stage Puritan appropriated and satirized puritan language and practices, creating oppositions between embodiment and speech that constructed the Stage Puritan as a hypocritical figure. Collinson offers a view of some of the features of that construction:

This was when, where and why the stage-Puritan made his entry, already equipped with the elements of an essentially simple and stable repertory: outward piety (indicated by the white of the upturned eye), inner corruption, consisting of avarice, lust and sedition – in a word, hypocrisy incarnate.¹⁰⁰

The sophisticated attack on puritan idiom and puritan humoral practices of consumption and classification took particular aim at what Bourdieu called the “rare words” typical of puritan prophetic performative speech. In doing so, it attacked the efficacy of prophetic speech to produce religious conversion: taking Gosson’s objection and turning it inside out, the stage re-appropriated prophetic speech to authorize its own performative power.

Patrick Collinson’s notion that the stage invented Puritanism has merit, as the persistence of the puritan as grotesque demonstrates, but the liminal, transgressive puritan practices of performative speech may also, in some measure, have contributed to the performance practices of the early modern stage. The paradox of bodily closure and disclosure, and the ordering powers of prophetic performative speech to shape space, time, and embodied dispositions and practices are figured in the conventions of the Stage Puritan, producing representations of bodies that are both classically closed and grotesquely open. Bakhtinian opposition is, in the Stage Puritan, combined. The same

¹⁰⁰ Collinson, “Theatre Constructs Puritanism,” 167.

struggle between containment and disclosure, between “passion and coolness,” that is figured in the Stage Puritan will be familiar from recently published models of early modern performance practices, as found for example in the work of John Barton.¹⁰¹ In marking theatrical performance practices as religiously transgressive, the antitheatrical pamphlets helped define them as having ritual significance. As has already been well documented, the stage had only recently lost the sacramental, authorizing religious power of performative speech it had enjoyed for centuries.¹⁰² The court’s patronage of the stage was socially ambiguous at best, as theatrical speech, like puritan speech, was subject to legislative control. Theatrical speech was not officially authorized as a form of either sovereign or divine speech. Its claims to authority were produced by its cultural status as “other,” or “impossible” speech; early modern theatrical speech was performative to the extent that it was haunted by the sovereign and prophetic forms of speech that marked it as transgressive, and whose models it appropriated.

While early modern theatre performance may have appropriated models of both prophetic and sovereign performative speech, it should not be viewed as having a ritual function. It was what Victor Turner calls a liminoid cultural form. “Optation pervades the liminoid phenomenon, obligation the liminal.”¹⁰³ The early modern theatre, as Jean-Christophe Agnew, Paul Yachnin, and others have suggested, was a theatre “in and of the marketplace.”¹⁰⁴ Yachnin’s comments on the position of puritans within that market help tie the conventions of the Stage Puritan to the theatre’s etiolated ritual status.

¹⁰¹ John Barton, *Playing Shakespeare*, (London: Methuen, 1984). See especially chapter 8, “Passion and Coolness-A *Question of Balance*,” 134-149.

¹⁰² In addition to O’Connell, op. cit., see Sarah Beckwith, *Signifying God: Social Relation and Symbolic Act in the York Corpus Christi Plays*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

¹⁰³ Turner, op. cit., 20-59.

¹⁰⁴ Agnew op. cit., x.

In the broadest terms, the Puritans are scapegoats for the players and playwrights' own profitable but problematic situation between the entertainment market and the system of rank.¹⁰⁵

The same observation might be made of the puritan construction of the theatre in the antitheatrical pamphlets. Actors were scapegoats for the puritans' own troubled situation between sovereign and divine authority. The puritans turned to the marketplace to protect that precarious, liminal status in the emergent public sphere of print. And once again, the site for that market struggle emerges as the humoral body of the consuming subject, caught in the act of self-fashioning speech.

In the crisis of representation, caught between hypocrisy and authenticity, modes of performative speech are deployed by both sides against the other. Neither denies the terms of engagement; both take recourse to the performative powers of speech to shape the body in grounding their claims to authenticity. The Stage Puritan, performing puritans as both grotesquely open and classically closed bodies, itself provides a useful figure for early modern performance practices of "personation."¹⁰⁶

Theoretical Context

On Ritual and Social Theory

Interring paradigms of the body into such fields of discourse as theology or dramatic literature tends to encourage the subsequent exhumation of fixed bodily classifications. Critical method often introduces the fixity of print into the liminality of practice, and places thought and intention prior to action. Citing extensively from Bourdieu's *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Catherine Bell critiques theoretical views of ritual that perpetuate the distinction between thought and action: "Ritual is then described

¹⁰⁵ Paul Yachnin, "Reversal of Fortune: Shakespeare, Middleton, and the Puritans." *English Literary History* 70.3 (2003), 758.

¹⁰⁶ Thomas Heywood, *An Apology for Actors*, (London, 1612; reprinted New York, 1972), B4r.

as particularly *thoughtless* action – routinized, habitual, obsessive, or mimetic—and therefore the purely formal, secondary, and mere physical expression of logically prior ideas.”¹⁰⁷ Bell critiques Geertz’ and Turner’s use of the symbol in theorizing ritual, pointing out that viewing ritual as symbolic tends to privilege the theorist: “Then, in the same way that ritual is seen to reintegrate thought and action in some form, discourse on ritual is seen to afford special access to cultural understanding by integrating the subject’s thought and the object’s activities.”¹⁰⁸ Following Bell and Bourdieu, I will read puritan acts and practices for the social actions, the distinctions, they perform. I will show the continuities and discontinuities between puritan ritual practices – prophesyings, exercises, repetitions, lectures, catechism teaching, prayer and worship services – and antitheatricity as represented in print culture. As Bell suggests,

Confronting the ritual act itself, and therein eschewing ritual as some object to be analyzed or some subjectivity to be fathomed, would involve asking how ritual activities, in their doing, generate distinctions between what is or is not acceptable ritual.¹⁰⁹

In the context of the struggle over puritan prophetic speech, the antitheatrical pamphlets performed a crucial act of distinction: as Bourdieu points out, “Social subjects, classified by their classifications, distinguish themselves by the distinctions that they make.”¹¹⁰ The antitheatrical pamphlets not only attacked the theatre as an “unacceptable ritual”; initially at least, they also protected and extended the space of the puritan habitus within the marketplace of print and speech.

¹⁰⁷ Bell, *op. cit.*, 19.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 47.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 80.

¹¹⁰ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: a social critique of the judgment of taste*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984), 6.

Puritan distinctions between what they regarded as acceptable and unacceptable ritual have often been theorized as puritans' defining feature; particularly, that part of puritan culture called the "hot protestant", "nonconformist", or "presbyterian," which confronted the Elizabethan church with a series of "manifestoes," is charged (or credited) with challenging an English church that was "but halfly reformed."¹¹¹ However, eschewing for a time the analysis of objects, this study will first attend to the practices of the puritan body, noting how those practices generated social distinctions and classifications that inevitably had political consequences. A common and paradigmatic feature uniting puritan ritual practices is the practice of prophetic performative speech, a practice that many of the antitheatrical pamphlets strategically privileged, and that they all appropriated.

As Bourdieu points out, understanding the body as engaged in practices places the body "in the world which presupposes no representation either of the body or of the world, still less of their relationship." Bourdieu's incisive notion of the subject as a player in a field, shaped by the structuring rules of the game which he calls the *habitus*, and responding in the moment to the conditions of the field, produces the contingent notion of "incorporated history"¹¹² I want to appropriate. For Bourdieu, and for the purposes of this study, bodily practice refuses rhetorical exhaustion; there is always an aspect of practice that remains indeterminate and mysterious. The body is not a passive object upon which discourses are inscribed; the body constructs itself in practices that engage with the

¹¹¹ *EPM*, 34. See for example Walter Frere and C.E. Douglas. *Puritan Manifestoes: A Study of the Origin of the Puritan Revolt*, (London: SPCK, 1954). Patrick Collinson supplies a list of various names puritans were called in *Godly People*, 1.

¹¹² Bourdieu, *Logic of Practice*; both citations from p.66.

immediate conditions of the field of cultural power, by turns conceding and appropriating agency, as Bell suggests:

...the fact that there are no relations of power without resistance means that the body is not appropriated by power and neither is consciousness. Rather, the body and consciousness, and any distinction between them, are constituted by those relations of domination and resistance that are the play of power.¹¹³

Puritan prophetic speech was subject to, and appropriated, sovereign power.

Ritual practices are embodied practices, “schemes of perception, thought, and action”¹¹⁴ that hide the social function they perform – the construction of the ritualized habitus. As bodily practices, they structure the temporal and spatial environment¹¹⁵ that is “organized according to schemes of privileged opposition.”¹¹⁶ Puritans articulated that privileged opposition as the struggle between the elect, predestined to salvation, and the unrepentant; but it is important to remember that as such, puritan cultural opposition was “misrecognized,” as Bell puts it, “as values and experiences impressed upon the person and community from sources of power and order beyond it.”¹¹⁷ Bodily practices reinscribe and naturalize meanings in time and space as if they were inevitable, producing “a common-sense world, whose immediate self-evidence is accompanied by the objectivity produced by consensus...”¹¹⁸. In Section One I will explore how puritan religious practices, expressed for example in the puritan insistence on Sabbath observance, not only restructured their temporal environment around the dictates of prophetic speech, but also transgressed official boundaries of the religious spatial environment.

¹¹³ Bell op. cit., 203-4.

¹¹⁴ Bourdieu, *Logic of Practice*, 54.

¹¹⁵ Bell op. cit., 93.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 98.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 99.

¹¹⁸ Bourdieu, *Logic of Practice*, 58.

In ritual, Bell suggests, “we can see a fundamental strategy of power.”¹¹⁹ The power of ritual mastery is not only to appropriate “a field of action structured in great measure by others;” it also effectively structures interiority and bodily dispositions. It is not my intention in this study to empty religion of its religiosity, reducing it to what Sarah Beckwith calls “a bald ruse of power”¹²⁰ aimed at repression or social control. Rather, ritual power should be understood as productive, emerging from practices that can only be found in the local and particular fields of history. The production of the ritualized body is the social function of ritualization, as Bell notes:

The ultimate purpose of ritualization is neither the immediate goals avowed by the community or the officiant nor the more abstract functions of social solidarity and conflict resolution: it is nothing other than the production of ritualized agents, persons who have an instinctive knowledge of these schemes embedded in their bodies, in their sense of reality, and in their understanding of how to act in ways that both maintain and qualify the complex microrelations of power.¹²¹

The articulation of schemes that classify bodily and exterior space in a methodical way is therefore one of the central functions of puritan performative speech, maintaining relations of power on the local level in ways that, at times, directly challenged the national power of sovereign speech. For more moderate puritans the challenge to sovereign power could be disavowed; puritan performative speech consistently defended local relations of power, but for many puritans the necessity of conceding authority to sovereign power was never questioned, leading to an uneasy paradox between two political modes of speech. The paradoxicality of the puritan threat to sovereign hegemony is demonstrated in part by the difficulty of classifying who was a puritan and who was not on the basis of either consistent social attitudes or articulated political convictions.

¹¹⁹ Bell op. cit., 204.

¹²⁰ Beckwith, op. cit., 123.

¹²¹ Ibid., 221.

Peter Lake, reviewing Richard Greaves' study *Society and Religion in Elizabethan England*, notes that puritans cannot be meaningfully distinguished from non-puritans on the basis of their "opinions on issues like birth, death, sex, work and marriage." Rather, puritans could recognize one another by the intensity of their speech: "What marked out puritans was the seriousness with which they took entirely orthodox doctrines of election and reprobation and applied them to their own lives and experience."¹²² Puritans were intense and methodical classifiers and makers of distinctions; those rigorous distinctions preserved their status as members of the elect nation, as Lake has observed:

It was, of course, the division between the elect and the reprobate, grounded on God's double decree made before the foundation of the world, that underwrote the distinction between the godly and the ungodly that was so central to the puritan position.¹²³

Puritans tended to make distinctions with great confidence; as Bourdieu suggests, "The self-assurance given by the certain knowledge of one's own value, especially that of one's body or speech, is in fact very closely linked to the position occupied in social space (and also, of course, to trajectory)."¹²⁴ Or, as John Manningham put it in 1603, "A puritan is a curious corrector of thinges indifferent."¹²⁵

The cultural capital that established puritans as members of the elect, I will suggest, was their ability to produce prophetic performative speech. Bourdieu notes some possible implications for the puritan deployment of prophetic speech:

Thus linguistic ease may be manifested either in the tours de force of going beyond what is required by strictly grammatical or pragmatic rules, making

¹²² Peter Lake, "Puritan Identities." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 35 (1984), 116.

¹²³ Peter Lake, *Moderate puritans and the Elizabethan church*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 150. As Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales point out, this view has been challenged by Nicholas Tyacke, R.T. Kendall, and even Lake himself; I focus here on the way a theological discourse of election may have produced a practice of making distinctions. See Durston and Eales, op. cit., 7.

¹²⁴ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 206.

¹²⁵ John Manningham, *Diary*, ed. John Bruce (1868), 1, cited in Richard L. Greaves, *Society and Religion in Elizabethan England*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1981), 4.

optional liaisons, for example, or using rare words and tropes in place of common words or phrases, or in the freedom from the demands of language or situation that is asserted in the liberties taken by those who are known to know better.

There can be no better example of the misrecognized nature of the affront puritan performative speech gave to sovereign hegemony than that of Edward Dering's infamous sermon before Elizabeth, preached in early 1570. Calling the bulk of Elizabeth's churchmen "dumb dogs [who] will not bark," Dering dared to rebuke the Queen directly: "And yet you in the meane while that all these whordoms are committed, you at whose hands God will require it, you sit still and are carelesse, let men doe as they list." Dering openly threatened Elizabeth with damnation: "Let these thinges alone, and God is a righteous God, hee will one day call you to your reckoning."¹²⁶ Dering's career, of course, was irreparably damaged. He earned the Queen's enduring dislike, and may have sharpened her suspicion of all puritans; as Bourdieu might have put it, he should have known better.

Puritan classificatory schemes and practices appropriated, among other discourses, the logical method of dichotomies pioneered by Peter Ramus. Walter Ong notes the thoroughness of the puritan adoption of Ramist method:

The plain style, about which so much has been written lately, emerges as ideal and actuality among [Ramus' and Talon's] followers, particularly the Puritan or other "enthusiastic" or "methodist" preachers whose formal education was controlled by a Ramist dialectic and rhetoric evolved to the limit of its original implications.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ Edward Dering, "Sermon Preach'd Before the Queen's Majesty," cited in William Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), 12-13.

¹²⁷ Walter Ong, *Ramus: Method, and the Decay of Dialogue*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958), 283.

Ong suggests that the puritan appropriation of Ramism began after Gabriel Harvey's appointment to the position of University Professor of Rhetoric at Cambridge in 1574.¹²⁸ Puritan prophetic performative speech classifies, distinguishes, and orders in a relentlessly, urgently methodical way; the reach of Scripture is, of course, cosmic. Puritan appropriation of Ramist logic therefore fits well with the reformed doctrine of *sola scriptura*, by Scripture alone. As Manningham's comment above demonstrates, the field of *adiaphora*, things indifferent, was encroached upon by the classifying action of puritan speech. Puritan prophetic speech establishes order not only in exterior, visible space, but also in interior, bodily space. If the distinguishing mark of the puritan is the zeal of his or her speech, then the distinguishing mark of puritan logic is its comprehensive willingness to make distinctions in any field, which was constructed in puritan discourse as the practice of "watching." The spatial processing of puritan Ramist logic is an ordering process that places words and objects in their proper relationship with each other. It is a logic of "loci," of places, that construes Scripture as an inerrant, systematic visual table for the making of distinctions, and places it like a pair of spectacles on the believer's nose.¹²⁹

The puritan body appropriated theological categories to produce an ordering practice of external and internal classifications. It constructed a logic of practice that reformed the gaze, and with it, reformed the spatial and temporal environment, producing the disposition to reform bodily practices and classify bodily functions, perceptions, and

¹²⁸ Ibid., 302.

¹²⁹ John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, I.6.1, ed. John T. McNeill, trans. Ford Lewis Battles, (Louisville: Westminster Knoxville Press, 1960), 70. It is important to note that such a systematic theology is quite different from what has come to be known as fundamentalism. Calvinist systematic theology encompasses a cosmic grasp that asserts its consistency on its own terms; fundamentalism tends to be characterized as a proof-texting hermeneutic without a necessary sense of historical context.

experiences – in short, to fashion interiority by means of prophetic performance. The strategies deployed by the ritualized puritan body addressed particular historical circumstances. The confidence of their speech, their “linguistic ease,” appropriated the unchanging authority of Holy Scripture in a historical period of tremendous social upheaval. The ritualized puritan body defended and protected itself, constructing itself in speech whilst disclosing itself in speech; it took transgressive liberties, daring to directly challenge the sovereign. The puritan body shaped its practices around the ordering principles of prophetic performative speech.

On Performance Studies, Speech Act Theory, and Prophetic Speech

The implication of the body in the act of performative utterance is one of the constituting vectors of the field of performance studies. Stated perhaps most powerfully in the work of Judith Butler, the efficacy of performative speech in constituting social categories such as gender will be applied in this study to the constitution of religious identity in puritan culture. However, it is important to note immediately that Butler’s seminal essay on the subject, “Performative Acts and Gender Constitution,”¹³⁰ uses the term “performative” to mean something different from the Austinian formulation.

In that essay Butler approaches the “performative” from a phenomenological perspective, citing Merleau-Ponty to suggest the body’s status as a historical construction grounded in the meanings available at a particular place and time. That approach helps Butler avoid viewing the body (and therefore gender) as a prior, “interior essence.” Since the meaning of the body is “constrained by available historical conventions,” it is inherently dramatic, or performative: “The body is...a materiality that bears meaning, if

¹³⁰ Judith Butler, “Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory,” *Theatre Journal* Vol. 40 No. 4, Dec. 1988, pp. 519-531.

nothing else, and the manner of this bearing is fundamentally dramatic.” Citing Foucault, Butler defines the performative as “dramatic” and “non-referential.”¹³¹ In that sense, “performative” would seem to have a lot more in common with Bourdieu’s models of disposition and habitus than with Austin’s “performative.” Butler grants agency to the performer of gender, but also limits the possibilities of a performance within the range of local meanings: “Performing one’s gender wrong initiates a set of punishments both obvious and indirect.”¹³² As Bourdieu might put it, incorrect gender performance is thus subject to “sanctioning and debarring those who would destroy the game.”¹³³ Official discourses are historically particular and locally determined, and can be resisted; resistance may of course occasion punishment. The performance of obedient Christian identity particularly tends to be reified because of the ontological status that is accorded to the Scriptures, which are theologically understood as, at the least, divinely inspired, and therefore as representing a synchronic and omniscient view of God. However, the bodily dispositions and the habitus that produce human culture are inescapably historical; the classifying work they perform will always be local and particular.

Viewing performance as dramatic alludes to the iterability of behavior. The fact that behavior is learned embeds it in bodies as dispositions; it returns from embodied memory into the present as “twice behaved behavior” or “restored behavior.”¹³⁴ Sometimes the person performing is aware that a behavior is rehearsed and practiced, but most often he or she is not. Thus any behavior can be studied “as” performance; Schechner suggests “Something ‘is’ a performance when historical and social context,

¹³¹ Ibid., 521.

¹³² Ibid., 521-2.

¹³³ Bourdieu, *Logic of Practice*, 68.

¹³⁴ Richard Schechner, *Performance Studies – An Introduction*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 22.

convention, usage, and tradition say it is.”¹³⁵ Later I will show how restored behavior, especially when associated with the puritan practice of “repetition,” formed crucial aspects of puritan practices of prophetic performative speech.

J.L. Austin’s *How to Do Things With Words* (1962) offers a different view of performative speech, which has proved to be of enduring influence. Austin defines the illocutionary performative as speech in which “the issuing of the utterance is the performing of an action.”¹³⁶ Austin offers a series of conditions that must be met in order for an utterance to be considered performative; the conditions recognize the necessity for social power to decide both the conventional form and procedure of a performative utterance, and the proper authority of the person performing the utterance. Performative speech acts, those liable to “infelicity,” are particularly those “which have the general character of ritual or ceremonial.”¹³⁷ Thus, in England the Queen may baptize a ship; a passer-by smashing a bottle on the ship’s bow, naming it, and kicking loose the chocks will not be said to have performed the actual naming of the ship. Such an eventuality Austin calls, not a false statement, but an ‘unhappy’ or ‘infelicitous’ performative. Similarly, persons who desire to be married must conduct themselves, after the performative utterance of the officiant, *as* married persons; to fail to do so is a kind of unhappy performative Austin calls an ‘abuse.’¹³⁸ The subsequent acceptance of the illocutionary performative is therefore, Austin suggests, a perlocutionary effect of the performative that he calls “uptake.”¹³⁹ Viewed in that light, the entire puritan agenda

¹³⁵ Ibid., 30.

¹³⁶ J.L. Austin, *How to Do Things With Words*, J.O. Urmson ed., (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), 6-7.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 18-19.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 14-16.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 116.

could be said to be founded upon a reaction against the uptake of the accumulated classifications performed by the conventional procedures of Catholic ritual – the liturgy, vestments, sacraments, and polity of Catholicism all being particular expressions of the socially determined conventional procedures of Catholic ritual practice. ‘Papistry,’ viewed as an ‘unhappy’ performative, was to be reformed; theatre was an ‘abuse,’ a term familiar from the antitheatrical pamphlets.

At this point I want to observe that performative speech, in the Austinian sense, is doubly performative. Socially determined conventions are the power that produces the effect of the performative utterance; as Bourdieu states, “Officialization is the process whereby the group...teaches itself and masks itself from its own truth.”¹⁴⁰ A couple is married, or not, when the state says they are, or aren’t; the meanings generated by socially authorized performative speech are not limited or local. However, the same performative utterance also constitutes the social role of the officiant; it produces his or her authority in the very act of the utterance, as he or she is deputized by the authority of official discourse, in whatever form that discourse might take. The officiant could get it wrong, as Austin points out, calling it a “miscue”; but that in itself would not disallow the officiant from her or his status as deputized speaker of performative speech.¹⁴¹ The officiant’s agency is not located within his or her intention, but in the social conventions that the performative utterance reiterates. In *Excitable Speech* (1997), Butler calls this slide away from the notion of a prior essential self a product of the citationality of performative speech, a “metalepsis by which the subject who “cites” the performative is

¹⁴⁰ Bourdieu, *Logic of Practice*, 108.

¹⁴¹ Austin op. cit., 17-18.

temporarily produced as the belated and fictive origin of the performative itself.”¹⁴² In that regard among others, Butler differs from Austin’s formulation.

In *Excitable Speech*, Butler uses Austin’s model of performative speech to discuss hate speech in the United States; her penetrating and thorough analysis of Supreme Court decisions and U.S. constitutional law brings her to the startling claim that “*the state produces hate speech*”, which in the context of her discussion means that:

...the category cannot exist without the state’s ratification, and this power of the state’s judicial language to establish and maintain the domain of what will be publicly speakable suggests that the state plays much more than a limiting function in such decisions; in fact, the state actively produces the domain of publically (*sic*) acceptable speech, demarcating the line between the domains of the speakable and the unspeakable, and retaining the power to make and sustain that consequential line of demarcation.¹⁴³

As noted above, Queen Elizabeth I uttered a number of proclamations that curtailed the freedom of religious speech, and in particular the speech practices of puritans. In Butler’s construction, Elizabeth would seem to have produced transgressive religious speech by defining it. Puritan speech gained its performative power, in the Austinian sense, in the utterance of the queen. Butler views modern state power as a kind of etiolation of the sovereign power of monarchs, a performative power that is transgressively exercised by citizens uttering hate speech: “The problem, then, is not that the force of the sovereign performative is wrong, but when used by citizens it is wrong, and when intervened upon by the state, it is, in these contexts, right.”¹⁴⁴ There is no question that Elizabeth exercised fully sovereign performative speech; her utterance was sufficient to decide life and death for those of her subjects who challenged her power.

¹⁴² Judith Butler, *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*, (New York: Routledge, 1997), 49.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 77. Italics hers.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 77. Italics hers.

Butler goes on to approach the consequences for language of the modern
etiolation of sovereign power:

The difficulty of describing power as a sovereign formation, however, in no way precludes fantasizing or figuring power in precisely that way; to the contrary, the historical loss of the sovereign organization of power appears to occasion the fantasy of its return—a return, I want to argue, that takes place in language, in the figure of the performative. The emphasis on the performative phantasmatically resurrects the performative in language, establishing language as a displaced site of politics and specifying that displacement as driven by a wish to return to a simpler and more reassuring map of power, one in which the assumption of sovereignty remains secure.¹⁴⁵

The sovereign performative speech of the early modern monarch was reiterated and therefore spatially extended and reinvigorated in the speech of a bishop, and in the speech of the bishop's duly appointed representative, the local Anglican priest. Its status as sovereign performative was materially confirmed in the language of the *Book of Common Prayer*, and, as Ramie Targoff has pointed out, citationally reiterated in the call-and-answer format of public prayer.¹⁴⁶ The *Book of Common Prayer* was a site of displaced sovereign power. The people of early modern England were thus, in some measure, spoken as subject citizens in the sovereign performative of the Anglican liturgy.

In that context, puritan prophetic speech appears once again as resistant. It attributes the authority of godly speech to the work of the Holy Spirit within the speaker, rather than to the Crown, producing his or her speech as a direct citation of God's Word. The prophetic performative *alone* is construed in puritan discourse as godly speech, marking the puritan body as the displaced site of the reformed principle of *sola scriptura*.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 78.

¹⁴⁶ Targoff, op. cit. Central to Targoff's thesis is the notion that the *Book of Common Prayer* introduced "a single paradigm for devotional language" (4), suggesting, following Hooker, "the general superiority of public over private prayer" (51).

Theodore Dwight Bozeman describes the puritan relationship with scripture as performative:

Understood in such terms, the scriptural report was far more than a mere chronicle. The events it depicted were not truly remote. They were dramatic, engrossing, and hence contemporary. Sacred writ was therefore experienced as a kind of living theater. [...]the first aim was to abolish objective distance between the precise saint of Elizabethan or Stuart times and the world of biblical report; it was to draw the observer within the horizon of action, to promote self-forgetful identification with the presented events.¹⁴⁷

By abolishing the distance between the Elizabethan present and the past of the “scriptural report,” prophetic performative speech returned divine authority from the language of Scripture to the speaking godly body. As I noted above, puritan preachers such as Dering objected strongly to “dumb dogs” who could not preach. Bozeman suggests: “The struggle over the Elizabethan Settlement forced the Puritans to a radicalized view of *sola scriptura*, as they knew that the church authorities, like them, would appeal to the authority of the church Fathers in order to protect ‘the church’s anchorage in ancient precedent.’”¹⁴⁸ The classifying action of performative godly speech was extended into the fields of print and iconography, and asserted with such progressively fierce resistance that Collinson has called it “iconophobia.” The more rigorously the Elizabethan authorities attempted to curtail puritan prophetic performative speech, the more rigorously the court’s sovereign performative produced it as transgressive speech. Puritan prophetic performative speech, and its attendant polemic rhetoric, was based not in fear or anxiety, but in the resistant determination to maintain and perform its socially distinctive status.

¹⁴⁷ Bozeman, op. cit., 15-16

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 26.

Having designated two categories of speech created by official discourse, Butler suggests the consequences for a speaker of speaking the “unspeakable”:

Here the question is not whether certain kinds of speech uttered by a subject are censored, but how a certain operation of censorship determines who will be a subject depending on whether the speech of such a candidate for subjecthood obeys certain norms governing what is speakable and what is not. *To move outside of the domain of speakability is to risk one’s status as a subject. To embody the norms that govern speakability in one’s speech is to consummate one’s status as a subject of speech.* “Impossible speech” would be precisely the ramblings of the asocial, the rantings of the “psychotic” that the rules that govern the domain of speakability produce, and by which they are continually haunted.¹⁴⁹

As I noted above, early modern Puritans are often viewed in precisely the fashion Butler describes here. Puritans are transgressive and seditious subjects, construed in an *ad hominem* trope as grotesque and “impossible” persons within the dominant discourse. Puritan prophetic speech, haunted by the imperatives of the sovereign performative, in turn haunts that dominant discourse as its “other.” The haunting of “psychotic” puritan speech within the dominant persists in the elite world of academic discourse to this day, as noted above, for example, in Barish’s psychologizing diagnosis of Prynne. What Elizabeth’s episcopate construed as “impossible speech,” the puritans construed as an effort to criticize and reshape the governing rules of performative speech. It is inevitable that such an effort should be taken up performatively into embodiment. As Kristen Poole has shown, the puritan body was often constructed as grotesque: “In early modern literature, it is the drunken, gluttonous, and lascivious puritan who predominates.”¹⁵⁰

Towards the end of *Excitable Speech*, Butler critiques Bourdieu’s model of the habitus, suggesting that he “inadvertently forecloses the possibility of an agency that

¹⁴⁹ Butler, *Excitable Speech*, 133. Italics hers.

¹⁵⁰ Poole op. cit., 12.

emerges from the margins of power.”¹⁵¹ Butler suggests that bodily status cannot be completely constituted by its speech acts; “the body rhetorically exceeds the speech act it also performs.” There is always rhetorical excess in any speech act, because no speech act “can fully control or determine the rhetorical effects”¹⁵² it produces. For Butler, the capacity of the speech act to escape the boundaries of authorizing discourses is grounds for hope:

The question here is whether the improper use of the performative can succeed in producing the effect of authority where there is no recourse to a prior authorization; indeed, whether the misappropriation or expropriation of the performative might not be the very occasions for the exposure of prevailing forms of authority and the exclusions by which they proceed.¹⁵³

I do not wish to suggest that puritan prophetic speech was *only* or *unambiguously* resistant. On the contrary, Butler’s formulation here is helpful in clarifying its political polyvalence. Puritan prophetic speech acts were an effort to recover the prophetic performative from the aegis of the sovereign performative that had, in the puritan view, expropriated it, whilst also asserting the monarch’s absolute right to sovereign speech within the political arena. That is why even the most radical Elizabethan puritanism was a movement not of anarchy or revolution, but of reform.

Recent criticism has both advanced and troubled the appropriation of Austinian performative speech in the field of theatre studies. Developing insights offered by Andrew Parker and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick,¹⁵⁴ W.B. Worthen usefully discusses the controversy surrounding Austin’s designation of theatrical performance as an “etiolation

¹⁵¹ Butler, *Excitable Speech*, 156.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 155.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 158.

¹⁵⁴ See “Introduction: Performativity and Performance” in Andrew Parker and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, (ed.s), *Performativity and Performance*, (New York: Routledge, 1995).

of language.”¹⁵⁵ Worthen critiques Parker and Sedgwick for sustaining the subordination of performance to text: “Parker and Sedgwick enact a typically literary disciplinary investment in textually motivated forms of modern theatre as definitive of theatrical production.”¹⁵⁶ Worthen suggests, rather, that performance cites prior performances:

As a citational practice, theatre – like all signifying performance – is engaged not so much in citing texts as in reiterating its own regimes of performance. Plays become meaningful in the theatre through the disciplined application of conventionalized practices – acting, directing, scenography – that transform writing into something with performative force: performance behavior.

Citing Butler, Worthen suggests that hate speech is both perlocutionary and illocutionary; it causes things to happen (per), such as fights, burning houses, etc; but it also constitutes an act in itself (ill) “committing an injury merely by the act of being spoken.”¹⁵⁷

Worthen goes on, “To the extent that it puts its recipient ‘subject in a position of subordination’ (Butler, 26), hate speech accomplishes an illocutionary act, becoming “an unequivocal form of conduct” (23).”¹⁵⁸ This formulation is helpful in suggesting the role of prophetic performative speech in the puritan habitus. Prophetic performative speech hails its hearer as a divided being, constituted in flesh and spirit. Prophetic performative speech alienates the subject from his or her own *flesh*; the site of the flesh, crucially, is not merely the body,¹⁵⁹ but rather, is in the performance of the body produced by kinds of culturally determined performative dispositions, which are either taken up, in Austinian terms, or are not. In early modern England, godly dispositions of performance are privileged over ungodly ones. The flesh is placed in a subject position of subordination

¹⁵⁵ Austin op. cit., 22.

¹⁵⁶ W.B. Worthen, *Shakespeare and the Force of Modern Performance*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 6.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 11.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 9.

¹⁵⁹ See *On Embodiment: Humoral Theory and the Puritan Body* below.

to the authority of prophetic speech; yet the flesh is precisely what cannot be escaped until death, because of the absolute fallen-ness of the flesh and its ontological corollary, the absolute transcendence of God. It is not the body that is the prison of the soul, but the flesh, in which the soul itself participates. All the puritan world is therefore not merely a stage, but a kind of *danse macabre* of earthly trials punctuated by epiphanies of blinding joy. Those epiphanies alone offer intimations of the possibility of escape, flickering in the purifying flames produced in the illocutionary act of prophetic performative speech.

While Worthen recognizes the centrality of social conventions in deciding what constitutes performative speech, he limits the focus of dramatic performance to theatrical spaces:

Dramatic performance is not determined by the text of the play: it strikes a much more interactive, *performative* relation between writing and the spaces, places, and behaviors that give it meaning, *force*, as theatrical action.¹⁶⁰

This is insight helpful because it locates the performative authority of theatrical action within the social and behavioral conventions that register it as such. In Schechner's terms, it "is" performance. However, in Shakespeare's time those behavioral conventions were contested, and underwent a radical process of renegotiation. The conventions of medieval personification, still evident in the drama through much of Shakespeare's career, gradually gave way to the conventions of personation. The question of the etiology of performative speech is therefore more central to theatre history than has been thought. Medieval conventions of performance, Sarah Beckwith suggests, served to signify God:

Far from celebrating sacrifice and punishment, in their utterly concrete refiguring of the foundation of a new community through the enactment of the death and

¹⁶⁰ Worthen, *Shakespeare and the Force*, 12. Italics his.

resurrection of Christ, these plays actualize the body of Christ in its complex appearing and disappearing, absence and presence.¹⁶¹

Medieval theatre, in this formulation, had a liminal ritual function that was disavowed by the public theatres of Elizabethan England, as Agnew and others have noted.¹⁶² With the rise of the market, performative speech in the theatre shifted from a liminal to a liminoid¹⁶³ social function. That process, I will suggest, may also be seen in the differing social actions performed by the various antitheatrical pamphlets. The shift from the liminal puritan body to the liminoid antitheatrical body was constructed by the conditions of the marketplace for cheap godly print.

That puritan performative speech was specifically prophetic might at first seem a careless suggestion. To be sure, not all puritan prophetic speech cited the Old Testament prophets; nor did it consistently take the model of the Jeremiad or Hosead identified by some scholars. Mary Morrissey recently surveyed the models of prophetic speech that have been applied to Paul's Cross sermons. She cites, as a point of departure, Michael McGiffert's definition of a prophetic sermon: "A prophetic sermon is one in which the prophecies of the destruction and captivity of the Old Testament kingdoms of Israel and Judah, as described in the prophetic books of the Old Testament, are applied to the situation of the preacher's auditors."¹⁶⁴ Morrissey's paper effectively broadens the rhetorical definition of prophetic speech. Having examined the rhetorical form of Paul's Cross sermons, she concludes:

¹⁶¹ Beckwith, op. cit., 116.

¹⁶² Agnew op. cit., 103.

¹⁶³ See Victor Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play*, (New York: PAJ Publications, 1982), 32-3 and 52-5. Turner suggests ritual liminality marks transitions in social status that are *required*, and seen as "natural"; the liminoid is an optional, creative form of "antistructure" that is "placed for sale on the 'free' market."

¹⁶⁴ Mary Morrissey, "Elect Nations and Prophetic Preaching: *Types and Examples* in the Paul's Cross Jeremiad," in Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough, eds, *The English Sermon Revised*, (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 45.

the prophetic sermons preached at Paul's Cross do not presuppose a 'national covenant' or any kind of special relationship between God and England. Nor do they use the idea of a covenant to divide the community between elect and reprobate. They were designed to *exhort* the hearers to repentance by the most forceful means available – the threat of destruction and the promise of salvation – and assume for the purposes of their sermon that both options were available to their congregations.¹⁶⁵

Morrissey suggests exhortation performed a classifying social function that is not apparent in its rhetoric; it is ritualizing speech that hides what it performs. Patrick Collinson explicitly outlines the political implications of puritan prophetic speech: "But before engaging with the nation and, as we shall see, castigating it, the preachers in the prophetic mode had to construct it as their own kinds of "imagined community."¹⁶⁶ While prophetic speech might not have specifically constructed England as the elect nation of Israel, its power of exhortation performed distinctions in the social categories of its hearers. Distinctive preaching in the prophetic mode was the central plank of the puritan political agenda, as Collinson has suggested: "No part of the puritan programme would carry more weight than the incessant plea for a 'learned preaching ministry'."¹⁶⁷ Peter Lake finds the classifying action of puritan preaching evident even among what he calls "moderate" puritans: "There was in such a view of the ministry an implicit division between the true minister and the false, the puritan and the conformist." Christopher Hill devotes an entire chapter of *Society and Puritanism* to a discussion of preaching; citing Richard Greenham, he notes that "Puritans who referred to the necessity of *both* preaching *and* prayer usually made it clear that they thought preaching the more

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 57.

¹⁶⁶ Patrick Collinson, "Biblical rhetoric: the English nation and national sentiment in the prophetic mode," in Claire McEachern and Debora Shuger, (ed.s) *Religion and Culture in Renaissance England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 20. Collinson is citing Benedict Anderson's influential paradigm, which suggests the central role of discourses of print and speech in forming nations. See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, (London: Verso, 1983, revised 1991), 1-7.

¹⁶⁷ *EPM*, 42.

important of the two.”¹⁶⁸ The embodied nature of puritan prophetic speech performatively produced a distinct nation, an “imagined community” of the elect that Collinson has repeatedly called a “church within the church.”¹⁶⁹

Given the religious and political context in early modern England, the incomplete conflation of the sovereign performative and the prophetic performative might be said to have inevitably produced puritan culture. When exposed to puritan prophetic preaching, the early modern English citizen was confronted with a painful choice: is my godly speech first of all an aspect of my national allegiance, or is it first of all an aspect of my duty to God? In the uneasy civil struggles between Catholic, Anglican, and non-conformist fractions of the English nation, print culture, jurisprudential intervention, policing, spies, torture, and martyrdom all exercised particular kinds of claim upon that choice. Similar struggles on the individual level over the nature of speech and the performing body that it constituted marked the body as the site of that national struggle.

On Embodiment: Humoral Theory and the Puritan Body

The liminal body, caught in the act of performing itself in speech, has long been viewed as the site where models of the self meet with the categories and discourses dominant in the body’s historical location, its place in space and time. Mary Douglas’ widely known insight has offered a useful point of entry: “The body is a model which can stand for any bounded system. Its boundaries can represent any boundaries which are threatened or precarious.”¹⁷⁰ Catherine Bell cites Douglas, developing her insights

¹⁶⁸ Hill, *op. cit.*, 68.

¹⁶⁹ *EPM*, 51, 334, 375.

¹⁷⁰ Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, (New York: Frederick A Praeger, 1966), 115.

further, in order to clarify the idea that the body is neither an interiorized, essential self, nor an effect of the discourses that surround it:

On the one hand, “the social body constrains the way the physical body is perceived.” On the other hand, “the physical experience of the body, always modified by the social categories through which it is known, sustains a particular view of society.” Hence, “there is a continual exchange of meanings” between these two bodies “so that each reinforces the categories of the other.”¹⁷¹

As well as reinforcing categories, the body serves as the site for resisting, reconstructing, and renegotiating both physical experience and social categories. As Butler notes, citing Merleau-Ponty, “the body” cannot be understood as “a natural species,” but rather must be recognized as “an historical idea.”¹⁷²

If the early modern English body is an historical idea, the vocabulary that produced the categories shaping that idea was that of Galen (Claudius Galenus, 129-200 A.D.) As David Hoeniger notes, “Still after 1600 licentiates and fellows of the Royal College needed to pass an examination based purely on Galen, even though by then they included some of Paracelsian leanings.”¹⁷³ Such works as Elyot’s *Castel of Helthe* (1541) and Levinus Lemnius’ *The Touchstone of Complexions* (trans. Thomas Newton, 1576) were available in English to Richard Greenham and his contemporaries in the early 1580s; Lemnius’ work was published in Latin in 1561 at Antwerp. Historian of medicine Andrew Wear points out the remarkable stability of medical ideas throughout the period, suggesting it “comes close to providing an example of *l’histoire immobile*.”¹⁷⁴ Lemnius’

¹⁷¹ Bell op. cit., 179.

¹⁷² Judith Butler, “Performative Acts”, 520.

¹⁷³ David F. Hoeniger, *Medicine and Shakespeare in the English Renaissance*, (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1992), 79.

¹⁷⁴ Andrew Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550-1680*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 155. See also Katherine Park, “The Organic Soul,” in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. Charles B. Schmitt et al., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) 464; Park suggests that “a broad consensus” was formed in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

work can therefore be taken as representative, and can offer here a useful view of the early modern English appropriation of Galen's humoral theory.

The ordering action of humoral discourse is immediately evident in *The Touchstone of Complexions*, producing both interior bodily and exterior social categories. The humoral body is powered by natural spirit taken from the food and drink humans consume. The liver extracts natural spirit from the "chyle" produced in the stomach, and sends it to the heart in the bloodstream. The heart produces vital spirit, "the originall maintener and conveigher of naturall heate, whereunto moysture necessariely adhereth."¹⁷⁵ The body is sustained by natural heat, natural moisture, and vital spirit, conveyed from the heart through the arteries to all parts of the body. This vital spirit feeds and produces animal spirit, which is the seat of the senses, motion, and thought, and is produced in the "celles and cornerie ventricles of the brayne." Natural spirit is a kind of vapour; vital spirit also has an "Aerye nature;" and the animal spirit, which Lemnius orders as the highest of the three, is also airy, and therefore is "greatly with sweete smells nourished."¹⁷⁶ Throughout this early discussion of physiology, Lemnius notes the behavioral consequences of the spirits' function:

...if the Spirites be disquieted and oute of frame, they ingender and procure divers sortes of affections in the minde, and carrye the same (mauger all reason) like a shippe wythout guide and Rother, uppon the rockes of sondry inconveniences.¹⁷⁷

The spirits not only give order to the body's healthy functioning, but also influence and can overwhelm the right functioning of the mind if they are "oute of frame." The spirits, or *pneuma*, materially connect the permeable body with the cosmos, producing the model

¹⁷⁵ Levinus Lemnius, *The Touchstone of Complexions*, trans. Thomas Newton, (London: Thomas Marsh, 1576), 7^{r-v}.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 15^r.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 8^{r-v}.

of the pneumatic body, ordered by the principle of correspondence with the Ptolemaic universe.¹⁷⁸ Dale Martin suggests that Christian appropriation of the model of the pneumatic body served to construct social distinctions in Corinth at the time Paul wrote his epistle to the Corinthians:

Christians...possess esoteric knowledge communicated by the stuff of divine rationality, pneuma. Just as pneuma is the highest element in the human body, the element of human thought and the essence of life itself, so the divine pneuma is the substance of the communication of divine wisdom (2:10-11). The pneuma of “this world”—which, according to physicians and physicists, enabled perception and thought—is only a weak and misleading (that is, sin-inducing) false copy of the pneuma shared by God and Christians.¹⁷⁹

The biblical model of the pneumatic body offered a material, physiological basis for the knowledge of God within a properly ordered cosmos, and reproduced that cosmological order within the body.

Lemnius exhorts the reader to a careful ordering of the body and mind by appropriate control of the humors. The four humors – blood, phlegm, choler, and melancholy – are the material products of digestion, retained in the body as fluids. Gail Kern Paster has placed consistent, helpful emphasis on the humoral body’s leaky instability and unruliness. *The Body Embarrassed* is organized around an examination of excreted bodily fluids – urine, blood, semen, and breast milk – noting how either containment or socially shaming excretion produced both the “internal habitus”¹⁸⁰ of the humoral body, and the lowering threshold of shame in the early modern period. When the humours are kept in proper balance, Lemnius suggests, health results:

¹⁷⁸ Paster, *Humoring the Body – Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 33-4.

¹⁷⁹ Dale B. Martin, *The Corinthian Body*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 63. Pneuma may be understood as spirit, breath, or wind.

¹⁸⁰ Paster, *Body Embarrassed*, 113.

For when there is abundance of humours in the body, it cannot be chosen but Agues must needs be engendred of that continuall obstruction and putrefaction...unlesse those excrementes by continual labour and convenient exercise be purged, and the humours reduced into good blood.¹⁸¹

Lemnius' description unites physiological and psychological functions within the unitary system of the humoral body, and suggests a regimen for managing both.

Lemnius often grounds humoral bodily structure in analogies and examples drawn from social structure. He compares the body to a Commonwealth, which contains “many orders and sondry offices.” John S. Coolidge traces the correspondence between social and bodily form to “a *topos* borrowed from the Hellenic tradition in such writers as Menenius Agrippa,” noting its reiteration in I Corinthians 12:14-27, a passage that orders the body in way that metaphorically reflects social order.¹⁸² Lemnius stipulates four social classes: the lowest, menial class; above them, merchants; above them, magistrates and peers; and above them all, “they whose office beinge of higher authority, do instructe and trayne up the residue in the true knowledge of the Christian religion.” Lemnius finds a similar order in the body, “wherein every part doth properly and orderly execute his peculiar office.”¹⁸³ The influence of moisture, air, and diet in producing the humours and spirits of the body leads Lemnius to assumptions about ethnic and racial character that we today find grotesque; for example, “they that dwell Northward and in cold regions, by reason of grosse bloude and thicke Spyrtes, are seene to be bolde and full of venturous courage, rude, unmannerlye, terrible, cruell, fierce...”¹⁸⁴ Similarly, bodily structure and function is held to produce differences of age, gender, and character. Lemnius' book is

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 10^r.

¹⁸² John S. Coolidge, *The Pauline Renaissance in England: Puritanism and the Bible*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 32.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 11^{r-v}.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 13^r.

framed around an examination of the nine temperatures, or “complexions,” made up of combinations of the four elements, fire, water, air, and earth. Of those complexions, only one, the “temperate,” is perfectly balanced. That perfect balance, Lemnius states, has been achieved only by Christ, who is therefore the “paterne of perfection” humans should strive to emulate, despite our subjection to “mutability and inconstancie.”¹⁸⁵ The eponymous “touchstone” of the work is that each complexion may be managed by the intelligent deployment of the six non-naturals: air, meat and drink, exercise and rest, sleep and wakefulness, evacuation and retention, and management of the emotions.

Lemnius’ third chapter offers further evidence of the early modern imbrication of humoral theory and godly discourse. It is devoted to establishing his view of God’s providence in the body’s functioning. The power of the Holy Spirit “governeth and ruleth all thinges,” and “imparteth vitall heate.” The Holy Spirit’s work is based in the heart, and produces both physical and social order: “The Spirite which God hath inspyred into our harts, doth certify and wisse wyth our Spyritys, that wee be his Sonnes, and Heyres, yea Coheyres with Christe.” Lemnius integrates breath, word, and performative speech in grounding his providential vision in the Bible: “For by the Worde of the Lord, were al thinges made, and by the breath of his mouth, al the comelynes, beautie, and furniture thereof.”¹⁸⁶ The “Spirite of God” has been “diffused into every Creature;” imbalance in the humours incites a person to sin. By trusting in the Holy Spirit, “grounded upon the word of God,” humans can purge sin from their bodies, and restore psychological, physical, and confessional health. “For the heavenly Spirite, is the guyde and governour

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 37^v, 38^r.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 20^{r-v}. Lemnius cites Ps. 33 and Gen. 1.

of the Spyrites of mans bodye, which are then more qualefyed, quieted, and kept under better order...”¹⁸⁷

As noted above, Peter Lake suggests puritan political status might be described as “a distinctively zealous or intense subset of a larger body of reformed or protestant doctrines or positions.” I wish to suggest that the puritan appropriation of humoral physiology and its integration with scriptural language similarly constructed “a distinctively zealous or intense” exchange of meanings with mainstream protestant practices. In puritan culture, that zealous bodily model was represented in the bounded system constructed in the model of “edification,” a model that combines edifying speech with the construction of an ordered godly edifice, or house. As Coolidge suggests:

It is not too much to say that the whole, subtle but radical difference between the Puritan cast of mind and the Conformist appears in their different ways of understanding the verb ‘to edify’. [...] The Old Testament conceives of communal identity entirely in terms of the patriarchal family or ‘house’. Procreation, considered as the strengthening and maintaining of the patriarchal family, is the ‘building’ of the patriarchal house.¹⁸⁸

Coolidge’s observation connects patriarchal authority with the generative bodily function, and places both within biblical discourse. The functioning of the process of edification is constructed in Paul’s letter to the Corinthians in the model of the pneumatic body.

Coolidge marks the transition to the New Testament concept of the house:

The traditional manner of contrasting the house built of wood and stone with the house ‘built’ by the generation of life in the people now comes to suggest the idea of a community constituted, not by its visible institutions or locality, or even by blood relationship or common traditions, but by a mysterious life permeating it. When Paul tells the Church in Corinth, ‘ye are God’s husbandry, ye are God’s building’ (I Cor. 3:9), the association of building with planting is no longer an otiose formula...¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 20^v, 25^{r-v}.

¹⁸⁸ Coolidge, *op. cit.*, 27-8.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 35.

Coolidge notes that the zeal of the puritan appropriation of the model of edification gave rise to satirical responses directed against it by ecclesiastical authorities:

...indeed we tell them plainly that they build not well: but both hinder and overthrow their brethren's building: yea, they contrary and hinder their own building. And most fain would we have them leave this strange manner of building: but not utterly to leave all manner of building: but to join with us whom they confess to be their brethren, that we build on rock also, and for all material parts and substance of the building, they say, they agree with us. And we builded, and builded well, before they began, or were able to lay a stone or temper mortar to this building.¹⁹⁰

I suggest that the “mysterious life” to which Coolidge alludes above is given material form in the puritan appropriation of the pneumatic body. Dale Martin finds “the invasion etiology of disease” dominant in early Christian literature, producing a permeable model of the body subject to penetration and pollution. Martin gathers cultural practices such as sexual relations, consumption of food, and consumption of the Lord’s Supper together as “particular instances of what is essentially a single conflict regarding the boundaries of the body.”¹⁹¹ The material presence of the Holy Spirit in the body of the Corinthian believer, Martin suggests, means that impure sexual contact with prostitutes has the reciprocal effect of polluting Christ himself. The boundaries of the body must be protected:

Again, as in I Corinthians 5, what is at stake is the pneuma of God: “Or do you not know that your body is the sanctuary of the holy pneuma in you which you have from God” (6:19). Although Paul does not explicitly spell it out here, he is again concerned about possible pollution of the pneuma through the boundary-breaking activity of sexual intercourse with outsiders.¹⁹²

In Puritan practices the proper place is only knowable in, and is produced by, the illocutionary performative moment of bodily edification. This sense of the proper place

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 43; Coolidge cites Matthew Parker’s *A briefe examination*.

¹⁹¹ Martin, *op. cit.*, 163.

¹⁹² Ibid., 178.

structured by the religious appropriation of Ramist logic, articulated in the ideologies of the pneumatic humoral body found in both Galenic physiology and the Pauline Scriptures, produces the unstable interiority of puritan experience. Here I am appropriating the framework of constitutive spatial practices suggested by de Certeau:

A place (*lieu*) is the order (of whatever kind) in accord with which elements are distributed in relationships of coexistence. It thus excludes the possibility of two things being in the same location (*place*). The law of the “proper” rules in the place: the elements taken into consideration are *beside* one another, each situated in its own “proper” and distinct location, a location it defines. A place is thus an instantaneous configuration of positions. It implies an indication of stability.¹⁹³

The puritan body contains within itself both spaces and places, both the proper and the improper. It constructs an interior paradox between *sarx* and *pneuma*, flesh and spirit, in which a stable order struggles with and watches over an inevitably unstable *oikonomia*, a household order in which interior space and social categories exchange meanings.

The interior spaces of that edifice are constructed in the metaphors of humoral physiology, as the illustration below (Fig. 1) shows. In the interior architecture of the organic soul, the physical and psychological faculties of the body were organized into three divisions. Katherine Park notes the development of the concept of the faculty, in “late classical and Arabic authors.”¹⁹⁴ In the interior bodily economy, the three souls – vegetative, sensitive, and intellectual – were placed in an order of abstraction on the basis of their proximity to God. Fludd’s illustration below shows God’s transcendent, triune nature – Father, Son, and Holy Spirit – reflected in the chambers of the soul, which manage the senses, memory, and action.

¹⁹³ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven F. Randall, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 117.

¹⁹⁴ Katherine Park, “The Organic Soul,” in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. Charles B. Schmitt et al., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 467-8. Park suggests the fifteenth century philosopher Gregor Reisch was the most influential advocate of faculty psychology.

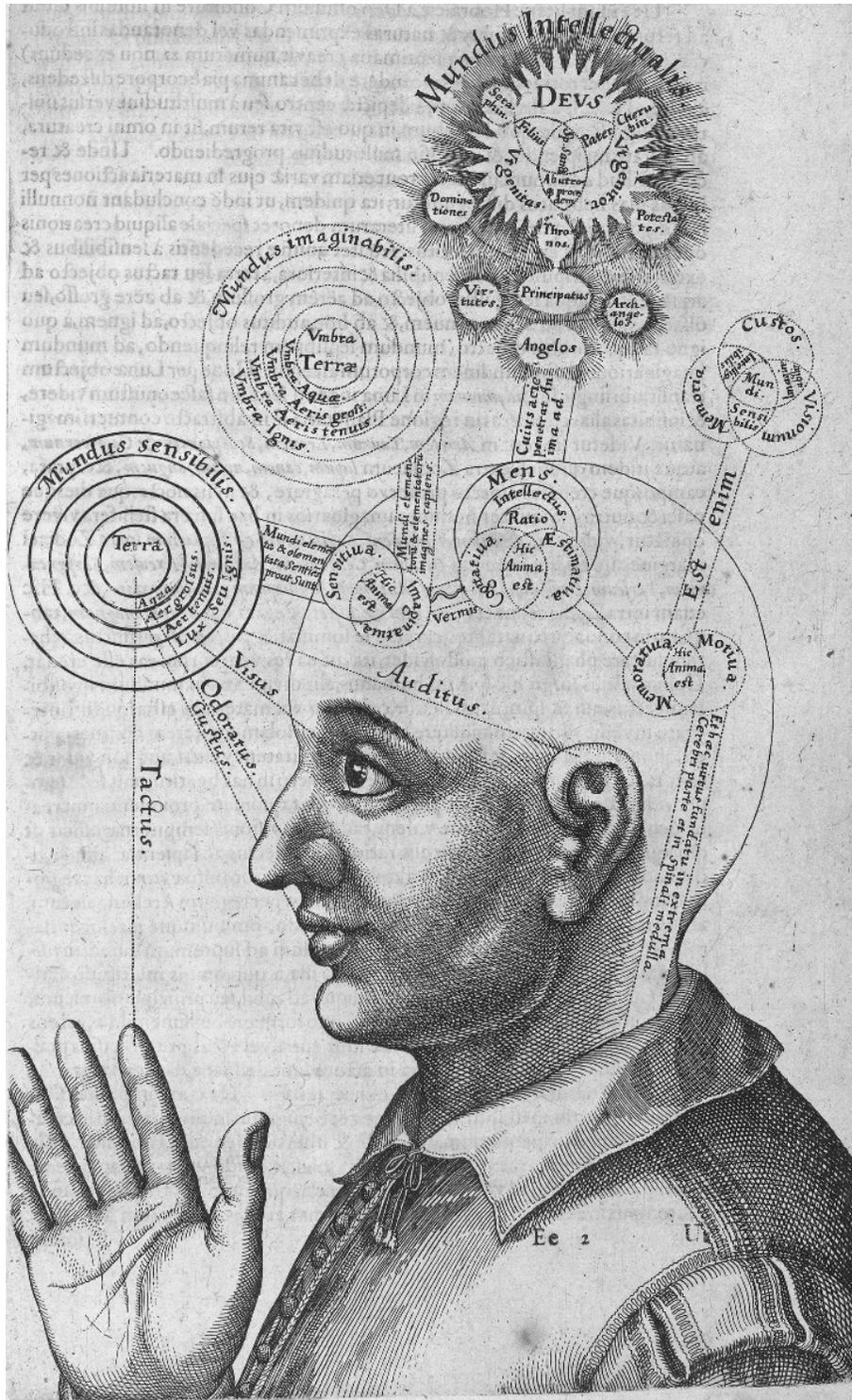


Fig. 1 The Three Chambers of the Soul¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁵ Robert Fludd, *Utriusque cosmi maioris scilicet et minoris metaphysica, physica atqve technica historia*, (Oppenheim, 1617), Vol. 2, Tract 1, Section 1, Book 10, 217. Reproduced by permission of the Huntington Library.

In the early modern Calvinist worldview, ‘flesh’ is not simply equivalent to ‘body,’ as Margaret Miles has pointed out:

Curiously, the soul participates in ‘flesh’ more than the body does. Using Paul’s synecdoche, ‘flesh,’ to designate the whole human being in the fallen condition of sinfulness, Calvin reduces human being to two organized activities, both located in the soul: flesh and spirit.¹⁹⁶

For Calvin, the categories of flesh and spirit are articulated in the field of practices.

Calvin directly cites Galen in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, discussing the wonders of the human body.¹⁹⁷ Developing that theme, Calvin seeks the image of God, the *imago Dei*, in the human form:

For although God’s glory shines forth in the outer man, yet there is no doubt that the proper seat of his image is in the soul. [...] Accordingly, the integrity with which Adam was endowed is expressed by this word, when he had full possession of right understanding, when he had his affections kept within the bounds of reason, all his senses tempered in right order, and he truly referred his excellence to exceptional gifts bestowed upon him by his Maker. And although the primary seat of the divine image was in the mind and heart, or in the soul and its powers, yet there was no part of man, not even the body itself, in which some sparks did not glow.¹⁹⁸

The trope in which reason orders the affections and senses, the linking of mind and heart by the animal spirit, itself vivified by the Holy Spirit, and the image of ‘sparks’ in the body, echoing the concept of natural heat, all find their basis in the humoral physiology articulated above. Calvin’s language in this passage also connects the microcosm of the anatomized body with the macrocosm of the *imago Dei*, producing a ‘referral of excellence’ beyond the human subject and into Biblical space. Calvin had ready access to

¹⁹⁶ Margaret Miles, “Theology, Anthropology, and the Human Body in Calvin’s *Institutes of the Christian Religion*,” *Harvard Theological Review* 74:8 (1981): 311.

¹⁹⁷ Calvin, *Institutes*, I.v.2. My thanks to Dr. Poole for pointing this out.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, I.xv.3.

humoral ideas; the library catalog of the Academy at Geneva for 1572 includes a 1538 edition of Galen's *Opera Omnia* in three volumes.¹⁹⁹

The reification of Scripture into what Bourdieu calls an “official discourse” tends to separate Scriptural language from the body as if language were a discrete thing. But that is not how the early modern puritans experienced the language of Scripture in their mouths. To “prophesy” was to experience and perceive what Calvin called the “quickenings”²⁰⁰ of the heart. Body, religious passion, and the outer world were performatively linked in the prophetic moment, giving godly believers the “justification”²⁰¹ of their faith that was the source of authority in their speech, and the marker of their status as members of Christ’s body and of the elect. Richard Greenham connects the body’s status as temple with the purifying action of prophetic speech:

...if wee be Gods temple (as every Christian ought to be wheresoever he goes) we must be cleansed. [...] In Baptisme wee are cleansed, it is not the water that cleanseth us, but the spirit which is as a fire: howbeit this fire hath oyle to minister matter to it, which is the word. This word is that, which quickeneth and inflameth us: and this is not only holy in it selfe, but it maketh us holy also...²⁰²

Failure to achieve the prophetic state robbed the godly of the only reliable sign that remained to them, giving rise to the melancholy Stachniewski and others have documented.²⁰³ In other words, for puritans to “take psychophysiology seriously”²⁰⁴ is not only to moralize about others’ sinful bodies, but also, and more significantly, to be

¹⁹⁹ Alexandre Ganoczy, *La Bibliotheque de l’Académie de Calvin: Le Catalogue de 1572 et ses enseignements*, (Geneve: Librairie Droz, 1969), 254.

²⁰⁰ See for example Calvin, *Institutes* 1.13.14: “For the Spirit searches...even the depths of God who has no counselor among the creatures; he bestows wisdom and the faculty of speaking... Thus through him we come into communion with God, so that we in a way feel his life-giving power toward us.” The phrase “life-giving power” (*vivificatio*) is elsewhere translated as “quickenings.”

²⁰¹ Romans 5:1, and 10:10, KJV.

²⁰² Richard Greenham, *The Workes of the Reverend and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ M. Richard Greenham, Minister and Preacher of the Word*, 5th ed. (London: William Welby, 1612), 804.

²⁰³ See John Stachniewski, *The Persecutory Imagination: English Puritanism and the literature of religious despair*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

²⁰⁴ Paster, *Humoring the Body*, 20.

able to construct or to 'edify' themselves as members of the elect in the transfiguring performative moment of prophetic speech.

The prominence of edification and the domestication of puritan religious practice has been remarked upon by religious historians. Christopher Hill emphasizes the patriarchal order of the family: "Children of all ages stood or knelt in the presence of their parents: a grown son removed his hat when speaking to his father."²⁰⁵ Citing John Gere, Patrick Collinson offers this view of puritan household structure and practice:

It had the discipline of a church (no immoral servant would be suffered to remain under the roof) and it received the instruction of a church, for the godly householder catechized his children and retainers morning and evening, and presided over exercises of 'repetition' of the doctrine heard in sermons.²⁰⁶

Similar significance is accorded to household worship in REM524, which observes "If ever wee would have the church of god to continue long among us, wee must bring it into our houtholds, and nourish it in our families."²⁰⁷ The reordering of domestic space in the sixteenth century in England gave puritans public, material occasion for the reordering of interiority. Houses were remodeled and improved, and farm animals newly sequestered from human domestic space; but also, the enclosure of land produced significant social upheaval, as "three or four adjoining villages and hamlets might be wiped off the face of the landscape."²⁰⁸

The integration of providential ideology into physiology and psychology suggests that the publication of vernacular medical guides may have constituted a portion of the large market for cheap providential print discussed by Peter Lake. Wear notes that the

²⁰⁵ Hill, *op. cit.*, 461.

²⁰⁶ *EPM*, 375.

²⁰⁷ REM524, Fol. 62^v, in Parker and Carlson *op. cit.*, 242.

²⁰⁸ W.G. Hoskins, *The Making of the English Landscape*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1957),

predominance of vernacular medical books in early modern England “created a spectrum from popular to elite medicine”:

In contrast to the 153 different vernacular medical works that Paul Slack has found were published in England from 1486 up to the end of 1604 (in 392 editions), the number of Latin medical works published in England up to 1640 was paltry.²⁰⁹

The developing market for vernacular medical books suggests another connection between the ordering action of the puritan assault on *adiaphora*, here moving to classify and order bodily and social experience, and puritan participation in the commodification of speech: humoral discourse was commodified in similar ways.

Wear has also drawn attention to the specifically puritan appropriation of humoral medicine. He suggests that the rise of puritan interest in healing practices occurred in part because of protestant attacks on “the superstitions of the Roman Church...” The protestant denial of the power of Catholic sacraments to effect miraculous healing left a vacuum, in which the only remaining role of the reformed church was “to reconcile the sick-man to God.”²¹⁰ Wear notes the “general proximity of physician and clergyman” both in their social status, at the “lower end of the class of gentlemen,” and in their practices, that brought them into “personal contact at the sick bed.” Citing Richard Greenham among others, Wear suggests “Puritan reformers argued that all clergymen should routinely act as doctors and provide medical service.”²¹¹ Wear cites puritan

²⁰⁹ Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, 40, 41.

²¹⁰ Andrew Wear, “Puritan perceptions of illness in seventeenth century England,” in Roy Porter, ed. *Patients and Practitioners: Lay perceptions of medicine in pre-industrial society*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 60, 61. See also Margaret Healy, *Fictions of Disease in Early Modern England*, (London: Palgrave, 2001), which examines protestant appropriations of medicine in a more general way. She suggests “In sixteenth-century England the majority of interpreters of bodily misfortune were not learned physicians. Indeed, we might even conclude that attempting to separate medical writings into a distinct category – a practice inevitably encouraged by modern disciplinary boundaries – is a contentious and extremely problematic exercise when applied to this period.” (6)

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 69.

theologian William Perkins, showing that among puritans medicine was approved as a 'means' to both health and godliness; however, only orthodox Galenic practices were permitted, and had to be authorized by the Bible and prefaced, as was every aspect of puritan ritual, with prophetic speech in the form of prayer. "The definition of medicine as God-given 'means' not only placed religion on top of medicine, but also had implications for the sick person. The need to gain God's blessings upon 'means' by prayer was an expression of obedience to God." By the 'means' of performative speech, suffering puritans invoked God's providential care in the hope of a return to health, in a way that fully integrated spiritual and physical order. The signs of spiritual and physical order were available to be read in the embodied vocabulary of humoral physiology.

If the theatre and the puritan church were rival social forces, the puritan church and the medical establishment were also similarly in competing positions of proximity, Wear suggests. "The attacks of the two groups upon each other is further evidence of their closeness."²¹² The commercial theatre threatened the emergent grounds of puritan power not only because it seemed to appropriate and market the memorial objects of idolatry, but also because of its sacrilegious and *physically noxious* appropriation of the speech act. That is why theatre was at its most heinous when it presented religious material. The ritualized puritan body and the theatrical body presented competing appropriations of humoral order.

Through this discussion of humoral theory and puritan embodiment, the puritan body emerges more clearly as the site for the construction of layered discourses. Puritan practices competed with medical authority for the power to construct bodily order. Puritans were able to appropriate physiological authority because of the broad acceptance

²¹² Andrew Wear, "Puritan Perceptions," 70.

of Biblical authority, which itself asserted that the origins of the pneumatic model of the body lay within the Pauline worldview of the book of Corinthians. The puritan body was constructed as a house, the temple of the *pneuma* of God; within that house, order and cleanliness were paramount because the *pneuma*, the Holy Spirit within, communicated with God himself. Prophetic performative speech not only is an utterance emerging from the ordered places within the puritan body, but it also serves to clean, purify, and construct the order of the body through the purifying fire that such speech produces.

Conclusion

The puritan body is a transgressive body. It is subject to the regulation of sovereign speech, yet it escapes that regulation. Its practices transgress official categories of space and time; it is a socially liminal body, always becoming, perpetually self-fashioning. As such it claims the ritual liberty of its liminal status.²¹³ It threatens the stability of social categories – it is at once grotesquely excessive, and classically contained.²¹⁴ The puritan body performs paradox: it exceeds and transgresses by virtue of its virtue; its virtue is that it accepts and perpetually confronts its sinful excess. Its gaze translates images; it is a gaze that constructs the ordered architecture of a bodily house, and discloses its order in the place-logic of words. The puritan body's ordering gaze searches the inner chambers of its 'house' for evidence of sin, and purifies itself in the quickening action of prophetic performative speech. In the next section of the study, I will attend more closely to the available evidence of the particular practices of the puritan body.

²¹³ Turner, op. cit., 27.

²¹⁴ Poole op. cit., 60.

Section 1: The School of the Affections

*The lippes of the righteous feede many*²¹⁵

The layering of many kinds of consumption and production constructed the practices of puritan culture on offer at Richard Greenham's Dry Drayton household seminary. Primary among them was consumption and production of the Word of God. This section's first chapter attends closely to puritan practices through the observations of Richard Greenham's students. I will trace the puritan construction of authority in prophetic speech, linking it with the humoral cycle of consumption, digestion, retention, and purgation, and the appropriation of humoral discourses of interiority and physiological structure. Performative speech will emerge as the point of entry at the border of puritan ritual practices. I will suggest that the bodily economy of words was continuous with other kinds of consumption and abstention, all of which shaped puritan embodiment. As the silhouette of the puritan body emerges, I will turn in the second chapter to a wider focus, to include evidence of puritan cultural practices from throughout the period of the late sixteenth century. I will connect puritan practices found in Dry Drayton with those in the wider view, noting how the paradox of puritan containment and disclosure reshaped public space. Not only did the lips of the righteous feed many in Greenham's Cambridgeshire manse and across puritan England, but the ears and eyes of the righteous hungrily consumed the Word, initiating a bodily economy of oral and textual consumption, ordering digestion and retention in meditation and memory, penitential purgation in prayer, and edifying performative speech that constantly strove to construct in the puritan body an impossible, perfect, temperate, Christ-like state.

²¹⁵ Henry Holland, "Preface to the Reader" in Richard Greenham's *Works*, First Edition, (London: Felix Kingston, 1599), A4, (Reprinted New York: Da Capo Press, 1973). Holland here cites Prov. 10:41.

Many scholars of religious history have noted the wide influence of Greenham's approach to practical divinity. William Haller calls Greenham "the patriarch of Baxter's 'affectionate practical English writers.'"²¹⁶ Christopher Hill calls him "One of the most influential Puritans of his generation."²¹⁷ Patrick Collinson suggests he may have been "the original source of the doctrine of the Christian Sabbath in [England]," and that his household at Dry Drayton was "certainly a nursery of English Reformed casuistry."²¹⁸ Theodore Dwight Bozeman devotes an entire chapter to Greenham, calling him "the seminal pietist," and suggesting that in Greenham's work, English protestant practical divinity in fact predated, and offered models for, practices of protestant piety in Germany and elsewhere.²¹⁹ Critical opinion approaches a consensus on the question of the enduring authority and subsequent appropriation of the practices Greenham initiated.

There is little available detail about Greenham's early life. John Primus has pieced together what little there is in his biographical study of Greenham, to which I am indebted for much of what follows. Primus speculates that Greenham was born in "the early to mid 1540s," based on the first known fact about him: Greenham matriculated as a sizar at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, in May, 1559. REM 524 records Greenham's observation that he was a child during Mary's regime, and committed himself to a radical protestantism at that time: "Hee said that being a child in Q Maries daies, hee conceived on a tyme a liking of that religion, which was true, and taught of god, why that should

²¹⁶ William Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism*, 26.

²¹⁷ Hill, *Society and Puritanism*, 170.

²¹⁸ Collinson, *Godly People*, 439. See also Parker and Carlson, who suggest Greenham's place in English casuistry is ahead even of William Perkins' (85).

²¹⁹ Theodore Dwight Bozeman, *The Precisianist Strain: Disciplinary Religion and Antinomian Backlash in Puritanism to 1638*, (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 63-83, esp. 68.

bee the purest religion...²²⁰ Primus suggests that Pembroke was a cradle of puritanism, based on the number of Pembroke masters martyred during the Marian regime.²²¹ Greenham “graduated with a B.A. in 1564, and an M.A. in 1567.”²²² Primus reconstructs the course of study Greenham may have followed at Pembroke, including many of the works of the church fathers, and also contemporary protestant theology such as Melancthon’s *Loci Communes*, Calvin’s *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, and Bullinger’s *Fiftie Godly and Learned Sermons, Divided into Five Decades*.²²³ Greenham remained at Pembroke as a fellow until 1570, when he took up his first parish ministry in Dry Drayton, Cambridgeshire. “Although it lacked glebe lands, Dry Drayton was still one of the more lucrative livings in the diocese;” Parker and Carlson suggest that the stipend was in the range of £42 per annum.²²⁴ Greenham was the first incumbent at Dry Drayton to lead the congregation toward puritan reform.²²⁵ He was from the beginning of his ministry a “moderate” puritan, loyal to church and crown; although he refused to sign the form of subscription to the Book of Common Prayer, Parker and Carlson suggest that Bishop Cox probably excused him because he was the kind of well-educated cleric Cox badly needed.²²⁶

Greenham’s reputation for effectiveness as a preacher and healer of afflicted consciences quickly spread, making Dry Drayton “a veritable pilgrimage site for those

²²⁰ REM524 Fol. 16v., in Parker and Carlson op. cit., 165.

²²¹ John H. Primus, *Richard Greenham: Portrait of an Elizabethan Pastor*, (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1998), 17-19.

²²² *Ibid.*, 15.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 22. Melancthon’s rhetorical theory was strongly influenced by Agricola, though they later differed over theological matters. See Hans Engelland’s “Introduction,” in *Melancthon on Christian Doctrine: Loci Communes 1555*, Clyde L. Manschreck, (ed.), (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965).

²²⁴ Parker and Carlson op. cit., 14.

²²⁵ Primus op. cit., 27.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 2, 58; Parker and Carlson, 17.

thrown down by spiritual doubts and fears.”²²⁷ Greenham’s preaching was remarkable for its energy and vehemence; Primus notes Samuel Clark’s description of Greenham in the pulpit, where he “was so earnest, and took such extraordinary pains in his preaching, that his shirt would usually be as wet with sweating, as if it had been drenched in water...”²²⁸. Greenham’s students confirm Clark’s suggestion in this entry in REM524:

Hee being put in mind of his great zeal and fervency of speaking, that hee should leav it, said hee would not have any use it with constraint, but when the weightines of the thing provoked thereunto and gods spirit should move unto it: howbeit when hee did some time move earnestly as hee was moved by the spirit of god hee said that the fruit that came of it, though long after, did more perswade him to use it, then al the speaches of his frinds could diswade him from it.²²⁹

Greenham’s determined zeal is suggested in this observation, as is his willingness to spend himself in his calling; “Greenham preached six times a week, a regimen that exhausted and pained him.”²³⁰ In addition to preaching, Greenham practiced regular devotions, praying twice a day with his family, and challenging his servants to repeat back to him the points made in his sermons.²³¹ Greenham’s generosity towards the poor in his parish was well known; he regularly supplied food for their needs out of his own stipend.²³² His Dry Drayton ministry came to an unsatisfactory end in 1591, when he accepted the offer of a lectureship at Christ Church, Newgate, in London, a parish that had long had puritan associations.²³³ While his household seminary had an enduring effect on puritan casuistry, he remained somewhat dissatisfied with the fruits produced by his preaching work in Cambridgeshire. Greenham died in April, 1594, in London, of

²²⁷ Parker and Carlson, 85.

²²⁸ Samuel Clark, *Thirty-Two English Divines*, 12, cited in Primus, 36.

²²⁹ REM524 Fol. 5v-6r, Parker and Carlson, 143.

²³⁰ Primus op. cit., 35.

²³¹ Ibid., 39.

²³² Ibid., 50.

²³³ Parker and Carlson note (27) that Thomas Becon was the parish’s first vicar, and that by 1560 it had already established a lectureship, held by the radical preacher Richard Allen.

unknown causes. The first edition of Greenham's *Works*, published in 1599, was compiled and edited by Henry Holland, a "Puritan minister and medical practitioner."²³⁴ After Holland died in 1603, Stephen Egerton, the radical puritan lecturer of St. Anne's Blackfriars, edited subsequent editions of Greenham's works.

REM 524 offers a usefully close view of puritan religious experience and the ritual and cultural practices that shaped it in Cambridgeshire in the 1580s. The manuscript is neither "a true 'notebook'" nor "a true fair copy."²³⁵ It consists of 470 entries recorded in a continuous period between 1581 and 1584, many as short as a single sentence, and some as long as two pages. It concludes with "A letter against hardnes of hart," that is signed, "Yours in Jesus christ to use in any need R.G." In the first edition of Greenham's collected works, editor Henry Holland compiled a section of Greenham's aphorisms which he titled "Grave Counsels, and Godlie Observations..."²³⁶ There is a substantial body of material common to both "Grave Counsels" and REM524; Parker and Carlson supply a useful appendix comparing the two. They conclude: "over two-thirds of the 'Grave Counsels' can also be found in Rylands Manuscript 524."²³⁷ Eric Carlson suggests that notes from Greenham's household seminary circulated widely; one version of them "was owned by a minister as far away as Halifax."²³⁸

Parker and Carlson contextualize their edition of REM524 by placing that document within the literary tradition of the commonplace book. The commonplace, a collection of sayings recorded for future reference, blends orality and print: it is recorded

²³⁴ Andrew Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine*, 32.

²³⁵ Parker and Carlson, 129.

²³⁶ Greenham, *Workes* (1599), 1-78.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 367.

²³⁸ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. Richard Greenham, submitted by Eric Josef Carlson, available at <http://www.oxforddnb.com>. Accessed November 29, 2007.

speech. As such, the commonplace book places the writer(s) effectively in the role of observing narrator, positioned between the reader and the events narrated. As Robert Weimann notes, the narrative blend of orality and print appropriated a particular kind of authority in early modern English culture:

What legitimates the narration is the particular quality and the abundance of evidence of a knowledge that has been orally transmitted, as in the recurrent phrase “as I have heard say” or “as I have learnt by asking.”²³⁹

In REM524, the knowledge orally transmitted is presented as Greenham’s; the recurrent opening phrase of each entry throughout the manuscript is “He said,” with such variations as “He observed” or “He protested.” In recording Greenham’s utterances, his students did nothing unusual; as Parker and Carlson observe, “Devout Elizabethans made a habit, while attending church, of taking careful notes of sermons for later study and discussion.”²⁴⁰ They suggest that the popularity of the commonplace in the sixteenth century allowed it to contribute to the pedagogical reform that developed after 1540, producing, as Weimann suggests, “the humanist rejection of ontology in logic, and the substitution of “place-logic.”²⁴¹ The commonplace participated with other puritan practices of prophetic speech in the Ramist ordering of things or “places” on the basis of their practical application, producing an epistemology organized around various forms of speech. Commenting on Agricola’s *Dialectical Invention*, Ong notes the connection between speech and methodical use: “The instrument for working on this matter is speech (*oratio*) and the application or use (*tractatus*) of dialectic concerns the preparation of

²³⁹ Robert Weimann, *Authority and Representation in Early Modern Discourse*, David Hillman, ed., (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 118.

²⁴⁰ Parker and Carlson, *op. cit.*, 33. Many of Greenham’s sermons were published entirely on the basis of such notes. Christopher Hill connects Puritan note-taking with the development of shorthand. (*Society and Puritanism*, 65-6.)

²⁴¹ Parker and Carlson, *op. cit.*, 36; Weimann, *Authority and Representation*, 108.

what is going to be said and its application to various subjects.”²⁴² The commonplace book offered the authority of speech in print, and contributed methodical structure to the early formation of puritan practical divinity.

Parker and Carlson emphasize that REM524 should not be viewed as Greenham’s work alone; it must be acknowledged as the product of a collaborative process. “This issue must not be neglected, for on it hinges much of the significance of these sayings. Greenham’s sententious wisdom reflected values of the godly community.” Parker and Carlson qualify their claim by pointing out that REM524 reflects those values only as they existed “in the early 1580s – not those of the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean periods.”²⁴³ While that observation carefully restricts the temporal frame of the document, however, it also heightens its value for this study. If its authority is communally constructed, local, and particular, it offers as close a view as is likely to be found of puritan practices in the time and place in question. In recording Greenham’s sayings, his students themselves performed the disposition to privilege prophetic performative speech, and thereby consumed and digested knowledge that served to construct their social roles as puritan preachers. Their actions emerged from and remain evidence of the ritualized dispositions of the puritan habitus as it might be found in Cambridgeshire in the early 1580s.

While REM524 affords a close view of puritan practices in Cambridgeshire, however, it should not be surprising to anyone to find both close parallels and contradictions between practices at Dry Drayton and godly practices elsewhere in early modern England. I want to suggest that the cultural practices on offer at Dry Drayton are,

²⁴² Ong, *Ramus*, 98. Ong consistently describes Agricola as Ramus’ precursor.

²⁴³ Parker and Carlson, *op. cit.*, 41.

in important ways, representative of the practices and dispositions of the zealous godly more generally. On the one hand, Greenham's published works, including REM524, should not be thought of as offering a coherent school of thought. On the other, the puritan habitus constructed at Dry Drayton is a representative "school" of *practice*, a body of dispositions and strategies that responded to its own particular field of conditions. Bryan Crockett has suggested strong parallels between the social functions of preaching and theatre in early modern England, suggesting that the preacher must feel the "workings of the Holy Spirit" in a fashion very similar to the practices of the "Method" school of acting.²⁴⁴ It is not my intention to suggest that Richard Greenham is, in some way, a forebear of Konstantin Stanislavski. However, Crockett notes that the early modern pulpit and stage responded to the same chaotic social conditions:

If, as Steven Mullaney, Louis Montrose, and others have argued, Shakespeare's theater performs a vital social function in helping the audience adjust to and control the ambiguities arising out of the epistemological crisis in early modern England, the same can be said of the Reformation sermon.²⁴⁵

Where Crockett traces paradoxes and parallels between sermons, antitheatrical pamphlets, poetry, and dramatic literature, I follow his suggestion by focusing on the bodily practices that shaped, and were shaped by, those discourses.

Citing puritan theologian William Perkins, Debora Shuger discusses the early modern duality of self she finds in George Herbert's poetry, amongst many other places. Shuger notes "a clear distinction between a private self...and a public, social self...which is constituted by its role or 'office'." Shuger connects the public self with Greenblatt's notion of the persona: "A persona is an actor, one who plays a role." Shuger cites

²⁴⁴ Crockett, *op. cit.*, 11.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 32.

Greenblatt's notion that a persona is "a theatrical mask, secured by authority,"²⁴⁶ and distinguishes between two models of the relation between private self and public persona. The private self is spiritual inner space, which Shuger describes as the pneumatic self; "the pneumatic self is not a 'thing' or agent or individuality but the locus of presence."²⁴⁷ For Anglicans such as Lancelot Andrewes, Richard Hooker, and John Whitgift, the divide between the pneumatic presence of the Holy Spirit and the indifferent exigencies suffered by the public persona is absolute.²⁴⁸ By contrast, Shuger suggests, puritan theology emphasizes the role of the "elect community supporting the soul in its earthly journey." Puritan practices grounded the public persona *in* the experience of the pneumatic self. Puritan prophetic performative speech ordered pneumatic interiority, and produced the speaker in the social persona of the puritan. Scripture was the text, and puritan persona the role, of what performance studies identifies as a social drama; it was the enduringly liminal journey of the pilgrim, that misrecognized and hid the basis of its performance in pneumatic embodiment. It is therefore a mistake to suggest, as Crockett does, that "the preacher is essentially an actor."²⁴⁹ In the early modern context, the authority of social norms clearly constructed the *personae* of actor and preacher as very distinct; yet Crockett is quite right to find striking parallels in their practices. Similarly, in what follows, I will trace the outlines of what was not an acting "Method", but rather was a complex field of interconnected practices which puritans described as the "means," and which served to authorize and construct in performance the boundaries of the puritan habitus.

²⁴⁶ Shuger, *op. cit.*, 95.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 100.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 99-103.

²⁴⁹ Crockett *op. cit.*, 10.

Among the twenty or so dispositions of the puritan habitus observed below, the production of speech and the watching over interior order will emerge as dominant, in particular because they were accorded the authority to properly place many of the other distinctions and oppositions observed. Illocutionary performative speech constructed bodily order, bridled the affections, constructed social distinctions and hierarchies, ordered the spatial and temporal environment, shaped the bodily economy of consumption and disclosure, and contributed materially to the reordering of public space. The subordination of the gaze to the dictates of prophetic performative speech produced the practice of watching, which guarded an interior and exterior order structured by a Ramist logic of the proper place. Watching and prophetic performative speech both had to be “continually” sustained; in their absence, the puritan body returned to its fallen state, the Old Adam.

The public performance of the puritan body participated in the spatial reorganization of the public life of town and city. It self-consciously engaged with the market, endeavoring by means of speech, song, and movement performed in public space to create the ordered places of a godly nation. In doing so, it contributed to what Agnew calls the “process of deritualization.”²⁵⁰ However, I have endeavored to pay attention to moments when puritan practice was inconsistent, contradictory, or even paradoxical; in other words, to avoid collapsing puritan practice into a consistent, discursively shaped position. If puritans were indeed “permanent liminaries”²⁵¹ they were, like the theatre artists they attacked, transgressively so. It was the resistant status of puritan performative speech that produced its reforming authority, that made it efficacious as performative

²⁵⁰ Agnew, *op. cit.*, 140.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 141.

speech, and that produced what Sarah Beckwith calls the “foundation of a new community.”²⁵² The Reformation motto *semper reformanda*²⁵³ was not merely a statement of the ecclesial, theological, or even ontological status of reformed Christianity; it was an apposite observation of its contingency as performance, and of the efficacy of its process. Suggestions that puritans were terrified of the body or of emotion must confront the evidence that embodied performance and godly affection lay at the foundation of the puritan practices examined below.

The containment of affection, consumption, and the gaze are counterbalanced in puritan dispositions by the positive expectation of the consumption and performance of prophetic speech. As the evidence presented in this section shows, those dispositions were predicated upon the physiological paradigm of the pneumatic body. “Spiritual physick” included the humoral practices of “kitchen physick” and the proper management of the six non-naturals. The three rooms of the soul housed within the godly edifice of the puritan body could be physiologically located, as Fludd’s illustration shows, and guidelines for their proper health management were available not only in the medicinal discourses and practices of the day, but, even more authoritatively, in the physiological model of the pneumatic body evident in the Bible. Medical science no longer aspires to locate the soul physiologically; neither is religious experience construed as an aspect of bodily function. Those facts alone suggest a basis for some of the challenges theology faces today.

The practices surveyed in the second chapter of this section, taken together, offer an overview of puritan popular culture. Collinson has suggested puritan popular culture

²⁵² Beckwith op. cit., 115-6.

²⁵³ I have endeavored unsuccessfully to find an attribution for this phrase. It belongs neither to Calvin nor to Luther. The full phrase is *ecclesia reformata semper reformanda est secundu Verbum Dei*, meaning “the reformed church is always reforming according to the Word of God.”

could almost be defined by its objections to what it was against, rather than what it desired; yet he points towards the practices that shaped a popular puritan culture:

Yet there is contrary evidence that in the Elizabethan and Jacobean town, the enforcement of strict but consensual moral codes enjoyed widespread support, and that the machinery employed itself amounted to a kind of popular culture²⁵⁴

The strong continuities between those practices and the distinctions and privileged oppositions performed by the antitheatrical pamphlets are striking. Those continuities offer support to my suggestion that the antitheatrical pamphlets, rather than being an expression of court or civic authority, in fact emerged from and reiterated popular puritan dispositions and practices.

²⁵⁴ Collinson, "Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritan Popular Culture," in Durston and Eales, *op. cit.*, 43.

Chapter 1: Attending to Puritan Practices in Dry Drayton

Authority and Performative Speech

Preaching, speaking, hearing, remembering, and “profiting” by the Word form a central thread in the fabric of sententious wisdom that is woven into REM524. Speech of various kinds serves throughout the manuscript to construct a series of privileged oppositions, which in turn produce the temporal and spatial environment of puritan religious experience as it was practiced in Dry Drayton. The basis of Greenham’s sententious wisdom in the puritan logic of practice is frequently evident, as for example in the following entry, recorded in 1581, which is worth examining closely:

profiting by the word To one asking counsel how hee might do to hear the word with profit hee said before yee go to the church humble yourselves in prayer to god that hee may prepare your understanding affection and memory to learn and that the preacher may speak to your conscience after in hart with some short praier applying the same threatenings and promises and instructions to your own estate when you are come home from hearing, change al that you remember into prayer and desire god that you may remember it most when you should practise it and use to teach others confer of the things remembred and that wil help your memory. And this is a good way to remember a thing diligently to remember the reason of the thing.²⁵⁵

This observation describes the full arc of a practical process by which speech, memory, and practice are embedded in the space of the humoral body, “in hart,” and then reproduced in practices that define the space in which the authority of prophetic speech is produced and contained. The observation marks four steps in that process.

First, the hearing of the prophetic word within the communal, public space of the church, dominated in space by the pulpit and in action by the preacher’s proclamation, is prepared for in the prior, edifying space of the direct relation with God in prayer. The

²⁵⁵ REM524 Fol. 3^r, in Parker and Carlson, 138. The topical identifiers are supplied in the margins of the original text before most of the 1581 entries, and some of those from 1584; Parker and Carlson describe these notes as “places” (132).

interior space constructed in the performance of prayer distinguishes the places of “understanding” and “memory”, in both of which the temperature of “affection” must be controlled if memory is to function correctly, as Lemnius points out:

The proper and peculiar place, assigned and allotted for Memorie, is the Braine, the mansion and dwelling house of wit and all the Senses: which being affected or by anye distemperature discreded, all the functions and offices of nature are semblably passioned...²⁵⁶

Lemnius’ use of architectural vocabulary is echoed in the observation above from REM524, which suggests that the preparatory prayer’s “threatenings and promises and instructions” are to be applied to his students’ “estate,” producing the “proper and peculiar place” for both memory and passion. A person’s “estate” had long been taken to mean both their “moral, bodily, or mental condition” and the “interest which anyone has in lands, tenements, or any other effects;” but in 1581 the word had a newly current overtone implying “property, possessions, fortune, capital,” the earliest recorded use of that sense dating to 1563.²⁵⁷ Coupled with the student’s initial request for instruction in how to “profit” by the word, the observation on “profiting by the word” gives puritan speech a material aspect that links interior bodily space with the domestic, material space of the house. Crucially, it is the appropriation of the material discourse of humoral physiology that permits the construction of the body as an interior architecture, and with it permits the ordering of what would otherwise remain an utterly mysterious inner terrain. The emphasis on an architectural vocabulary of interiority is of central

²⁵⁶ Lemnius op. cit, 119v.

²⁵⁷ *OED*, s.v. ‘estate.’ A later puritan response to the Book of Common Prayer, *A booke of the forme of common prayers, administration of the sacraments, &c. agreeable to God’s Worde, and the use of the reformed churches*, (London: Waldegrave, 1587), includes the following statement under the heading “The Order of the Ecclesiastical Discipline”: “As no Citie, Towne, house, or familie can mainteine their estate, and prosper without policie and gouvernement, even so the Church of God, which requireth more purelie to be governed then any Citie or familie, cannot without spirituall policie, and ecclesiasticall Discipline, continue, increase, and flourishe” (E6).

importance to reformed practical divinity because of the Reformation doctrine of *sola fide* – by faith alone. Understanding, affection, and memory have replaced statues, chalices, and stained glass windows as the places that shape ritual practice. The properly prepared interior space of the puritan body is opposed, in the observation above, to an unprepared, “discrased” interior space.

After the ordering action of prayer has prepared the hearer’s interior space, the performative efficacy of the preacher’s speech “may speak to your conscience in hart” in the communal, public space of the church, authoritatively re-ordering the hearer’s interiority. Because REM524 is a commonplace book, it contains little that might be called theology; it focuses throughout on matters of practice. However, it is clear that the writers of REM524 and Greenham himself held Calvin in high regard, as this entry shows: “Being asked what hee thought of the books of *Apocrypha* hee said the jewes did esteem them as the Papists did the old schoolemen, or as wee do *Calvin* or *Beza*.”²⁵⁸

Calvin clearly states that the authority of prophetic speech is not to be questioned merely because it issues from the lips of fallen humans:

Those who think that the authority of the Word is dragged down by the baseness of the men called to teach it disclose their own ungratefulness. For, among the many excellent gifts with which God has adorned the human race, it is a singular privilege that he deigns to consecrate to himself the mouths and tongues of men in order that his voice may resound in them.²⁵⁹

While there are, to be sure, many varieties of Calvinism, Greenham reiterates Calvin’s position in his treatise “On Hearing the Word”: “So that to heare the Ministers is to heare Christ, and to heare Christ is to heare the father, so that to heare the Ministers is to heare

²⁵⁸ REM524 Fol. 66^r, in Parker and Carlson, 248.

²⁵⁹ Calvin, *Institutes*, IV.1.4. McNeill points out that Calvin’s *Homilies on I Samuel* xlii describes prophets and pastors of the Christian church as “the very mouth of God” (Vol. 2, 1018).

God.”²⁶⁰ The observation on “profiting by the word” shows that the puritan preacher’s prophetic speech appropriated an authority superior to that of private prayer.²⁶¹ Prayer therefore appears as a kind of prologue,²⁶² a liminal threshold between worldly experience and the authoritative ordering action of prophetic speech. In the moment of prayer, this observation suggests, memory offers the body a citation of the interior order produced by the *pneuma* of God. That citation is taken up as a perlocutionary consequence of speech, producing the subject as a puritan persona. The second step in the process of hearing the Word with profit privileges an opposition between a lack of knowledge of the Word “in hart” and its successful acquisition. As noted above, sermons were very carefully transcribed, and the preacher’s utterance thus was prepared for reiteration, and its authority appropriated and sustained, in the third step of the process the observation outlines.

The always unstable puritan interior order is sustained in the act of reiteration, and thereby prepared for its ultimate performance in preaching, in teaching, and in conference with others. The observation for heightening the enduring efficacy of godly speech echoes similar instructions offered in Lemnius’ *The Touchstone of Complexions*:

²⁶⁰ Greenham, *Works* 5th ed., 710

²⁶¹ Keith Thomas notes: “The same aversion to anything smacking of magic governed the Protestant attitude to prayer [...] It is well expressed by the Puritan Richard Greenham when he explained that parishioners should not assume that their ministers could give them immediate relief when their consciences were troubled: “This is a coming rather as it were to a magician (who, by an incantation of words, makes silly souls look for health) rather than to the minister of God, whose words being most angelical comfort, not until, and so much as, it pleaseth the Lord to give a blessing unto them... “ Thomas cites Greenham’s *Works*, 3rd ed., 5. See his *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in popular beliefs in sixteenth and seventeenth century England*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 61.

²⁶² See Douglas Bruster and Robert Weimann, *Prologues to Shakespeare’s Theatre: Performance and liminality in early modern drama*, (London: Routledge, 2004), especially Chapter 2, “Prologue as threshold and usher” (31-57). Bruster and Weimann identify the performance of a prologue as a liminal act that produced “a new psychology and epistemology” (37), while also conceding that its social function is limited to “the transition from everyday world to playworld, from ordinary perception to imaginary reception” (In my opinion, that social function therefore remains liminoid rather than liminal.

...for the preservinge and cheerishinge of the Memorye, all helpes must be used & all furtheraunces...among which, is: continuall use and exercyse of writing and speaking: adhibiting therein order, reason & measure...²⁶³

The practical, ordering function of the observation on “profiting by the word” must be sustained in the third step of repetition in prayer, or it will not endure. The “continuall” use of prayer in preserving the Word “in hart” performs a privileged opposition between a sustained practice of puritan speech and its mere intermittent or occasional utterance. That opposition is summarized in the statement’s stated goal: the ordered bodily *topoi*, the “reason of the thing,” which enable in the “practice” of evangelical “teaching” the ability to “confer” with others from the “hart.” Prophetic speech, anatomized in humoral terms, forms a paradoxical relation with its lack; it is this that distinguishes puritan practices of “repetition” from theatrical practices of rehearsal. Only a sustained and continual practice of prayer and the regular consumption of prophetic speech prepare the “hart” to perform a puritan persona. The “continuall” use of prayer is therefore the performance of perlocutionary uptake of godly identity.

The process for material ordering and efficacious production in the form of “profit” that REM524 prescribes has Ramist overtones. Prophetic speech has a fundamentally practical orientation in the “means” and “uses,” though Ong reminds us of the relative novelty of the “means” at this point in history:

Ramus lived in an age when there was no word in ordinary usage which clearly expressed what we mean today by “method,” a series of ordered steps gone through to produce with certain efficacy a desired effect – a routine of *efficiency*.²⁶⁴

That said, the observation made in REM524 suggests that the Word materially remembered in the body will produce profit. Viewed as Ramist *topoi* or places, the

²⁶³ Lemnius op. cit., fol. 123^f.

²⁶⁴ Ong, *Ramus*, 225.

ordered architecture of interior space produced by the Word is at least as significant as its contents: “Ramus will call these *places* “arguments,” although it was more common to think of the “arguments” as what was stored “in” the places.”²⁶⁵ In order for the preacher’s prophetic speech to produce its desired effect, the proper place for it must be prepared in the hearer’s understanding, memory, and affections. Three other entries in REM524 specifically discuss memory. Two of them suggest that the best remedy for a failing memory is humility before god.²⁶⁶ The third orders interior space by balancing knowledge and affection, recommending for knowledge a daily reading of the word “with a thorough stitch for memorys sake,” and “for feeling to use praier and meditation.”²⁶⁷

The ordering action of prophetic speech is unstable because the senses are threateningly open avenues to the body’s interior order in the “Brayne”, as Lemnius reminded us above. The bodily action of the passions threatens constantly to “discrease” the mind and requires “continuall use of writing and speaking.” The citation below from Greenham’s “Treatise of the Sabboth,” which is given the marginal note “Preparation to the Sabboth,” warns of the consequences of failing to pray properly before hearing a sermon:

For what is the cause why in the prayers of the Church wee so little profit? what causeth the word to be of so small power with us? whereof commeth it that the Sacraments are of such slender account with us? Is it not because we draw neere to the Lord with uncatechised hearts, and uncircumcised eares, without prepared affections, and unschooled senses: so that we come unto and depart from the house of God with no more profit, then wee get at stage-playes, where delighting our eyes and eares for a while with the view of the pageants, afterward we vainly depart?²⁶⁸

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 104-5. Emphasis mine.

²⁶⁶ REM524 Fol. 2^v, in Parker and Carlson, 137, and 37^t, 198.

²⁶⁷ Ibid., Fol. 19^v, 170-1.

²⁶⁸ Greenham, *Workes*, 360.

For Greenham, the inability of “stage-plays” to produce any “profit” has little to do with any inherent quality of their own, but rather has to do with the proper ordering of the body. If “wee” are to profit from preaching, if the “Sacraments” and the prayers of the faithful are to have any authority and efficacy, the place for them within the interiority of the ordered humoral body must be prepared. Greenham carefully anatomizes the *loci* of interior authority in this passage: hearts, affections, and the senses particularly of eye and ear. These must be “schooled” and “circumcised” in preparatory prayer if the Word is to resound in our mouths; and the responsibility for any failure of its efficacy is therefore human rather than divine. Greenham’s statement locates the authority of acceptable ritual in the full process of ordering prophetic performative speech exercised upon puritan interiority. He distinguishes that process from unacceptable ritual in which the process of interior ordering is incomplete. Vain church attendance is just as empty as the vanity of “stage-plays”. Attending plays was not normally prepared for in prayer; while they might delight the eyes and ears for a while, “stage-plays” lack the means to rightly order the ritualized godly body. Delight of the unschooled senses and affections occurs in a place from which we vainly depart.

The practice of prayer specifically used as preparation for other godly practices surfaces in many other entries in REM524,²⁶⁹ some of which, like the citation offered above, specifically address and further develop the centrality of performative speech in the puritan habitus. For example, the entry below stipulates that prayer should precede private conference:

²⁶⁹ See REM524 Fol. 1^r, in Parker and Carlson, 135; 4^v, 141; 7^f, 146; 13^{r-v}, 159; 16^v, 165; 20^f, 172; 28^v, 185; 44^v, 209; and 50^{r-v}, 218. In addition, the following entries discuss prayer as a specific topic: 9^{r-v}, 150; 13^v, 159; 46^f, 211; 57^f, 229; 58^f, 232; 60^v, 236; and 65^f, 247.

Praier Hee being desired to give his judgement of a weighty matter hee said Sir neither am I able to speak nor you to hear beecaus wee have not praied. Indeed I may talke to you and you hear as natural men, but wee are not now prepared to confer as the children of god.²⁷⁰

This observation locates proper judgment in the ordered interiority of the children of God, constructing prayer as the distinction between godliness and the casual talk of “natural men”; clearly, the efficacy and authority of prophetic judgment does not lie in the *fleshly* person of speakers and hearers, but rather lies in the *godly* body produced by the ordering action of prayer as performative speech. Rather than assuming an essential, prior, material godliness, the observation assumes the illocutionary function of prayer in schooling interior space; and it privileges the social opposition between the “children of god” and “natural men.” This observation also suggests the role of communal experience in providing memory with a performance repertoire upon which to draw, and reinforces the liminal status of puritan performative speech. By praying together, “wee” reinforce the production of the social personae of “children of god.”

In prayer, in conference, but especially in preaching, REM524 observes the value of plain speech. The following observation notes the value of simplicity in speech:

Hee said mens preaching grew so cold and so humain, that ther teaching was glassy, bright, and brickle, that hee thought the preaching of christ simply would even grow to nothing, and mightily without gods grace decay, for in this peace, and prosperity, men are at such peace and quiet, that they have no power of godliness in them²⁷¹

This observation makes a distinction between the heat of puritan preaching and the coldness of the humanist style. As a result, “humain” preaching fails to teach; it is “brickle.” The brittleness of such preaching is connected here to the providential state of

²⁷⁰ REM524 Fol. 9^{r-v}, in Parker and Carlson, 150.

²⁷¹ Ibid., Fol. 39^f, 201. See also 38^{r-v}, 200, which similarly comments on a “humane spirit” that “waiteth on carnal and man’s wisdom,” and *Works*, 1st ed., 34, which likewise critiques “humane wisdom.”

the nation, in which excessive “peace and prosperity” produce a public body in a state of “decay.” By contrast, the working of the Holy Spirit is to be discerned, in REM524, by the presence of inner fire:

When one asked him whether wee first received the word or the spirit to the working of faith hee said wee first receiv the <spirit> howbeit to feel our faith wee must necessarily reciev the word and although the smoak doth first, in respect of us shew that ther is fire hidden under some close matter, yet ther was some fire before the smoak came, soe <tho> the word first make known to us our faith, yet sure it is the spirit of god was given us, before which wrought thus mightily by the word.²⁷²

The “working” of faith begun by the “spirit” produces the sanctification of interior space made evident by the receiving of the word. Before the word is received, the action of the “spirit of god” can only be discerned as “smoak;” it remains obscure to the inner sight. The word then works “mightily” to produce knowledge. The heat of plain preaching is privileged over the coldness of a more eloquent style.²⁷³

The Austinian aspect of puritan prophetic performative speech emerges more clearly in the procedures surrounding the single most contested sacramental practice in the Christian tradition: the ritual of the Lord’s Supper.²⁷⁴ Patrick Collinson notes that puritans infrequently celebrated the Lord’s Supper.²⁷⁵ When they did so, the minister would “pronounce an exhortation which included the ‘fencing of the table’,”²⁷⁶ a process which distinguished those who could participate from those who could not. REM524 offers a prescription for how the godly should prepare for their first admission to the communion of the Lord’s Supper that is entirely centered on the distinguishing role of

²⁷² Ibid., Fol. 45^f, 210.

²⁷³ Hill connects the puritan appreciation for plain preaching to the threat presented by the influx of highly educated Jesuits from Douai. Hill, op. cit., 54-6. See also Haller, 128-30.

²⁷⁴ See Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), Diarmaid MacCullough, *The Later Reformation*, 1-7, 72-3..

²⁷⁵ Collinson notes: “...at Dedham, Dr. Chapman tried to move to once a month, but it was not successful, and communion was seldom taken more than four times a year.” *EPM*, 362.

²⁷⁶ *EPM*, 363.

performative speech in puritan religious experience.²⁷⁷ The passage below marks in five steps the process whereby speech becomes knowledge of the “word of god,” which itself is the necessary condition for ritual participation:

Hee would take these promises of them, whom first hee admitted to the sacrament, and that it in sight of god and presence of some faithful witnesses, if it might bee first that becaus the principles of religion and doctrine of beginnings were the word of god, or at least most consonant with the word and not the word of man, they would grow up in the further confirming of them, by further knowledg of the word. Secondly they promised to depart from ther former corrupt conversation, and to labour more for holines of life. Thirdly that they would make conscience to keep the Sabbath wholly, and throughout in godly exercises to the lord, and as far as ther callings did permit that they would come to bee enstructed, both by publick preaching and by private conference, in the week daies fourthly that if they did fal hereafter into any sin, of disobedience, mallice, filthiness, pilfery or slander, or any such like, they would suffer themselves either publickly, or privately to bee admonished of it, according to the censure and quality of the fault. fiftly they promised that if they profited not in knowledg, they would willingly bee suspended from the sacrament hereafter, until they had gotten more forwardnes in knowledg again²⁷⁸

At each of the five steps of the puritan fencing of the table in the 1580s,²⁷⁹ a promise is uttered. The circumstances of the promises are “appropriate” in the Austinian sense, because they are here given a “conventional procedure”²⁸⁰ whose efficacy is guaranteed

²⁷⁷ The procedure outlined in this entry in REM524 is markedly different from the procedures outlined in the Book of Common Prayer (1559) for both the administration of the Lord’s Supper and the Confirmation of children. The latter includes a reiteration of promises that had been uttered by the child’s godparents at Baptism, and a catechetical examination of the child using the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord’s Prayer, but neither Baptism nor Confirmation includes any interrogatories. The puritan manifesto “An Admonition to the Parliament” (1572) includes the sentence: “Ther was then, accustomed to be an examination of the communicants, which now is neglected.” See Frere and Douglas, *op. cit.*, 13.

²⁷⁸ REM524 Fol. 39^v, in Parker and Carlson, 202. On the “fencing of the table”, see also Fol. 2^v, 137; 30^r, 187; 32^v-33⁶, 191; 38^v, 200; and 41^r, 204. Parker and Carlson note the unusual rigor of Greenham’s examination of his congregants in preparing for the Lord’s Supper, but also his willingness to conditionally include those who had not been examined. The use of interrogatory questions was expected in the Book of Common Prayer for both baptism and the Lord’s Supper.

²⁷⁹ The later puritan response to the Book of Common Prayer, *A booke of the forme of common prayers, administracion of the sacraments, &c. agreeable to God’s Worde, and the use of the reformed churches*, (London: Waldegrave, 1587), includes no procedure for Confirmation. The orders for baptism and for the Lord’s Supper include no promises or interrogatories. Parker and Carlson note that one of Greenham’s parishioners was disturbed by the use of interrogatories, describing them as “corrupt” (Fol. 10^r).

²⁸⁰ Austin *op. cit.*, 8.

by both sovereign and prophetic authority; Greenham was a properly invested minister of the state church, and the writers of REM524 went on to achieve that same status.

Furthermore, Greenham and his students understood themselves to be speaking prophetically as deputized speakers of God's word.²⁸¹

To be admitted to the communion of the Lord's Supper, the communicant must first confirm his or her fitness for the ritual in an illocutionary performative speech act. That speech act serves to distinguish his or her interior self as "growing up," materially transforming itself into a place that stores in memory the consumed Word. That distinction is performed in the moment of the first promise, leading directly to the second promise: that the persons promising will proclaim their ordered interiority in their future speech and actions, departing from "corrupt conversation." To fail to do so would render the promise "unhappy," casting it into the category of what Austin calls an "abuse."²⁸² The ordering of the humoral body in acts of consumption of godly knowledge, and its necessary disclosure in performative godly speech, helps explain the layers of meaning implicit in the word 'conversation' in the early modern period. 'Conversation' as a bodily act was sometimes taken to allude to sexual behavior, pointing towards the biblical sense of 'having knowledge.' However, the word was also used specifically to describe religious conversion effected by the elements of the Lord's Supper.²⁸³ The phrase "corrupt conversation" therefore connects kinds of transgressive bodily heat knowable in humoral terms: sexual desire, and the religious passion that signified the presence of the

²⁸¹ Here I am appropriating a formulation suggested by Nicholas Wolterstorff: "If one person is deputized to speak in the name of another, then the deputy's discourse counts as the other person's discourse." See Nicholas Wolterstorff, *Divine Discourse: Philosophical reflections on the claim that God speaks*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 186.

²⁸² Austin op. cit., 15.

²⁸³ *OED.*, s.v. 'conversation'.

Holy Spirit. The observation on fencing the table performs an illocutionary distinction between kinds of embodied experience: the communicant is to “labour” for more “holiness of life;” that holiness consists of the consumption, bodily ordering, and disclosure of the Word; and *only* those who sustain that consumption may participate.

The third promise distinguishes acceptable from unacceptable communicants on the basis of their use of time, in keeping the “Sabbath” both holy and wholly. The ordering of the body in worldly “labour” corresponds with work undertaken in the body’s interior architecture: the acceptable communicant must “make conscience.” That labor is here extended into the expectation that the remaining six days of the week will be spent in a “calling,” and in devoting time outside of work to consumption of further godly knowledge. The ordered confessional space of the body’s interiority, and the efficacy of the ritualized illocutionary performative, are by this promise extended into the shared performative space of “private conference,” which was undertaken in many places: within the church itself, in the believer’s home, in the marketplace in town,²⁸⁴ and indeed in Greenham’s case, in the very fields and byways of the Dry Drayton area.²⁸⁵ The third promise initiates the construction of privileged oppositions in the puritan temporal and spatial environment within which, as I hope to show in Chapter Two, puritan religious practices took place.

The fourth promise distinguishes communicants as those who either succeed or fail in maintaining the embodied disposition to consume the Word. Those who fail to

²⁸⁴ *EPM*, 168.

²⁸⁵ Parker and Carlson *op. cit.*, 63, notes that Greenham often went out into the fields surrounding his manse, to confer there with members of his flock; he did so particularly in the time before the celebration of the Lord’s Supper (Fol. 38^v, 200). They also note: “Even more than this, though, true preaching meant that ‘hee must goe to every mans house, and there diligently instruct both him and his house in the feare of God’. *Workes*, 4th Ed., 782.

consistently do so, threatening an abuse of their prior performative speech, further promise to “suffer” the discipline of admonishing godly speech. This promise produces the communicant as possessing a double consciousness. The mind, surveying the interior space of the body, performs acts of distinction within that space: parts of the space are constructed by this promise as ordered, and other parts sinful, filthy, malicious, or slanderous. The “suffering” of a contrite heart marks the quickening fire of the Holy Spirit as the desired action of performative prophetic speech, which burns away the impure elements of the interior spatial state. The fifth and final promise marks the acceptable communicant as a proprietor of godly knowledge; the inability to demonstrate possession of godly knowledge in the memory is sufficient grounds for exclusion, and finally even for excommunication: the ultimate act of Christian ritual distinction.²⁸⁶

This passage in REM524 misrecognizes the site of the authority of performative speech, reifying it as an effect of biblical discourse. Its authority is in fact socially determined, and performs strategic social distinctions within its particular historic setting. The ritual environment the statement constructs serves to privilege the opposition between kinds of speech: godly speech is opposed to a former corrupt kind of speech. Implicit in that corruption is the detested Catholic model of “conversation,” the Mass, which represents a fall away from the ordering authority of the Word, into ignorance.²⁸⁷ Materially structured knowledge, evident in the ritualized body as “profit,” opposes that ignorance and remedies it in ritual illocutionary performative speech acts. Those who

²⁸⁶ Collinson notes (*EPM*, 40) 346 excommunications in the diocese of Ely, within which Dry Drayton lay, between 1571 and 1584. Of those, 106 were alleviated, leaving 240 persons permanently excommunicated in the period.

²⁸⁷ REM524 observes an indifference to whether communion was taken sitting, or kneeling as the Book of Common Prayer, and previous Catholic practice, had demanded. Fol. 10^v (152) defends “the peace of the church lest wee make the remedy of the evil wors than the evil it self.” That position reaffirms the moderate puritanism of Dry Drayton in the 1580s, without compromising, in my view, the primary importance of knowledge and speech in shaping the puritan internal habitus that REM524 constructs.

seek to participate in the ritual of the Lord's Supper must consume words and *disclose their effect in performative speech* before they are permitted to consume the Word, the Bread of Life. In doing so, they extend the authority of prophetic performative speech by means of the illocutionary act of ordering the interior space of their bodies. Speech, and not a wooden altar rail,²⁸⁸ fences the puritan table.²⁸⁹

The observations gathered in this subsection establish the authority of prophetic performative speech as a primary disposition of the puritan body. The performative aspect of puritan speech is grounded in its official status as a ritual performed by a duly appointed official of the state church. Paradoxically, it is a resistant practice because the use of interrogatory promises included in the ritual of the Lord's Supper was a variance from that of the *Book of Common Prayer*. The body constructed by authority of that performative speech is produced as 'profit' to the believer's 'estate', suggesting the figure of the puritan body as an edified structure containing a double interior order. The puritan body is divided into parts that are godly, and other parts that are 'sinful,' and 'filthy.' The practice of 'labouring' to produce knowledge of that interior order produces the puritan body as a fit vessel to receive communion, the *pneuma* of God.

Affections, Consumption, and Physick

In the practices of puritan practical divinity observed and recorded in REM524, prayer is vitally connected to humoral physiology through the "affections." The proper ordering and use of the affections is, of course, a central aspect of theatrical performance

²⁸⁸ The fencing of the table with a wooden rail, renewing its status as altar, controversially returned under Archbishop Laud in the mid-1630s. See David Cressy, "The Battle of the Altars: Turning the Tables and Breaking the Rails" in his *Travesties and Transgressions in Tudor and Stuart England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), and John Williams, *The holy table, name and thing, more anciently, properly, and literally used under the New Testament, then that of an altar...* London, 1637.

²⁸⁹ Other entries in REM524 discussing the fencing of the table can be found at Fol. 2^r, p.137, Fol. 32^v-33^r, p.191, and Fol. 38^v, p.200.

and consumption; it is also important to bodily and spiritual health in the humoral system. Humoral medicine offered practical methods of ordering the affections, along with the other five non-naturals Lemnius describes: air, food and drink, exercise and rest, sleep and wakefulness or ‘watching,’ and evacuation and retention. Greenham himself practiced a careful ordering of godly speech, meditation, bodily consumption, and disclosure of his affections in prayer, as may be seen in this entry in REM524:

Hee sometimes especialy on the lords daies, after his exercises before hee did eat or drinck, would humble himself in praier, and thanksgiving for himself and his people, yea so fervently in his study hee hath sighed and groned in his praier, so carefully hath hee entered into meditation, and consideration of things in his bed, that hee hath sent forth many sighes and grones, so as sometime his wyfe hath thought him to bee very sick, when as it was nothing but the labouring of his hart with god²⁹⁰

Greenham apparently prayed while resting in bed, and did so sometimes with a great purgation of emotion. Prayer is a kind of work, a “labouring of his hart” that has humoral overtones; his sighs and groans sounded to his wife like the suffering of illness.

In addition to REM524, Parker and Carlson include in their volume *Practical Divinity* an edition of Greenham’s “A Profitable Treatise, Containing a Direction for the reading and understanding of the holy Scriptures.” In that treatise, Greenham enjoins his readers to practice the three properties of proper preparation in prayer:

- 1 In feare of God his majestic
- 2 In faith in Jesus Christ
- 3 In a good and honest heart, with a greedie desire to eate up Gods word

Immediately after this statement, Greenham moves to a discussion of fear, which he understands as a powerful affection that literally prepares the “good and honest heart” to receive the word properly: “From want of this reverent feare, commeth all checking of

²⁹⁰ REM524, Fol. 40^v, in Parker and Carlson, 203.

God his word, and that men dare bee so bolde with it”²⁹¹. Bodily experience of an affection – “feare of God his majestie” – is the prefatory condition for efficacious prayer in the puritan repertoire of dispositions, and also for the subsequent consumption and production of the Word. Those who fear the Lord are privileged over those who do not, on the basis of the bodily order of the affections; the performance of prayer constructs social distinctions.

The careful examination of the affections is therefore an important practice in the proper ordering of puritan interiority. Affections properly ordered are necessary to the labor of production, but they also can be used by Satan to tempt the godly towards disorder. REM 524 confirms, in the following observation, the need for puritans to examine and make distinctions between their affections:

Trial of affection Hee used this trial of his affections, as of anger, grief, joy or such like, on this manner, If by it hee was made les fit to pray, more unable to do the good hee should do, les careful to avoid sin, then hee thought them to bee carnall, filthy and not of god: but when his anger love and greef and other affections provoked him the more to pray, fitter to do good, then hee thought his affection sent to him to bee as the blessing of god.²⁹²

The trial of the affections in the court of judgment is prosecuted on the basis of their productivity. The more productive affections are in promoting the performance of godly persona in the form of prayer, godly action in doing good, and avoidance of sin, the more they are to be distinguished as “the blessing of god.”

Not only can the want of reverent fear produce the “checking of God his word,” but fear can also be appropriated for unacceptable ends. This entry in REM524 narrates a striking parallel to the theatrical experience of stage fright:

²⁹¹ Richard Greenham, “A Profitable Treatise, Containing a Direction for the reading and understanding of the holy Scriptures,” in Parker and Carlson, 341.

²⁹² REM524, Fol. 14^v, in Parker and Carlson, 162. See also Fol. 4^v, p. 141, and Fol. 13^r, p. 158.

Hee said hee felt often being gone to preach the word; very sharp and trembling fears in the flesh, which hee did observe to come upon him, by the very mallice of sathan, at such times as hee should either speak to humble men much, or when some more necessary doctrine was to bee delivered. Hee did not, hee durst not yeeld unto it, but would by paine and prayer resist it, speaking boldly the word of the lord to al flesh²⁹³

In this observation, active agency is attributed to “the very mallice of sathan.” The faculty²⁹⁴ of judgment tries the bodily affection on the evidence of its threatened “checking” impact on the production of godly speech, and then places it within the natural order of the “flesh”, the fallen aspect of the pneumatic body. Its “sharp and trembling” action produces “paine” which must be resisted. The speaker performs the authority of godly speech, in the form of prayer. Having subdued his unruly flesh, “Hee” is given worldly authority to “speak to humble men much.” This passage offers clear evidence of the construction in puritan practices of a connection between social persona and the pneumatic self. The speaker is alienated from the “fears in the flesh,” and performs resistance to the flesh in the form of a speech act. The persona the speaker constructs is then sustained, taken up, sufficiently to permit him to perform the more authoritative action of preaching.

In the bodily economy of consumption and production of the word, REM524 merges humoral regulation of the affections and the other non-naturals – air, food and drink, exercise and rest, sleep and wakefulness or ‘watching,’ and evacuation and retention – with the practices of the “means” noted above. Reading, hearing, and speaking of the word of God serve with the careful consumption of the gifts of God to produce the desired godly interior order:

²⁹³ REM524, Fol. 43^v, in Parker and Carlson, 208. See also Fol. 67^f, p. 250.

²⁹⁴ See Introduction p. 42 above on faculty psychology.

Spiritual physick Hee gave this advice for a general prescription of Physick, first the parties afflicted are to labor to have peace of ther consciences and joy of the holy ghost thorough the assurance of ther sins pardoned in christ. then carefully must they fly to the means, which may nourish this inward joy and peace. Thirdly they must rejoyce and recreate themselves in wisdom and weldoing with the saints of god and holy companyes. Lastly they must refresh themselves with kitching Physick and a thankful using of the creatures of god.²⁹⁵

This observation first connects affliction with sin, which in the practices of “spiritual physick” must be remedied with “labor.” That labor in turn produces the affections of “peace” and “joy” in the acquisition of knowledge, framed as “assurance.” The bodily basis of the effects of that knowledge is emphasized in the nourishing action of the second step in healing afflictions. Sufferers must urgently “fly” to the “means”: reading, hearing, and speaking the Word, practices which as suggested above must all be performed within the spatial context of the ordered godly body prepared in prayer.

The third step in this statement performs clear social distinctions. Having re-established interior order through knowledge and the use of the means, joyful affection is extended outwards in “wisdom” within the communal context. That wisdom is joined with concrete action in “weldoing.” However, wisdom and “weldoing,” among the “saints of god and holy companyes,” serves to “recreate” the afflicted parties, returning the ordering action of the affections to interior space and producing a cyclical movement. While ‘recreation’ did not in 1580 have the secondary sense of self-fashioning it now has as (re)creation, its bodily basis is emphasized by its most common sense of restoring “a good or normal physical condition.”²⁹⁶ The improved production of godly affection and action that emerges while among the saints therefore impacts bodily status in a way that it could not, the observation implies, among the ungodly, where the reinforcing cycle

²⁹⁵ Ibid., Fol. 8^v, p. 148.

²⁹⁶ OED, s.v. “recreate.”

would be broken. The distinction this statement makes serves to connect bodily order and physical health with social structure. God's providence has greater performative efficacy among the elect. The distinction made in this statement also serves specifically to engage bodily dispositions with the social field, producing in the body distinguishing marks, as performed in speech acts, of the puritan habitus: godly affections of "joy" and "peace," and production of "wisdom" and "weldoing."

The observation's final sentence completes the bodily grounding of spiritual physick in the cycle of consumption and disclosure. The "kitching physick" to which the afflicted parties are enjoined will refresh not only their bodies, but also their affections. Sufferers will be "thankful." The providential basis of their gratitude is asserted in the statement that food is one of "the creatures of God." The efficacy of bodily consumption in spiritual healing is grounded in moderation of the body's humoral state. That moderation is achieved by the sustained practice of all the available "means." However, the means themselves must be practiced in a carefully temperate fashion:

Hee said hee thought it were not good at the table to bee extraordinary, either in joy or sorrow, unles it were for some special and private cause, but rather it were convenient, privately to a godly frind, or before the lord, to power out our harts and after the example of Joseph, to make our affections as little known in company as may bee²⁹⁷

This observation sequesters consumption "at the table" from "extraordinary" disclosure of the affections. While there are some "special and private" circumstances that might extenuate such a disclosure, in general extreme emotion is best disclosed "privately," deep within the innermost spaces of the puritan terrain: before a godly "frind," or before "the lord" himself in prayer. The watery humoral substance of affectionate disclosure is evident in the instruction to "power out our harts." Performed within the proper place, the

²⁹⁷ REM524, Fol. 23^f, in Parker and Carlson, 177.

disclosure of extraordinary emotion is neither embarrassing nor shaming. The spatial contexts for public containment and private disclosure are given biblical authority “after the example of Joseph.” “In company” around the dining table, such a disclosure would mix kinds of consumption in ways that might be difficult to properly order. REM524 carefully constructs spatial environments in which kinds of consumption and disclosure privilege oppositions between godly and ungodly practices; in general, emotional display is marked as inappropriate within a public space. At table, consumption should be accompanied by temperate godly speech, as this later entry shows:

Hee was alwaies desirous to speake some good thing after meat: among many tymes hee said to some dwelling in a place, wher the word was preached. Oh consider it is the easiest thing to hear, it is the painfulllest thing to preach the gospel²⁹⁸

In Dry Drayton, the pleasures of consuming both meat and the word are profitably contrasted with the pains of preaching; yet despite those pains, the object of godly desire remains the performance of “some good thing.”

The humoral basis of the “means” is made explicit in several other entries in REM524.²⁹⁹ Greenham’s students describe a careful practice of consumption and abstention for the maintenance of a proper interior order, according to the needs of each particular case. The following entry explicitly grounds the tempering of particular complexions in the regulation of the diet:

Eating of meats Hee would wish that some for weakenes of conscience were abstayning to eat, for that as natural men use gods creatures to stir up natural comforts so spiritual men should use them to procure some spiritual comforts and

²⁹⁸ Ibid., Fol. 37^v, 199.

²⁹⁹ I owe much of this line of argument to Kenneth Parker, who has helpfully pointed out this “apparently mundane” (81) aspect of puritan practical divinity. However, he overlooks its basis in humoral physiology, a point that is central to both its role in the bodily economy of consumption, containment, and disclosure, and to its construction of social space. See Kenneth L. Parker, “Richard Greenham’s ‘spiritual physicke’: the comfort of afflicted consciences in Elizabethan pastoral care,” in Katherine Jackson Lualdi and Anne T. Thayer (ed.s) *Penitence in the Age of Reformations*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 71-83.

the more men should stir up godly joyes in themselves for sathan seing men of a sanguine complection and sanctified, laboureth to mix with ther spiritual joyes carnal joye and so seing some of a melancholy complection sanctified to have spiritual sorrowes hee striveth to bring upon them carnal sorrowes.³⁰⁰

If the mind is not strong enough of conscience to directly harness the natural man, then it may do so indirectly by controlling the humors produced in the body by consumption, retention, and digestion. Fasting may produce the required “spiritual comforts.” The transparent permeability and instability of the puritan body is evident in the ability of “sathan” to see its “complection,” and to work upon it, mixing fallen, “natural” affections with more spiritual ones. The proper spiritual order is the condition of being “sanctified,” and it is constantly subject to assault both from without and from within. Satan’s labor is to mix categories of affection; like a witch stirring a cauldron, Satan physically mixes what should not be mixed. The godly must use god’s creatures to separate them again, restoring a temperate balance of mind. In REM524, the regulation of the body’s humoral balance is carefully adjusted to particular humors and complexions:

Hee would often provoke one inflamed with cholar to eat, beecaus hee observed by experience, that abstinence nourisheth cholar, and a moderate receiving of gods gifts, layed it. Howbeit hee would admonish them to beware also of immoderate eating for that also doth increase the humor, and so wee abuse the good remedy of our infirmity, to imbrace our infirmity³⁰¹

Spiritual and physical “infirmity” have a shared basis in the body’s humoral economy of consumption, retention, digestion, and excretion. The boundaries of an acceptable diet, like those of acceptable affections, are so varied by the individuality of particular complexions that they cannot be marked by a set of universal standards. Instead, the limits of proper consumption in REM524 are determined by the diet’s productivity in promoting the consumption and production of the spoken word:

³⁰⁰ REM524, Fol. 2^v-3^f, in Parker and Carlson, 138.

³⁰¹ REM524, Fol. 28^f, in Parker and Carlson, 184. See also Fol. 16^f, p. 164.

Because no particular things can bee set down, how to amend exces and defect in a diet, hee said this were the best rule generally to observ, so long and not les to eate, but as wee are the fitter, either to speak or to hear the praises of god, with more reverence and cherfulness³⁰²

The function of judgment in this process is once again spatial: the mind must “observ,” and in the court of judgment, the affections of “reverence” and “cherfulness” provide the necessary evidence to distinguish being “fitter” from “exces”. From the above discussion of the various aspects of “kitching physick,” it is clear that at Dry Drayton, consumption of food was carefully contained, was correlated with the production of prophetic speech, and was sequestered from consumption and production of the affections.

The construction of practices of containment and disclosure of sexual desire presented the practice of “spiritual physick” in Dry Drayton with a particularly significant challenge. The entry below deploys dispositions that regulate four of the six non-naturals. Food, sleep and wakefulness, the affections, and exercise are used to properly order sexual desire:

One asking his advice how hee might best avoid concupiscence, hee said that a continual examination of your selves by the law, a reverent and daily meditation of the word, a painful walking in our honest calling, an holy shaming of ourselves, and fearing of ourselves before our frinds, a continual temperance in diet, sleep and apparel, a careful watching over our eies and other parts of our bodies, a zealous geolousy to avoid al occasions, or persons, tymes and places, which might nourish concupiscence, a godly frequenting of times, persons, and places, which breed in us mortification, together with an humbling of ourselves, with the shame of sins past, with the greefe of sins present, and with the fear of sins to come, lastly a careful using of fasting, praier and watching (when need requireth. for hee stil excepted continual fasting) are means to come to mortification herin, which being wisely and some convenient tyme used, with a moderate motion and exercise of the body, if they do not prevail it is like the lord doth call a man to the holy use of marriage.³⁰³

³⁰² REM524, Fol. 37^v, in Parker and Carlson, 199.

³⁰³ REM524, Fol. 21^v, in Parker and Carlson, 174.

The exercise of “reverent and daily meditation” reinforces the “continual examination” performed by the power of judgment, whose discipline is here explicitly rendered as a matter of law. There is no room for escape within the architecture of the self from the shame of concupiscent desire; it must be found and subjected to “mortification” by the use of the available “means.” That mortification marks the alienation of the pneumatic puritan self from shameful desires of the flesh. The possibility of their disclosure “before our frinds” should provoke fear.

This observation extends the regulation of the non-naturals into the orderly government of the eyes, and other bodily parts-that-must-not-be-named, by keeping them in their proper places. The eyes may examine interiority, but the outward gaze must be carefully contained lest it disclose desire. The choice of apparel also must be carefully tempered, as it could infect the gaze of others. Paul Martin finds a similarly strong connection between vulnerability to pollution from the gaze and the gendered significance of clothing in New Testament times. Like Paster in Shakespeare’s world, Martin attributes women’s subordinate position in the Pauline world to physiology. Women are “more vulnerable than men to desire, danger, and pollution.” “For ancient Greeks, then, the veil (kredemnon) not only symbolized but actually effected a protective barrier guarding the woman’s head and, by metonymic transfer, her genitals.” Martin notes modern scholarly speculation that, for the ancients, the “upper mouth” and the “lower mouth” in women’s bodies were physiologically connected.³⁰⁴ Biblical discourse of the pneumatic body, in Martin’s view, heightens the need so sequester the female body from the invasive male gaze and touch. Women were given responsibility for

³⁰⁴ Martin op. cit., 232-8.

containment of that desire in the “temperance” of their apparel; men had the responsibility to “avoid al (*sic*) occasions” that might provoke its disclosure.

Because of humans’ vulnerability to invasion by concupiscent desire, the godly use of space and time is to be controlled with “zealous geolousy.” However, the puritan body is haunted by knowledge of its past, present, and future fleshly lapses into sin. The statement above names the affections provoked by the memory of such lapses: shame, “greefe,” and fear. If all these, and some “exercise of the body” besides, do not prevail, then desire is to be placed within the acceptable place constructed by the ritual of marriage. As Richard Greaves notes, marriage gained an improved status within English Christianity after the Reformation; marriage was accounted to be of equal chastity with celibacy, but celibacy was still regarded as a divine gift, and at Dry Drayton in the 1580s, it was suggested the unmarried should determine whether or not they had the gift of celibacy, before venturing upon marriage.³⁰⁵ Whether inside or outside of marriage, however, concupiscent desire has no place.³⁰⁶ it must be mortified by the denial of food and sleep, and the ordering of the affections exercised in prayer, as REM524 notes elsewhere: “It is an happy thing said hee to redeem the renuing of the inward man, even with the deny[ing] of the outward.”³⁰⁷

³⁰⁵ Richard L. Greaves, *Society and Religion in Elizabethan England*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1981), Vol. I, 119-130; REM524 Fol. 16^v, in Parker and Carlson, op. cit., 165. Dale Martin traces this ordering of sexual practices to I Corinthians 7:36-7 (Martin, op. cit., 210-12).

³⁰⁶ Greenham’s treatise “Of the Good Education of Children” (Parker and Carlson, 347-354) includes the following frightening statement: “Christians therefore must know, that when men and women raging with boyling lusts meete together as brute beasts, having none other respects then to satisfie their carnall concupiscence, and to strengthen themselves in worldly desires, when they make no conscience to sanctifie the mariage bed with praier, when they have no care to increase the Church of Christ and the number of the elect, it is the just judgement of God to send them monsters, untimely births, or disfigured children, or naturall fooles: or else such as having good gifts of the minde and well proportioned bodies, are most wicked, gracelesse, and prophane persons.”

³⁰⁷ REM524, Fol. 54^f, in Parker and Carlson, 224. Amendment theirs.

The government of the eyes is a recurring topic in REM524. Another entry notes that Greenham “did not use to look any much in the face,” and therefore could not recognize many people by sight. Rather, they were present in his memory “much by their tongues.”³⁰⁸ Greenham’s careful control of his outward vision corresponded to his “great sight of inward corruptions,” cementing his reputation as a remarkable diagnostician to such an extent that “some said hee wrought by Spirits and magical arts.” For Greenham and his students, sharp clarity of outward vision was produced by rigorous interior self-knowledge. He “watched so narrowly over his own hart, that making an anatomy of it, hee could unrip the secret courses of sin in others.”³⁰⁹ The material aspect of sin is diagnosed by inner “watching” of the spiritual physician’s own anatomy, but the knowledge of sin is painfully disclosed in others by an interiorized view of their speech.

Puritan practices of “spiritual physick” noted in this subsection show that the ordered puritan body fashioned the interior self by a judiciously applied combination of medicinal and ritual “means.” Both of those discourses derived their vocabulary of ordered places from the architecture of the body that formed the basis of humoral physiology. A selection from available remedies was made on the basis of both the particular circumstances of each case, and the patient’s humoral complexion: “Hee said it was not good to use that for a diet which is prescribed for phisick.”³¹⁰ The practices of spiritual physick surveyed above produced a substantial series of privileged schemes of opposition. Those many oppositions were placed in a hierarchy; the ability to consume and produce prophetic speech was the identifying mark against which the affections were tried. A practice of vigilant watching of “judgement” over the interior order of the

³⁰⁸ REM524, Fol. 27^f, in Parker and Carlson, 182-3.

³⁰⁹ REM524, Fol. 23^{f-v}, in Parker and Carlson, 177.

³¹⁰ REM524, Fol. 9^v, in Parker and Carlson, 151.

puritan body was opposed to the excessive affections of “heretiques” who lack “judgement;” that power of “watching” over interior order was empowered to diagnose disorder in others, on the basis of their speech alone. Within the community of the elect, the heightened performative efficacy of prophetic speech produced a cycle of the godly affections of joy and peace, and carefully sequestered consumption of food from consumption of strong affections. In Dry Drayton in the 1580s, puritan religious experience was grounded in practices that constructed and regulated the ritualized puritan body, and produced a complex repertoire of performative acts stored in the memory as knowledge of God.

Chapter 2: Dry Drayton in a Broader Context

Throughout the many cultural practices I will survey in what follows, the most central of the privileged oppositions observed above, the production of prophetic performative speech and the watching over interior order, will serve to suggest a “loosely integrated whole,” the fabric of the puritan habitus in the 1580s. Within the practices surveyed, the ordering of interior space by means of the authority of speech remains a decisive source of what Catherine Bell might call puritan “redemptive hegemony,”³¹¹ the cultural power to save the elect of God from sin. Attending to the many varieties of puritan prophetic speech will suggest a clearer impression of the centrality of the performance of that kind of speech in the English puritan mentality of the late sixteenth century.

In selecting practices of the puritan body to discuss below, I have chosen to focus on those that are strongly represented in the antitheatrical pamphlets, while leaving aside with some regret practices of less relevance to this study. The authority of prophetic performative speech to order interiority, and to order the environment around it, are among the practices primarily privileged by the antitheatrical writers. Practices of consumption, of food and print as well as of varieties of knowledge; the proper ordering of time and place; the use of clothing; the ordering of sight and the practice of iconoclasm; and the proper ordering of sports and recreation, all are subordinated in the antitheatrical pamphlets to the redemptive hegemony of prophetic performative speech. To better understand their social role in the marketplace of print, I first will attend to important aspects of the performance of edification within the puritan habitus.

³¹¹ Bell, *op. cit.*, 101, 81.

Ritual Practices of the Puritan Body: Prophetic Performative Speech

The performative force of speech to construct the puritan body combined the authority of ritual promises with the bodily discourses of humoral medicine, producing its efficacy in ordering bodily interiority. The ordering of space and time that shaped the ritualized puritan environment was a product of the disposition to be constantly hearing, speaking, reading, and writing³¹² the Word of God. The movement from bodily ordering to cultural expression can be observed at work in Dry Drayton in the 1580s, through the lens of the recorded observations of Richard Greenham's students. Cultural practices observed in the closer view developed above share continuities with practices found more broadly by scholars of late sixteenth-century puritan history.

One of the most distinctively puritan popular practices of godly speech was the prophesying, a public meeting at which a series of sermons were performed, undertaken as a sort of in-service training of the preachers involved. While there is no evidence, either in REM524 or in his collected works, that Richard Greenham participated in a prophesying, there is evidence that he regularly preached outside his own cure. As noted above, he traveled "to a certain place to preach;"³¹³ as a guest preacher, he often visited parishes in which either there was no incumbent minister, or the incumbent could not preach. In such cases where the people "were not taught to speak of such texts," he would endeavor to "stir" them to "a careful seeking after the means."³¹⁴ He also had

³¹² Keith Thomas notes (op. cit., 115): "In Puritan and Dissenting circles it became as fashionable to keep records of 'signal returns to prayer' as it was to record other manifestation of divine providence. Numerous instance of successful prayer are recorded in the journals and biographies of seventeenth-century divines. Indeed, one of the purposes of the spiritual biographers was to demonstrate the efficacy of prayer." The publication of puritan autobiographies and conduct books blossomed in the seventeenth century. See Paul Rosa, *The literary forms of Puritan life: Creating self and community in print*, unpublished dissertation, (SUNY Stony Brook, NY: 2001).

³¹³ Ibid., Fol. 9^v, 150. See also Fol. 67^v, 252.

³¹⁴ Ibid., Fol. 35^f, 195.

regular guest preachers at Dry Drayton, to such an extent that “some would marvel at him, why hee would suffer soe many to preach at his charge.”³¹⁵ REM524 also observes Greenham on several occasions conferring with, and being consulted by, other “godly” ministers on matters of reformed practice.³¹⁶ Furthermore, there is good reason to conclude that Greenham’s household seminary amounted to a permanent, standing prophesying – a school of puritan prophetic ministry.

Patrick Collinson has provided a description of a typical puritan prophesying, as it was practiced “when the movement was at its height” between 1574 and 1576. Citing from the letters of puritan observer Thomas Wood,³¹⁷ he notes:

Usually a moderator presided over a panel or ‘table’ of preachers, three or four of whom took it in turn to uncover their heads and preach on the text for the day... A large public audience was present, hierarchically arranged, with two or three godly justices gracing the proceedings and perhaps sitting behind the preacher in the chancel seats. [...] Meanwhile the godly would sit with their Geneva Bibles open on their laps, searching for the texts cited by the preachers. According to one observer, as soon as the public conference was over, the people would hotly discuss what they had heard amongst themselves, ‘all of them, men and women, boys and girls, labourers, workmen and simpletons’.³¹⁸

Collinson notes that the practice of prophesying began to receive official approval from the episcopate in the early 1570s. Collinson names 29 market towns and seven counties all over England where prophesyings were heard: “The only districts where the bishops knew of no exercises were the city of London, the dioceses of Ely and Salisbury, and the whole of Wales.” Dry Drayton was located within the diocese of Ely, perhaps explaining why Greenham does not mention prophesyings.

³¹⁵ Ibid., Fol. 16^r, 164.

³¹⁶ Ibid., Fol. 36^v, 197; and 39^v, 202.

³¹⁷ Thomas Wood, d. 1577, was a soldier and religious activist, one of four English exiles who founded the protestant community at Frankfurt-am-Main in 1554. Collinson’s publication of his letters to Leicester and Warwick concerning both military matters and the suppression of puritan religious exercises has provided historians with important insight into lay puritan life. See Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, s.v. ‘Thomas Wood.’ Available at <http://www.oxforddnb.com>. Consulted December 6, 2007.

³¹⁸ *EPM*, 174-5.

Centered in market towns wherever their environs could boast “a good number of preaching ministers,” the prophesyings gathered preaching ministers and their congregants from across parish boundaries for the purpose of consumption and production of godly speech. The authority of the godly speech offered at a prophesying was communally constructed, and was policed by its consumers, who sat “hierarchically arranged”³¹⁹ with Geneva Bibles on their laps, taking notes and checking texts, and “hotly” discussing what they had heard after the sermons were finished. While the laity discussed the sermons, the ministers had opportunity to “confer” about the strengths and weaknesses of each other’s work. Discussion and conference both continued over dinner at an inn. Prophesyings therefore sustained in the public sphere the imbrication of consumption and production of godly speech with consumption of food, which REM524 observed “at table” in Dry Drayton. Collinson’s description notes a paradoxical mingling and separation of the lay participants on the basis of their class status. While on the one hand they were seated according to rank, on the other they all of them, regardless of gender or rank, participated in the godly discussion after the sermons. The ability to produce godly speech remained, in the market town, a privileged puritan practice. The circulation of authority in the discussions after the sermons reiterates the circulation of godly affections amongst the elect at Dry Drayton. Communal performance reinforced the boundaries of the puritan body, producing civic places within which individual puritans took up and reiterated their personae as members of the elect.

³¹⁹ Collinson describes that hierarchical arrangement elsewhere: “The [church] building was now filled with ‘convenient’ seating which was not only practical but also symbolic in a new way, since it enabled the society of the town or parish to be arranged in ranking order of dignity and degree. The purpose of church assemblies was now to engage actively, attentively, but in quietly submissive order in a service of spoken prayer interspersed with congregational psalm-singing, and to listen, bible in hand or on lap, to sermons delivered from a physically dominant pulpit.” See Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1988), 55.

As practices intended to re-order public space by means of the performative authority of godly speech, prophesyings projected into public space the privileged oppositions constructed in puritan ritual practices. Because of the parallels between puritan and other protestant practices noted above, the naturalization of puritan organizational schemes did not necessarily produce violent social disjunctions. It was sometimes possible, as REM524 observes, to construct a position as a moderate puritan. However, the prophesying had an inevitably political aspect that did not go unnoticed. Collinson traces the somewhat haphazard process by which Queen Elizabeth suppressed prophesyings: whenever she heard of one, she ordered it suppressed through the bishop within whose see it lay, beginning with Canterbury in 1576. However, since the sympathies of the bishops, encouraged by Archbishop Grindal, sometimes lay more with the pastorate, their execution of her orders was at best uneven. Matters came to a head in December 1576. Elizabeth summoned Grindal and ordered the “utter suppression of all learned exercises and conferences and the abridging of the number of preachers to three or four for each shire.”³²⁰ Grindal refused to do it; he was confined to Lambeth, and Aylmer and Edmund Freke took over the administration of Elizabeth’s order.

Prophesyings were similar to the godly lectureships that rose to prominence in this period, in that lectureships also were centered on the consumption and production of prophetic speech, and were often associated with market day in town settings, as Paul Seaver has noted:

Despite the similarity between the London and the provincial parish lectureships, the provincial lectureships had two peculiarities of their own: the weekday lecture

³²⁰ *EPM*, 194.

was frequently held early in the morning on the market day, and it was sometimes preached not by a single lecturer but alternately by a group of local clergymen.³²¹

Whilst prophesyings gathered incumbents from local parishes to preach, lecturers were appointed to their positions within the church by wealthy lay patrons, and therefore had no pastoral or parochial duties other than to teach. Seaver distinguishes between a preacher and a lecturer: “The pastor or minister preached, administered the sacraments, and prayed; the doctor or teacher interpreted the Scripture in order to expound sound doctrine.”³²² Christopher Hill notes four kinds of lectureships:

There were various types of lectureships. A lectureship might be a means of augmenting the stipend of an underpaid minister of whom his congregation approved. [...] A lecturer might be “superinducted...in another man’s cure and pastoral charge.” [...] Or there might be a “combination” by a group of ministers, who would agree to take turns in preaching at a neighbouring town on market days. [...] A fourth type was a “running lecturer”, an itinerant preacher going from village to village.³²³

While endowing lectureships was never an exclusively puritan practice, it did provide puritans access to ecclesiastical appointments they otherwise lacked: “Between the lectureship and the advowson the Puritan laity solved the problem of access to the pulpit for their clerical brethren.”³²⁴ Seaver notes the ecclesiastical consequences: “The role of the ecclesiastical hierarchy was minimized by the lectureship and in fact was limited to the decision whether or not to license the lecturer to preach.” Having been licensed, the lecturer held his position at the pleasure of his lay patrons, most of whom, in London at least, had acquired their wealth through industry: “Almost all the London donors were

³²¹ Paul S. Seaver, *The Puritan Lectureships: The Politics of Religious Dissent, 1560-1662*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1970), 84.

³²² *Ibid.*, 24.

³²³ Hill, *op. cit.*, 81-2.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, 6.

members of the London business community, or the wives or widows of businessmen.”³²⁵

That reality further underlines the growing authority of the puritan laity to shape not only their bodily interiority and their local community, but also the polity of the church and the spatial and temporal environment that surrounded and supported it.

The lecture was closely related to the sermon; both were varieties of godly speech. The prophesying, the lecture, and the sermon were varieties of prophetic speech that provided the authoritative site around which the fabric of puritan culture was woven. Patrick Collinson notes the centrality of godly speech in shaping other puritan practices:

What I have called the ‘concomitants’ of preaching may, in the experience of sermon-goers, have been more memorably important than the contents of the sermon itself. These included attendance at the sermon, the going to and the coming away from it, a deliberated, formalized act, social rather than solitary, and anti-social too in the hostile perception of the onlookers who were not themselves willing sermon-goers. [...] The ‘concomitants’ included psalm-singing on the way to church and in church, sermon ‘repetition’ shared with other sermon-goers after the sermon, in meetings which in the perception of often hostile authorities were construed as ‘conventicles’; and above all, the thick fabric of sociability with other, like-minded sermon-goers, not necessarily kindred, not ‘natural’ associates and often not neighbours, but what a puritan would call ‘friends in the Lord’.³²⁶

Not only the churches, but also the highways and byways of early modern England were, on occasion, shaped by the sounds of puritan conversation, and resonant with the stern tones of the Genevan Psalter. The production and consumption of prophetic speech is the primary organizing scheme shaping the puritan body. It provides the central practice of puritan culture, around which other practices are placed. The consumption of prophetic speech moved the puritan body through space, provided the occasion for singing and repetition, and constructed community.

³²⁵ Ibid., 158.

³²⁶ Patrick Collinson, “Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism,” in Durston and Eales, op. cit., 48-9.

As Collinson notes, these practices performed crucial distinctions between those who “gadded” to sermons and those who did not. REM524 observes the importance of the Psalter, not only in constructing social distinctions, but also in maintaining a temperate bodily order of the affections:

In singing of Psalms without some special occasion hee would say in company especially such as were of some general instruction, although privately for himself according to his grief, joy or affection, hee would sing proper psalms. Yea hee thought that they that did most rejoyce might sing the Psalms, of greatest grief to put them in mind, what was or may bee in them, as also to season ther joyes with a remembrance, of the sorrowes of some of the saints.³²⁷

The mingling of the joys of company with the sorrows of the saints serves to put the godly “in mind.” Whilst in that ordered interior state, those who traveled to sermons extended their ordered interiority into public space by means of song. Puritan time, “without some special occasion,” should be marked in practices that serve generally to instruct. Singing from the Psalter was particularly important to puritans, because it was the only aspect of Sunday worship in which they regularly participated; responsive readings were very rare, and the minister led all communal prayer.³²⁸ Puritan public space, on the road to market, lecture, or Sunday meeting, was a communally constructed space performed as a journey of “general instruction” produced by the schooled – and schooling – affections. The performance of the puritan persona therefore transgressed the authorized boundaries of parish and public space, offering prophetic speech and song as instruction to the ears and eyes of those outside its ritualized sense of place.

The puritan bodily economy of consumption and production of prophetic speech, and the concomitant regulation of the body’s humoral state through the six non-naturals, was materially reinforced in the corresponding spatial practices of the local economy of

³²⁷ REM 524, Fol. 33^v, in Parker and Carlson, 193 (excerpt).

³²⁸ *EPM*, 359.

the market town. Collinson traces the parallel development of the lectureship and the idea of the Protestant town: “*This town, our city*, is to be compared, even identified, with God’s own metropolis of Jerusalem.”³²⁹ As Collinson notes, those with spending power, the gentry and yeomanry, purchased more than just staples on their trips to town on market day:

The mercer’s shop in Cranbrook (Kent) was crammed with several hundred pounds’ worth of gloves, ribbons, silk buttons, drinking glasses, playing cards, and... ‘Heaven knows what else.’ It was a great age of penny numbers.³³⁰

In a Protestant town like Cranbrook in the 1580s, it seems reasonable to conclude that a worthy puritan yeoman might very well have occupied his time on market day in the consumption of a lecture, of a good meal at an inn, in the purchase of some staples such as corn or livestock, and even of some less essential items, such as the latest penny number – perhaps one bearing a fiery prophetic title, such as *A Godly Exhortation*.

The social ordering such consumption performed in providing markers for godly distinctions is evident in the following observation:

When three neighbours went to hear a sermon on a certain Sunday afternoon and after retired to the Fleur de Lys to drink a pot of beer, the rest of the company in the bar asked them: ‘Where have you been you three good husbands, not at the sermon I trust?’³³¹

The social tensions between puritan and merry England lurk in this little vignette.

However, there may not have been anything sinister in the barman’s question; puritan practices of consumption regularly reinforced the social order of rank and degree, as this story shows:

³²⁹ Collinson, *Birthpangs*, 28. Durston and Eales note a “concentration of puritan effort” to control town governments and produce “English Genevas” in Colchester, Banbury, Cranbrook, Lewes, Rye, Gloucester, Coventry, Newbury, and Northampton. See Durston and Eales op. cit., 29-30.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, 47.

³³¹ Collinson, *Birthpangs*, 38.

...after the lecture at Winwick in Lancashire the secular notables dined together in one ordinary or public eating house, the ministers at another, 'every man accompanying his acquaintance and so making as it were a whole chain of many links.'³³²

Whether one chooses the metaphor of a chain, or that of a field of embodied dispositions, the practices of consumption and production noted here wove together important threads in the social fabric of the puritan habitus.

It seems even more likely that those good husbands' good wives made similar journeys to hear sermons. Collinson observes that there may have been an imbalance in religious enthusiasm between the genders:

Protestant wives were frequently more deeply committed to the cause of religion than their husbands. It was noted by contemporary observers, Richard Hooker among them, that the largest and most enthusiastic following of the puritan preachers were women, London merchant's wives, 'famous and godly matrons' and gentlewomen.³³³

The strong representation of women in puritan practices of reshaping public space may have produced some gender anxiety in those men who were not themselves "willing sermon-goers." In transgressively reshaping public space, puritan women were also transgressing gender boundaries, as this vignette shows:

In Colchester, an innkeeper complained to two of his customers about the sermon-going habits of the good wives of the town: "There be a sort of women of this town that go to the Sermons with the books under their arms...& when they come there the whores must be pewed & there they set & sleep & what they do we cannot see & then they come home to their husbands & say he made a good & godly sermon, & yet they play the Whores before they come home..."³³⁴

The innkeeper sexualizes these "good wives," marking their transgression by categorizing their bodies as grotesque and suspicious. He associates their practice of going to "Sermons" with the material props of their performative action, "the books

³³² Ibid., 46.

³³³ Collinson, *Godly People*, 316.

³³⁴ Durston and Eales op. cit., 48-9.

under their arms.” Perhaps he was illiterate; the consumption of godly speech evidently provoked his anxiety. The addition of pews to protestant church architecture reshaped the church’s spatial practices, as noted above, producing a new social and godly hierarchy. For this innkeeper in Colchester, a town which as Durston and Eales noted was a center of “concentrated puritan effort” to assert social re-ordering, the reshaping of public space performed by practices of puritan consumption also implied, on some occasions at least, a transgressive re-ordering of gender performance.

After the sermon, puritans regularly gathered in their homes for ‘repetitions,’ the practice of telling over the sermon’s contents, often on the basis of written notes. The episode below permits a closer view of one such domestic evening:

At Aythorp Roding [in Essex], on a typical occasion [in the 1580s], the godly met in the house of one Davies, “to the number of ten persons or thereabouts of his kindred and neighbours, being invited thither to supper”. Over the meal, “they then conferred together of such profitable lessons as they had learned that day at a public catechizing”. After supper, some “attended to one that read in the *Book of Martyrs*”, and the rest to John Huckle, the vicar, then under suspension, who was “in company with them, and was reading by the fireside a piece of catechism...which he had then in his hand.” Finally they all sang a psalm and prayed, “and so departed about ten o’clock at night.”³³⁵

Once again, the consumption of godly words and food are woven together in a social occasion that offered variety of choice: one might hear a reading from the *Book of Martyrs*, or one might hear a “piece of catechism.” While some of the words they speak are cited from printed works, the communal nature of this social occasion also provided the participants with a rich repertoire of performative action from which to select their own restored behaviors. In this case, the vicar whose presence lends authority to their actions is under ecclesiastical suspension; but that fact apparently merited little comment.

³³⁵ Collinson, *Godly People*, 11.

The evening of consumption amongst “neighbours” is rounded with a little prayer, and so to bed.

The practice of ‘repetition’ parallels the theatrical practice of rehearsal, but differs from it in the perlocutionary uptake of its performative construction of social persona. As noted above, a constant practice of prophetic performative speech was a crucial aspect of the economy of consumption and production of godly speech, producing in the puritan subject’s memory the “reason of the thing.” When considered as a sustained practice within puritan culture, ‘repetition’ is not merely “twice-behaved behavior,”³³⁶ but rather is a central disposition of the puritan habitus. However, ‘repetition’, like other practices that formed the “means,” was consciously and methodically undertaken to reinforce bodily order in the memory. It was highly effective, as this story shows:

Robert Passfield, a servant of the exemplary Chester Puritan John Bruen, was said to be ‘utterly unlearned, being unable to read a sentence or write a syllable’. Yet he was ‘so well acquainted with the history of the Bible’ that if asked where such a saying or sentence occurred ‘he would with very little ado tell them in what book and chapter they might find it’.³³⁷

Being an unlearned servant was no bar to the puritan appropriation of prophetic performative speech; on the other hand, it must be noted that John Bruen was a powerful member of the puritan gentry, and a conspicuous iconoclast.³³⁸ Passfield’s liveried status may have marked his abilities as an extension of his master’s place and dignity in the social order, perhaps even appearing on occasion as a kind of ‘party piece.’ However, Passfield’s remarkable memory is at the least a demonstration of the efficacy of sustained oral repetition in producing “in memory” the reason of the thing: his distinction as a

³³⁶ Schechner, *op. cit.*, 22.

³³⁷ Collinson, *Birthpangs*, 123-4.

³³⁸ Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, s.v. ‘John Bruen.’ Available at <http://www.oxforddnb.com>. Consulted December 3, 2007.

member of the puritan community. Nor was Passfield alone in that distinction, which apparently crossed gender boundaries:

Their ability to refer to, and quote at length, obscure Old and New Testament texts in defence of their views and actions was legendary, and was frequently remarked upon by their critics; in 1628, for example, John Earle wrote of a she-puritan: ‘She overflows so much with the Bible that she spills it upon every occasion, and will not cudgel her maids without Scripture.’³³⁹

This mildly satirical portrait discloses the confluence of godly performative speech with a disciplined social hierarchy; the “she-puritan” can afford to keep “maids.” Her gendered humoral nature is signaled in the “overflow” of her speech, which “spills” excessively “on every occasion,” like a grotesque fluid, producing violent consequences for those of lesser stature. The puritan practice of governing the eyes is reflected in Earle’s satirical observation: “Her devotion at the Church is much in the turning up of her eye, and turning down the leafe in her Booke when shee heares nam’d Chapter and Verse.”³⁴⁰ Earle was no puritan;³⁴¹ for him, as for the Colchester innkeeper, puritan patterns of consumption and production of godly speech constructed public personae that were particularly transgressive when they crossed gender boundaries.

Puritan preaching has been described as performative, in the theatrical sense of the word. Collinson suggests “the sermon must be properly appreciated, not as some kind of text once read to an audience, all content and no style or delivery, but as performance.” However, not all preachers possessed the “fiery, histrionic talents of John Rogers of Dedham, to whom the people of Ipswich flocked from a dozen miles away to

³³⁹ Durston and Eales, “Introduction,” in *op. cit.*, 16.

³⁴⁰ John Earle, *Microcosmographie*, (London: 1628), 63.

³⁴¹ Although he produced *Microcosmographie* as a younger man, Earle went on to become Bishop of Salisbury during the Restoration. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, s.v. ‘John Earle.’ Available at <http://www.oxforddnb.com>. Consulted December 3, 2007.

‘get a little fire’.”³⁴² While Collinson suggests that puritan preaching style tended in general to be more restrained in speech and physical expression, the model of the fiery preacher contributed to the success of the market model in the consumption of godly speech. In his “Treatise of the Sabbath,” Richard Greenham calls Sunday “the schoole day, the faire day, the market day, the feeding day of the soule...”³⁴³ Market competition caused some preachers to lose some of their flock:

Godly ministers themselves stood in danger of losing their auditory if a rival attraction proved too strong. This was the fate of Robert Lewis, a Colchester minister who failed to compete with the popular town preacher, George Northey, and asked his brethren of the Dedham *classis* for a ruling “that a pastor should have his own people.”³⁴⁴

Lewis’s appeal to ecclesiastical authority in the mid 1580s, even authority of the unofficial classical variety, is evidence of the exacerbation of tensions between official authority and the individual authority of the preacher. Similar events troubled the church culture in the region of St. Albans:

When William Dyke, one of the hottest of the puritan preachers, occupied the pulpit at St Michael’s, St. Albans, it was said that ‘many absent themselves from their own parish churches on the Sabbath day, yea refuse to hear their own ministers being preachers, and repair to Dyke to hear him, and many of this gadding people come from far and went home late, both young men and young women together.’³⁴⁵

The increasing authority of prophetic performative speech heightened the tensions between individual and official authority after the Reformation; puritan practices were renegotiating the micro-relations of power in Colchester and St. Alban’s, on the basis of Northey’s and Dyke’s superior ability to perform godly speech acts.

³⁴² Patrick Collinson, “Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism,” in Durston and Eales, op. cit., 47.

³⁴³ Richard Greenham, “A Treatise of the Sabbath,” in *Works*, 1st ed., 301.

³⁴⁴ Collinson, *Godly People*, 10.

³⁴⁵ *EPM*, 373-4.

Laurence Chaderton's Paul's Cross sermon makes specific the connection between cosmic space and interior place in a way that models the performative action of prophetic speech, constructing a continuous providential vision of correspondences:

But who hath shed forth as yet the Christian tears of repentance?... we have been admonished by a great and strange comet in the air, by earthquakes, inundations of waters, all which signs and forerunners of God's wrath are returned to him again as being unable to mollify our stoney hearts that we might turn unto the Lord.³⁴⁶

Here the threat of national destruction and the promise of personal salvation are articulated in 'painful' preaching that uses a humoral vocabulary to map the interior life of the faithful. That vocabulary places affectionate disclosure in watery "Christian tears" in opposition to the obdurate "stoney hearts" of the unrepentant. The fiery performance of this hortatory speech shaped interior space and filled the air around it, as Patrick Collinson notes: "We should by no means disregard all the Ohs and Ahs in this discourse, those unconsidered particles of speech, indicative of what Hazlitt would later call 'emphatic language...'" Collinson cites a sermon of William Whately, the "roaring boy of Banbury," which is filled with "O"³⁴⁷; in Banbury, and particularly in London, prophetic speech formed a vital aspect of the "soundscape" described by Bruce Smith.³⁴⁸ Paul Seaver shows that strong preaching shaped England's capital, noting "popular preachers attracted larger audiences week after week than Shakespeare and Jonson in their prime." He later cites a Paul's Cross sermon:

In fact, nearly two generations earlier, in 1571, a preacher at Paul's Cross had exclaimed, "But surely when I come out of the country hither to the city, methink I come into another world, even out of darkness into light, for here the word of

³⁴⁶ Cited in Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, 128.

³⁴⁷ Collinson, "Biblical Rhetoric," 28-9.

³⁴⁸ Smith op. cit., 49-95.

god is plentifully preached.” In its preaching, as in so many other respects, London was without rival.³⁴⁹

Hearing, and performing, a sermon was the central godly practice shaping religious experience and popular culture in early modern England. Collinson suggests that in Essex, “a church service was ‘no service, unless there be a sermon’.”³⁵⁰ If there were no preaching minister, or if the incumbent was inadequate, the godly often “gadded” to sermons elsewhere. The practice of valuing prophetic speech created a market for that speech, in which the consumers of it transgressed the traditional spatial boundaries of the parish. It also de-valued the church sanctuary as the primary locus of religious experience, relocating it in the properly ordered body. Framed slightly differently, that suggestion forms one of the thetical notions of Collinson’s essay on the subject: “...preaching...set up processes which were calculated to divide and even to dissolve the parish as the essential unit of ecclesiastical organization.”³⁵¹ As Collinson later notes, citing vicar Richard Fletcher, prophetic speech became a mark of distinction even among lay puritans that was noted by their detractors:

It is a common thinge now for every pragmaticall prentice to have in his hand and mouthe the government and reformation of the Churche. And he that in exercise can speak thereof, that is the man. Every artificer must be a reformer and a teacher, forgetting their state thei stand in bothe to be taught and to be reformed.³⁵²

Puritan prophetic speech practices linked hands and mouths with local, ecclesiastical, and national public space. Prophetic speech marks and identifies the speaker as “the man,” confirming in performance his puritan public persona.

³⁴⁹ Seaver, op. cit., 5, 121.

³⁵⁰ Collinson, *Godly People*, 9.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 2-3.

³⁵² Collinson, “Cranbrook and the Fletchers: Popular and Unpopular Religion in the Kentish Weald,” in *Godly People*, 418.

As was the case with the prophesyings, the rise of the puritan lectureship, and its attendant reshaping of power relations and spatial practices, was greeted with strong resistance at the national level. Even in the earliest stages of their development, the practices shaped by the consumption and production of puritan prophetic speech – the prophesyings, lectures, repetitions, conferences, and psalm-singing – had begun the construction of a “church within the church.”³⁵³ Efforts to curtail the rising power of the lectureship began in January, 1580, with Bishop of London John Aylmer’s demand that all the preachers within his diocese, including the un-beneficed doctors and lecturers, were to administer the sacraments at least four times a year. Aylmer’s program of “visitation,” or consistorial examination, summoned lecturers to confirm their conformity.³⁵⁴ “As Field complained to Gilby, this was to invert ‘a point of puritanism’, the interdependence of the word and sacraments.”³⁵⁵ The puritan response, Patrick Collinson suggests, was to redouble their efforts “to assert the distinctive social morality with which puritanism has been associated ever since” by means of the printing press. Collinson alludes to the pamphlets by Gosson, Stubbes, Field, and to Thomas Wilcox’s *A Glasse for Gamesters* (1581).³⁵⁶ Aylmer was one of “a generation of bishops” whose rise to ecclesiastical power in the late 1570s was occasioned by Grindal’s fall from grace in 1577. Diarmaid MacCullough also points to the parallel rise of Sir Christopher Hatton at court, and the fall of Leicester as the queen’s favorite. Hatton was “probably still a crypto-Catholic;” certainly, he was no friend to the puritan cause, as Leicester had

³⁵³ Ibid., 51.

³⁵⁴ Seaver op. cit., 212.

³⁵⁵ *EPM.*, 202.

³⁵⁶ Ibid., 208.

been.³⁵⁷ Aylmer's action was undertaken in the changing climate of court politics; he began summoning preachers for examination to determine their conformity to the Book of Common Prayer.³⁵⁸

More general and decisive action was taken by John Whitgift upon his accession to the archiepiscopacy. Whitgift composed a list of three articles, and submitted them to the queen for approval. They were promulgated on October 29th, 1583, and became the "Form of Subscription" Whitgift used to enforce conformity. The first article asserted Elizabeth's absolute sovereignty, and the third enforced subscription to the Elizabethan Settlement as ratified by the clerical Convocation in 1562. It was the second article that presented the greatest difficulty for puritans:

That the Book of Common Prayer and of ordering bishops, priests and deacons containeth nothing in it contrary to the word of God. And that the same may be lawfully used; and that he himself will use the form of the said book prescribed in public prayer and administration of the sacraments and none other.³⁵⁹

This second article effectively collapsed the godly speech and ritual practices of the Anglican Church into the domain of sovereign performative speech. As Ronald Bond observes, "*Cujus regio ejus religio*."³⁶⁰ the maxim applies well to the Tudor homilies and the means by which their use was enforced."³⁶¹ Elizabeth's deep antipathy to puritan preaching, and her desire to impose religious unity upon her nation, emerge in her own sovereign speech as delivered to Whitgift at a 1585 session of her Privy Council:

Again you suffer many ministers to preach what they list and to minister the sacraments according to their own fancies, some one way, some another, to the breach of unity: yea, and some of them so curious in searching matters above their

³⁵⁷ MacCullough op. cit., 44-48.

³⁵⁸ Seaver op. cit., 212.

³⁵⁹ *EPM* 244-6.

³⁶⁰ "Whose the region, his or hers the religion."

³⁶¹ Ronald Bond, "Introduction," to his edition of *Certain Sermons or Homilies (1547): and, A Homily Against Disobedience and Wilful Rebellion (1570); a Critical Edition*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 3.

capacity as they preach they wot not what – that there is no Hell but a torment of the conscience. Nay, I have heard there be six preachers in one diocese the which do preach in six sundry ways. I wish such men to be brought to conformity and unity: that they minister the sacraments according to the order of this Realm and preach all one truth; and that such as be found not worthy to preach, be compelled to read homilies...³⁶²

This utterance precisely discloses the conflict between the authority of the interior ordering of the body described as “conscience” and the authority of the “order of this Realm” to mandate that the church “preach all one truth.” The systematic examination of the pastorate was vigorously protested and resisted, but it had a chilling effect on the rise of puritan prophetic speech. Seaver notes that between 1579 and 1583 the number of puritan lectureships in London doubled, from 13 to 26. After 1583 the number fluctuated between a high of 27 and a low of 17 until the 1620s.³⁶³ Only three London lecturers were suspended for non-subscription, but Stephen Egerton and John Field were two of the three – both key leaders of the London presbyterian movement. Seaver suggests “...though Whitgift’s Articles may have helped to make nonconformity a permanent feature of the Church, they were by the same token decidedly effective in achieving their immediate purpose.”³⁶⁴

Both Seaver and Patrick Collinson find a connection between the official efforts of the early 1580s to impose conformity and the hardening of puritan determination. The increase in puritan print publication Collinson observes is one aspect of what became an increasingly political movement towards Presbyterianism:

1584 saw an intensification of conference and propaganda, culminating at the end of the year in a counter-attack launched through the House of Commons, a political campaign without precedent in parliamentary history.³⁶⁵

³⁶² Cited in Bond op. cit., 10.

³⁶³ Seaver op. cit., 203.

³⁶⁴ Ibid., 213.

³⁶⁵ *EPM*, 273.

Collinson's narrative moves towards the introduction of the puritan Book of Discipline in the Parliament of 1586, and the increasing productivity of Robert Waldegrave, the puritan printer who was later to publish the first three Marprelate pamphlets. However, the point I wish to emphasize here is the evident historical connection between efforts to suppress puritan speech and the increase in puritan print publication. Not only puritan preaching but also the production and consumption of cheap godly print performed a crucial distinction in the 1580s between sovereign and puritan kinds of performative speech. The setback in the puritan political agenda presented by Whitgift and Aylmer was a significant episode in "a peculiar history of failure and frustration in religious reformation" that Bozeman suggests is one of the social forces that shaped the puritans' intense interest in interior order and discipline. As he goes on to note, "Greenham's career, like Perkins's and several other early pietist leaders', illustrates the shift of emphasis from structural reform to experiential piety."³⁶⁶ I suggest, further, that the antitheatrical pamphlets are evidence of both developments: the puritan turn to consumption and production of print publication, and the perceived rhetorical extremity of the puritan emphasis on ordered interiority. Both developments were strategic responses to particular historic circumstances, and both served to construct the puritan body in the public imagined community of early modern England.

Another of the fruits of that shift of emphasis that Collinson and others have traced to the early 1580s is the puritan practice of baptizing children with Biblical names. However, Richard Greenham may have initiated the practice even earlier. Parker and Carlson note that the parish register of Dry Drayton records a marked upsurge in children

³⁶⁶ Bozeman, *Precisianist*, 51, 69.

baptized with biblical names during Greenham's ministry. Of the ten children baptized in 1575, only one received a traditional name. The others were given biblical names such as "Peter, Appia, Daniel, Ursula, Nathaniel, Samuel, Josiah, and two Sarahs. They were soon joined by several Deborahs and Rebeccas, along with Jehosabeths and Hananiahs, Gemima, Solomon, Manasses." This distinctive practice of naming only appeared in seven families. After Greenham left in 1591, more traditional names regained dominance.³⁶⁷

As distinctive as those names may seem, they are pedestrian when compared with the names that emerged in the 1580s in Essex, Sussex and Kent. Nicholas Tyacke traces the inauguration of the practice to Sussex in mid-1585, with the baptism of Return Hepden, followed soon thereafter by Much-mercy Hely. Tyacke finds similar names in 18 parishes in Sussex and Kent, and suggests that the tradition persisted in lay families until the turn of the century. "Most remarkable was Thomas Starr who between 1589 and 1600 called his children Comfort, No-strength, More-gift, Mercy, Sure-trust, and Stand-well."³⁶⁸ Tyacke notes that the practice vertically divided the communities where it is found, rather than horizontally by class; husbandmen and yeomen families adopted it about equally. He attributes the practice to "a recurring religious cycle of repentance."³⁶⁹ Patrick Collinson records an earlier example of the practice in Cranbrook, Essex: "The new fashion was first seen in March 1583 with the baptism of Joyagain Netter and

³⁶⁷ Parker and Carlson, op. cit., 75.

³⁶⁸ Nicholas Tyacke, "Popular Puritan Mentality in Late Elizabethan England," in Peter Clark, Alan G.R. Smith and N. Tyacke, (ed.s) *The English Commonwealth 1547-1640*, (Leicester, UK: Leicester University Press, 1979), 80-1.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 89, 91.

From above Hendly.” Collinson suggests that the practice originated among lay puritans, in particular one Thomas Hely, rather than with a preacher.³⁷⁰

The efficacy of such an egregious performance of puritan social distinction is evident in Ben Jonson’s later efforts to satirize it. Naming was only one aspect of the idiosyncratic puritan idiom Jonson attacks, but it was certainly its most obvious. Naming shares continuities with prophesyings, lectures, repetitions, reading, prayer, and psalm-singing. They are all produced as print evidence that records the traces of performance as varieties of speech. Reiteration of these kinds of performance served to order interiority and produce identity as a puritan subject; all the practices surveyed in this subsection were noted among non-puritans as marks of puritan distinction. The episcopate and the court remained so suspicious of many of these practices that they were specifically suppressed,³⁷¹ marking them as socially transgressive and politically resistant, but also empowering them by defining them as such. The effect produced by the queen’s sovereign performative was to naturalize the hierarchy of privileged oppositions the puritans themselves had constructed. The speech practices that identified the puritan body in the early modern English imagined community – the gadding to sermons, gatherings for repetition, prophesyings and lectures – were, ironically, fixed *as* puritan practices by the performative force of sovereign speech. Each practice contributed a significant thread to the fabric of the puritan habitus.

³⁷⁰ Collinson, *Godly*, 423.

³⁷¹ Collinson notes: “In 1583, for example, Archbishop Whitgift ‘utterly inhibited’ ‘all preaching, reading, catechisme, and other such like exercise in private places and families’ attended by people of more than one family, describing them as ‘manifest signe of schisme, and a cause of contention within the church.’ *Religion of the Protestants*, 248.

Ritual Practices of the Puritan Body: The Fast

The imbrication of aural and bodily kinds of consumption served to distinguish appropriate from inappropriate eating; as noted above, both abstention from and consumption of meat were, on different occasions, observed in REM524 to construct the puritan pneumatic self. The entry below combines, in a complex way, practices of speech, eating and production of knowledge with practices of social construction on religious grounds:

Christian talk at meat At the table, as hee was rare, either in beginning wholesome talke with modesty, or in continuing it with power and vehemency: so hee was wont to say that it was an unchristian courtesy, that men should alwaies stay for the preacher, seing they were annoited with the same spirit, though not with the like measure of like graces, and as though the minister alone was taught: therefore hee would wish others by praier to offer ther speaches to god, and to use them advisedly reverently, and not passing the bounds of ther knowledge, and if they would not speak of any thing, speake of the Communion of saincts: if they cold say nothing yet at least they should complain of ther dul minds, which is a punished mind and even of ther dulnes and deadnes should rayse quicknes and life of speach again.³⁷²

This statement initially extends the observation, noted above, that speech while eating should be carefully modulated, lest any untoward affections be ingested with the food. However, that injunction is joined, with the balancing conjunction “so”, to a further prescription for reformed table manners, connecting them with the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers.³⁷³ The statement assumes that prayer should precede eating, but it rejects the idea that “men” should “stay for the preacher,” since their bodies are just as fit for such a prayer as Greenham’s own by virtue of their all having been “annoited with the same spirit.” “Others” may “offer ther speaches to god,” and again, the

³⁷² REM524, Fol. 6^r, in Parker and Carlson, 144.

³⁷³ See Calvin, *Institutes*, 2.15.6, vol. I, 502: “For we who are defiled in ourselves, yet are priests in him, offer ourselves and our all to God...”. The editors note (n.15) that “Calvin’s utterances specifically on the priesthood of believers are rare and unsystematic, although in treatment of other topics he gives to that doctrine substantially the same content given to it by Luther.”

“bounds” of such speech are decided by the extent of their “knowledge.” Their knowledge, at the least, might be determined by their immediate context: they are sitting around a table, about to break bread as members of the “Communion of the saints.” That observation compares the table before them with the communion table of the Lord’s Supper, often celebrated in puritan churches with the communicants sitting or kneeling “table wise,” with the table sitting lengthwise in “the most convenient part of the church,” usually the nave.³⁷⁴ Seated “at the table,” speech is recommended especially to those who suffer from a “dul” mind for its powers to reorder interiority, bringing renewed “quicknes and life.”

The distinctively puritan ordering of interiority by means of speech and eating practiced in Dry Drayton has implications for the puritan practice of the fast, a centrally important puritan ritual.³⁷⁵ At Greenham’s manse, fasting upon occasions of particular need was placed in direct opposition to the medieval Catholic calendar of feasting, as this entry in REM524 shows:

Brought unto him from a noble man a piece of veneson to make merry with his frinds, and this present was given at such a time, as the lord threatned some plague to his church, and punishment to the common wealth answered the messenger, I pray you carry back your veneson to your lord with thanks, and signify unto him that it is a fitter tym now to fast and pray with mourning then to feast and play with mirthmaking³⁷⁶

³⁷⁴ Collinson provides a complete description of a puritan worship service, including the celebration of the Lord’s Supper, in *EPM*, 362-3. See also George Yule, “James VI and I: Furnishing the churches in his two kingdoms,” in Sarah Coakley, *Religion and the Body*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 182-208, for a reading of early modern English church spatial practices. Greenham’s position on whether to sit or kneel at communion was moderate: “Let us do as much as we can with the peace of the church lest wee make the remedy of the evil wors then the evil it self.” REM524 Fol. 10^v, 152.

³⁷⁵ Collinson suggests: “An anthropologist wanting to describe puritan culture with the Clifford Geertzian technique of ‘thick’ description should be led without further delay to the puritan fast.” See his “Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism as Forms of Popular Religious Culture,” in Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales (ed.s), *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700*, (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996), 50.

³⁷⁶ REM524, Fol. 64^f, in Parker and Carlson, 245.

The providential correspondence between interiority and cosmic events common to protestant England³⁷⁷ is constructed in this statement. Fasting and praying “with mourning” are appropriate responses to the threat of plague endangering both church and “common wealth.” Feasting and making merry must give way to the authoritative re-ordering of time on the basis of present circumstances, and that redemptive use of time is grounded here in the bodily economy of regulated consumption of “veneson” and production of godly speech and godly affection. In time of plague, mourning is more appropriate to the godly than “mirthmaking.”

In another lengthy entry on fasting, REM524 suggests that the “true use of the sabbath” had almost been driven “out of the doores of the church” by the number of “Holydaies” previously ordained by “men.” Fasting is connected in this entry to the production of appropriate affections, leading to the “pure exercise of humbling” that the many holiday fasts and feasts had not only “missed” but had even led into “an utter abuse.”³⁷⁸ The entry concludes with this statement on affections:

Others ther are who thinck wee should keep a continual sorrowing, wheras rather wee have a flat precept to the contrary, continually to rejoyce and find in no place a commandement enjoyning continually to sorrow³⁷⁹

The entry is therefore, perhaps surprisingly, observing a practice of moderation in bodily consumption and the production of the affections, rather than advocating fasting per se. However, it sheds useful light on puritan practices in Dry Drayton in the 1580s, in which

³⁷⁷ See Fol. 47^v, 214, which connects a great rainfall with the efficacy of preaching. See also Peter Lake with Michael Questier. *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat, passim*, but especially his conclusion to sections I and II (315-331), which treats at some length the providential framework of early modern religious culture. Lake describes protestant cheap print as bringing to market a “providential dramaturgy” that served “to efface the autonomous and contingent hermeneutical agency of preachers and authors like Field” (444).

³⁷⁸ Another entry opposing puritan fasting to the calendar of feasts is at Fol. 21^v, 175.

³⁷⁹ REM524, Fol. 24^f, in Parker and Carlson, 178.

a practical ordering of ritualized interiority produced a moderate and reflexive political stance. The entry below demonstrates a careful political awareness:

Holy daies fitted for fasting daies Hee thought our civil Holidaiies, to bee the fittest and most convenient times for fasting daies, both beecaus wee might then do it with lest suspicion, or offence of others, and beecaus then wee may redeem the tyme in resting from our callings³⁸⁰

This entry links humoral regulation of two of the non-naturals, food and rest, with the ordering of time in a ritual redemptive hegemony. It does so in a way that passively resists the dictates of sovereign speech, whilst reasserting the bodily primacy of prophetic performative speech.³⁸¹

There is one eye-witness account of a large public puritan fast-day, which took place in 1588 in the enclosure of the Bishop of Ely's palace at Wisbech Castle; Dry Drayton is about 40 miles from Wisbech. William Weston, a Catholic priest, was imprisoned in Wisbech along with other recusants. The following narrative appears in Weston's autobiography:

From the very beginning a great number of Puritans gathered here. Some came from the outlying parts of the town, some from the villages round about, eager and vast crowds of them flocking to perform their practices—sermons, communions, and fasts. (The keeper of the prison, and his whole family, were Puritans, and the justices were sympathetic to them.) This was their ceremonial. In the first few hours there were three or four sermons, one after the other, and the remainder of their devotions. They then went to communion, which they would receive from their minister, not on their knees or standing up, but walking about, so that it could be called in a true sense a Passover. They also held a kind of tribunal, where the elders took cognizance of the misdoings of their brethren and castigated them at discretion. Each of them had his own Bible, and sedulously turned the pages and looked up the texts cited by the preachers, discussing the passages amongst themselves to see whether they had quoted them to the point, and accurately, in harmony with their tenets. Also they would start arguing among themselves about the meaning of passages from the Scriptures—men, women, boys, girls, rustics, laborers, and idiots—and more often than not, it was

³⁸⁰ Ibid., Fol. 13^v, 160.

³⁸¹ Entries including fasting in a general group of the “means” may be found at 1^f, 135; 16^v, 165; 21^v, 174 (discussed above); and 48^v, 215.

said, it ended in violence and fisticuffs. [...]When the gathering broke up after an entire day..., they went off to a vast and elaborately set-out feast.³⁸²

The practice of the puritan fast as described in Weston's report asserted the primacy of prophetic speech in the public sphere; its participants were drawn from the villages round about, and in all likelihood traveled together to the ritual, singing Psalms and gossiping together. It constructed the ritualized puritan environment of space and time, as the ordering of bodily space transpired over the course of "an entire day." It constructed the puritan body as paradoxically contained by and disclosed in godly speech; the participants heard several sermons, and then argued about them, and doing so, performed puritan personae identifiable to the hostile eyes of a Catholic onlooker. The communion was openly celebrated walking about in a public space. The organizational schemes privileged in the puritan practice of the Lord's Supper were therefore extended into that space: a regimen of continual consumption and production of godly speech; and an equally continual inner "watching" of the faculty of judgment over the ordered interior architecture godly speech produced. Finally, the fast separated the puritan habitus from the official spatial and temporal environment, claiming it as the spatial and temporal domain of the elect: the ritual took place within the inner precinct of the bishop's palace.

The transgressive reordering of public space performed by occasional fasts was intended to address issues of national significance as they arose. The following entry in REM524 shows that national significance at work in Dry Drayton. The nation was regarded as a humoral body in need of proper ordering:

Hee said surely this long prosperity of England would breed, either heresy, or security, or some great adversity: and that howsoever, men did little fear the plentiful daies, yet when prosperity is ful, and growen foggy and fat, so as the

³⁸² *William Weston: The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, trans. Philip Caraman, (London: Longmans, Green, 1955), 164.

bowels of it be stuf, and strout out as it were, with repletion, then must needs follow some rupture, and the abundance of welth must needs have a vent, to break out into some botch in one place or other³⁸³

In this observation the botches of the plague haunt England's foggy repletion; excessive consumption produces humoral sickness in the body of the nation, just as fasting on occasions of need constructed a providential action to correct that humoral imbalance. The puritan public fast at Wisbech was an example of puritan practices that ritualized the spaces of the body, the immediate environment of towns and villages, and the nation, connecting them in a humoral continuum within providential biblical discourse, and performatively ordering them by means of a zealous regimen of "speciall and peerelesse" godly speech.

Bozeman suggests that the public "day of fasting and humiliation" rose to prominence as a puritan practice in the 1570s, "together with smaller-scale congregational, family, and private fasts."³⁸⁴ The deliberately providential focus of the puritan fast, addressing particular afflictions as they arose, eventually led to the association of the fast with rites of exorcism; Collinson notes that in 1600 puritans in London fasted to exorcise "the young, bewitched and possessed Mary Glover."³⁸⁵ That event more than any other, he suggests, is what prompted Archbishop Bancroft to reassert official control of public fasts in the canons of 1604.

Just as puritan preaching used a competitive market model to promote the consumption of prophetic speech, so fasting as an occasion for material consumption and

³⁸³ REM524 Fol. 27^r, in Parker and Carlson op. cit., 182. See also Fol. 67^r, 250.

³⁸⁴ Bozeman, *Precisianist*, 118. Collinson cites the puritan minister John Knewstub: "...if it be holden out from the public assemblies, then the Lord casteth this charge of sanctifying a fast upon private and common houses. And if the private houses be sparred against it, through their careless masters, yet let every faithful person who trembleth and quaketh when the Lord roareth take him to his chamber for the humbling and submitting of himself before God.'

³⁸⁵ Collinson, "Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism," in Durston and Eales, op. cit., 52.

production is emphasized by the fact that the pastors convening them often collected money that was to be used to address the specific affliction that gave rise to it, “such as the plight of the foreign protestant churches.” Collinson notes: “In 1584 a Norwich minister was said to have ‘appoynted solemn fastes for reformation to be had etc., and gathered money of such as came to the sermons of other townes, which he bestowed as pleased himselfe’.”³⁸⁶ The practice of the occasional fast was sustained into the seventeenth century. At Southam in Warwickshire in 1596, a fast “was attended by ‘many hundreds’ from beyond the parish, who heard three sermons preached by three ministers.” In 1603 a day-long puritan fast at Southil in Bedfordshire featured four preachers.

The fast was a very effective practice for constructing the public spatial and temporal environment of the puritan habitus. It reinforced the naturalization of oppositions between the elect and the reprobate, by heightening the power of prophetic speech to shape the interiority of the participants. Richard Greenham’s stepson, Nicholas Bownde, notes:

‘For the meetings of the godlie is like a great many firebrands layde together, in which though there be some heate when they are apart by themselves, yet being laid together it is doubled, and otherwise every one would dye of it selfe: so though every man hath some grace of God’s spirit in himselfe, yet it is *greatly increased by conference*.’³⁸⁷

Bownde here reiterates the humoral association of godly speech with the flames produced by the Holy Spirit. The practice of the fast intensified the heat of prophetic performative speech, and confirmed the material aspect of its consumption.

³⁸⁶ Collinson, *Religion of the Protestants*, 261-2.

³⁸⁷ Nicholas Bownde, *The doctrine of the Sabbath*, (1595), 219; cited in *EPM*, 372.

Ritual Practices of the Puritan Body: Apparel

The puritan resistance to official ritual apparel that emerged in the mid-1560s in the Vestiarian Controversy was sustained at Dry Drayton in a politically moderate opposition. The opposition articulated in REM524 is grounded in the correspondence between outer practices and interior ordering, as can be seen in the entry below:

Unto one that asked his advice in outward things who as yet stood in greater need to be instructed in inward hee said. If you first wil confer with mee and establish yorself in things concerning faith and repentance, then ask mee and I wil advise you freely for your outward estate. Howbeit beecaus you seem (though I know not your hart) to bee scrupulouse in wearing a surples et cap: as I wil not for al the world wish or advice you to wear them, so I would counsaile you generally to bee wel grounded ere to leav them, lest that you shaking them of rather of light affection then of sound judgement, afterward take them againe to your shame and the offence of others.³⁸⁸

This observation subjects the “outward estate” to the prior ordering of “inward” things. Scruples regarding the surplice and cap, the “seemly habits” commanded to all ministers of the church in Elizabeth’s Injunctions for Religion,³⁸⁹ must be “wel grounded” in “sound judgement,” and not the mere fancy of some “light affection.” Resistance to the authority of the sovereign performative must be grounded in the properly ordered space confirmed here in prophetic performative “conference” that establishes “faith and repentance.” Puritan resistance to “seemly habits” is therefore constructed here as a marker of the puritan habitus, which the “one” asking advice seems to have taken up, marking himself as puritan by that performance, without first disclosing in speech his interior bodily order. The ordering of the body “hee” stipulates as *prior* to public performance marks the puritan insistence on a continuity of consumption between fasting

³⁸⁸ REM524, Fol. 8^v-9^f, in Parker and Carlson op. cit., 148-9. See also Fol. 47^v-48^r, 214, which directly addresses the question of legality; and Fol. 59^v, 234.

³⁸⁹ London, 19 July 1559, 1 Elizabeth I, in Hughes and Larkin, op. cit., Vol. 2, 126.

and puritan practices of dress, and further suggests the authority of the puritan pneumatic self to construct a social persona by means of the performance of prophetic speech.

Perhaps because puritan ritual practices were ordered and applied in part on the practical basis of their “uses,” there is little consistency in the ritual use of apparel across England in the later sixteenth century. Some puritan ministers continued to minister while wearing surplice and square cap, and others loudly opposed such a practice. The communion might be received sitting, kneeling, or as noted above, while walking about at a public fast.³⁹⁰ A decision one way or the other on the question of ritual apparel was no small matter; at the time of the Vestiarian Controversy, 110 ministers were summoned to Lambeth Palace in London, the seat of the Archbishop, and forced either to subscribe to the surplice and cap, or be suspended from their livings.³⁹¹ Any decision either to resist or comply performed the authority of interior ordering, in the space not of “light affection” but of “sound judgement.” The struggle over puritan ritual apparel marked a continuity from that interior ordering through acts of resistance and ultimately to engagement with print publication. As noted above, the first puritan tracts and pamphlets appeared in the struggle over conformity over ritual dress, with “the famous *Briefe discourse against the outward apparell*, the earliest puritan manifesto.”³⁹²

On a popular level, puritan dress was sober and unadorned,³⁹³ but early modern English puritan dress cannot be used to distinguish puritans from Anglicans or other religious groups in the obvious way that strongly separatist religious groups today, such

³⁹⁰ *EPM*, 367.

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 76.

³⁹² *EPM*, 77-8.

³⁹³ Collinson notes: “Just as a string of beads in the hand was a notorious badge of popery, so it is very likely that in the new Elizabethan dispensation crosses were no longer worn as personal adornment.” *Birthpangs*, 51.

as the Amish, might be distinguished by their dress. Richard Greaves suggests that Anglicans and puritans were equally adamant that dress should reflect social standing. Anglicans occasionally criticized Puritans for “excessively fine attire;” puritan critics responded in kind. Conversely, the simplicity of puritan dress was satirized, “for their religion is a russet religion, good for none but russet cotes.” Yet boys at Westminster School, of which Queen Elizabeth is credited as foundress,³⁹⁴ wore gowns of russet or a “sadde newe color.”³⁹⁵ David Hackett Fischer notes a range of “sadd colors” among puritans in New England:

A list of these “sadd colors” in 1638 included “liver color, de Boys, tawney, russet, purple, French green, ginger lyne, deer colour, orange.” Other sad colors were called “gridolin” from the French *gris de line* (“flax blossom”). Still others were called puce, folding color, Kendall green, Lincoln green, barry, milly and tuly.

Fischer suggests “Puritan women were not nearly as austere as Quakers would later become.”³⁹⁶ Greaves’ survey might be taken to suggest that rather than serving to distinguish puritans from others, these were the more sober colors of cloth of the less expensive sort commonly used by early modern English puritans and Anglicans alike.

While practices of apparel, which take so much of Phillip Stubbes’ attention in *The Anatomy of Abuses*, constructed a godly persona by containing consumption and contributing to the ordering of interiority, they are less reliable in constructing social distinctions between religious groups.

³⁹⁴ <http://www.westminster.org.uk/study/history.asp> Accessed Dec. 7, 2007.

³⁹⁵ Richard Greaves, op. cit., Vol. II, 502-520.

³⁹⁶ Fischer, op. cit., 140.

Ritual Practices of the Puritan Body: Iconoclasm

As noted above, the government of the eyes is a repeated topic in REM524.³⁹⁷ In the practices of “spiritual physick,” “watching” guards the subject’s interior order, and permits the faculty of judgment to confirm both social self-identification as a “child of God” and the spiritual diagnosis of others on the basis of their speech. Reinforced in the submission to church discipline, the practices of “watching” structured bodily dispositions in the puritan habitus. The government of the eyes helped construct the boundaries of puritan space in the practice of iconoclasm, as is shown in the entry below:

A godly minister complayning to him, that hee was troubled for pulling down certain painted glasse windowes, in his church, hee answered in my Judgement, the minister is *docere non destruere*, hee is to threaten al the plagues of god against them, that should destroy such things, to lay the burden of the wrath of god upon them, but how the minister should do it alone, hee saw not, but as with consent, when by the power of the gospel hee had convinced ther consciences and by his liberality was ready to reare up new white glasse in stead of the old.³⁹⁸

In Dry Drayton, iconoclasm must teach rather than merely destroy. Prophetic performative speech, the “power of the gospel,” orders the interior space of the conscience in the godly community prior to the ordering of its ritual environment; as was the case with the uses of apparel, the puritan body attends to its interior life before venturing to construct public persona. Only as a community should the godly pull down painted glass windows, and even then, it should only be done when the minister is able to “reare up new white glasse” in its place. The violence of destruction is to be avoided. Even in the performance of such a notable religious distinction, at the very time when Patrick Collinson suggests puritan iconoclasm was developing into “iconophobia,”³⁹⁹ the

³⁹⁷ Greenham’s *Workes* (5th ed.) also includes two short treatises on the government of the eyes.

³⁹⁸ REM524 Fol. 36^v, in Durston and Eales op. cit., 197.

³⁹⁹ Patrick Collinson, *From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia: the Cultural Impact of the Second English Reformation*, (Reading, Berks.: University of Reading, 1986), 8.

practice of iconoclasm in Cambridgeshire in the 1580s remained moderate, and its public performance was persistently grounded in the proper ordering of godly interiority.

The correspondence between interiority and the ritualized environment it constructed is more broadly evident in the visual and spatial organization of the ritual space of the protestant church, which reordered traditional ecclesial architecture to more effectively present the performance of prophetic speech. Patrick Collinson offers this view of the interior of a church of the period:

One has to imagine the frescoes obliterated with whitewash, the windows clear-glazed, the ten commandments prominently displayed, the chancel filled with seats facing westwards, and, against all the logic of the building's conception, the attention of the congregation directed to the new wooden pulpit on the south wall with its sounding-board and hour-glass.⁴⁰⁰

The prophetic speaking of the word is performed among the laity in the newly placed pulpit, framed by a sounding-board to maximize audibility. The authority of the text of the Decalogue on the wall was reiterated in the verses painted on the sounding-board and elsewhere, as George Yule points out:

Texts were frequently painted on the pulpit or above on the sounding board to emphasise the importance of preaching. At Yaxley, Suff., are inscribed the words, 'Necessity is laid upon me, yet woe is me if I preach not the Gospel'; at Goadby by Manwood, Leics., 'Here [*sic*] the Word of God'; at Kidderminster, Worcs., dated 1621, later Baxter's pulpit, are the words, 'O give thanks unto the Lord and call upon his name; declare his worship among the people.'⁴⁰¹

Yule suspects a spelling error, [*sic*], in the Goadby inscription; yet the statement participated materially in the spatial construction of the ritualized environment, privileging opposition between the prophetic Word and less edifying kinds of conversation. In the pulpit in particular, "Here," the Word of God emerged from the lips of his servants. However, sovereign power was also newly performed within the

⁴⁰⁰ *EPM*, 222.

⁴⁰¹ Yule op. cit., 190.

reorganized space of the protestant church. Patrick Collinson notes the continuities between that space and the extension of sovereign speech represented by the homilies:

Under Elizabeth the royal arms in every parish church literally usurped the place of honor hitherto reserved for the crucifix; the official sermons or homilies of the newly nationalized Church of England asserted that rebellion is worse than the worst government of the worst prince...⁴⁰²

A similar extension of sovereign authority was performed by the mandate to wear the surplice and cap, which Aylmer referred to as “the Queen’s livery.”⁴⁰³ Within the puritan churches, opposing kinds of performance practices competed with each other for the authority to properly order the architecture.

Collinson dates a sharp upturn in the authority of the word, and the concomitant sharpening of the puritan attack on images, to the period around 1580, calling it a “moral and cultural watershed.” Citing Gosson’s and Stubbes’ pamphlets, he calls the resulting attack on images and on the stage “iconophobia;” yet despite his willingness to date this shift fairly precisely, he offers no substantial explanation for its occurrence, resorting to suspected “hidden depths, ironies, contradictions.”⁴⁰⁴ Yet his own work has provided copious evidence of the official suppression of puritan prophetic performative speech in the late 1570s and early 1580s, and he connects that suppression with the marked increase in puritan print publication in the late sixteenth century.

Recalling the puritan appropriation of Ramist logic noted in the Introduction above, it seems a reasonable step to suggest that the ordering action of puritan prophetic speech extended to the classifying of the visual field. As Ong explains, Ramist logic

⁴⁰² Collinson, *Birthpangs*, 6.

⁴⁰³ Cited in Hill, *op. cit.*, 44.

⁴⁰⁴ Patrick Collinson, *From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia: the Cultural Impact of the Second English Reformation*, (Reading, Berks.: University of Reading, 1986), 8, 28.

organizes the visible field of the external world, providing a visual hermeneutic that not only made distinctions but also shaped practices on the basis of those distinctions:

For at the heart of the Ramist enterprise is the drive to tie down words themselves, rather than other representations, in simple geometrical patterns. Words are believed to be recalcitrant insofar as they derive from a world of sound, voices, cries; the Ramist ambition is to neutralize this connection by processing what is of itself nonspatial in order to reduce it to space in the starkest way possible. The spatial processing of sound by means of the alphabet is not enough. Printed or written words themselves must be deployed in spatial relationships, and the resulting schemata thought of as a key to their meanings.⁴⁰⁵

The appropriation of Ramist logic privileges ordered speech over sight in ways that have particular consequences for the body. Ong prefigures Carlino's *Books of the Body*, noting that early modern doctors of medicine taught anatomy classes by reading out loud from Galen while a barber did the actual cutting; what was spoken of the body had greater authority than what was visible inside it.⁴⁰⁶ The Ramist logic of places assimilated sight into the ordering action of speech. As Ong puts it, "Ramism assimilated logic to imagery and imagery to logic by reducing intelligence itself, more or less unconsciously, in terms of rather exclusively visual, spatial analogies."⁴⁰⁷ The renewed intensity of the puritan effort to order images in the public sphere was an increasingly polemic performance of political resistance, and the determination to sustain the practices, organizing schemes, and ritualized environment produced within the shifting field of the puritan habitus. Because of the ritual implications of the humoral bodily order produced by prophetic performative speech, the ritual environment demanded a similar ordering action.

It is in ritual—as practices that act upon the actions of others, as the mute interplay of complex strategies within a field structured by engagements of power, as the arena for prescribed sequences of repetitive movements of the body that

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid., 89-90.

⁴⁰⁶ Ong, *Ramus*, 158.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid., 286.

simultaneously constitute the body, the person, and the macro- and micro-networks of power—that we can see a fundamental strategy of power.⁴⁰⁸

An icon is an object that performatively creates behavior; that is why icons were placed in churches in the first place. Iconoclasm in Dry Drayton in the 1580s was an expression of the ordering action of prophetic performative speech, which ordered interior space in the “conscience.” In the face of mounting official opposition, puritan practical divinity began its turn toward the disciplined ordering of religious interiority.

Of all the puritan practices surveyed thus far, critics have given to iconoclasm the fullest force in generating the puritan antitheatrical impulse. In the quest for stability of representation during a chaotic period of history, it is suggested, puritans turned to the unchanging Word of God, the only reliably stable source of authority. For example, Michael O’Connell’s *The Idolatrous Eye: Iconoclasm and Theater in Early Modern England* (2000) subsumes antitheatricality into iconoclasm, suggesting that both are expressions of anxiety about the power of visual signification to control the mind: “I want to insist that the antitheatricality of the period is a subset of the iconoclasm that begins about a half a century before and continues unabated along with it.”⁴⁰⁹ O’Connell grounds antitheatricality in the renaissance shift from orality to literacy, and traces the differences between renaissance and medieval embodiment, noting “the centrality of the idea and practice of the body in the Middle Ages.”⁴¹⁰ O’Connell finds Barish’s binary persuasive, in its construction of antitheatrical anxiety about the “fluid, protean self.”

Similarly, David Hillman and others have credited puritans with constructing the model of *homo clausus*, the closed body that appears in “complete steel” as the Ghost of

⁴⁰⁸ Bell op. cit., 204.

⁴⁰⁹ Michael O’Connell, *The Idolatrous Eye: Iconoclasm and Theater in Early Modern England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 17.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 12.

Hamlet's Father in *Hamlet*. For Hillman, the enclosed body produces the "regime of interiority" that characterizes modernism:

This loss of transparency, the perception of an 'invisible wall' between the inside and the outside of the body...is in good measure an invention of the Renaissance, one without which it is hard to imagine the concept of the disciplined, privatised individual.⁴¹¹

Hillman proposes that the early modern theatre depended for its existence upon its transitional status between the closed and open body. However, I suggest that in puritan practices the 'invisible wall' disappears in the illocutionary moment of the prophetic performative speech act, which produced the practices of bodily containment noted above. Puritan speech paradoxically constructs and contains the puritan persona, whilst disclosing its ordered pneumatic interiority.

Hillman rightly points out that skepticism about the efficacy and trustworthiness of Catholic rituals and objects prompted the interiorization of faith. The placing of Scripture as spectacles on the nose, between the gaze and the outer world, is the performance of a distinction that was vital to the puritan habitus. However, the evidence presented above suggests that puritans performed that distinction within the interior architecture of the body, before venturing to order the ritualized environment around them. That interior order is disclosed in the prophetic performative speech act, a fact Hillman overlooks when he suggests that "faith-based access to the interior of the body" was lost.⁴¹² Hillman also accepts a binary orientation between the closed and open body, reductively stipulating antitheatrical writers as defenders of the closed body, and he

⁴¹¹ David Hillman, "Homo Clausus at the Theatre," in Bryan Reynolds and William N. West (ed.s) *Rematerializing Shakespeare: Authority and representation on the early modern English stage*, (New York: Palgrave, 2005), 167.

⁴¹² *Ibid.*, 168.

follows Barish in citing Prynne as the exemplary model.⁴¹³ Against that binary, I propose to appropriate Hillman's model of transition: it is the paradoxical transitionality of the puritan speech act that produces its double figuration on the stage. In early modern drama puritans are, as Kristen Poole suggests, both grotesquely open caricatures like *Zeal-of-the-Land Busy*, and icily closed figures such as *Malvolio* and *Angelo*.⁴¹⁴

The armored figure "in complete steel" appeared in protestant discourse as the figure of the obedient Christian garbed in the full armor of God. In 1569, Stephen Batman published *A Christall Glasse of Christian Reformation*, with illustrations by Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder. Batman was no puritan; he served as an ordained minister in London under Bishop Matthew Parker, during the time when Parker was a central figure in the suppression of nonconformity that followed the Vestiarian Controversy in 1565.⁴¹⁵ Arthur Hodnett suggests that this is "the first book by an English author with some, although not all, of the characteristics of an emblem book."⁴¹⁶ Batman's meditations on the seven deadly sins and the Christian virtues include Fig. 2 below, which represents the virtue of Faith. The man in "armour" is described in the "signification" beneath the image as armed with "constant" zeal, in terms familiar to early modern Christians from the book of Ephesians. The full armor of God is a signifier of bodily containment that, in this image, is given the eternal stability of the Tetragrammaton, the Holy Name of God. With the authority provided by that Word, the "man in armour" is able to overcome the "Divil," but before he reaches the City on a Hill

⁴¹³ Ibid., 174.

⁴¹⁴ See the "Introduction" to Poole, op. cit., 1-15.

⁴¹⁵ Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, s.v. Stephen Batman. Available at <http://www.oxforddnb.com> Accessed December 12, 2007.

⁴¹⁶ Edward Hodnett, *Image and Text: Studies in the illustration of English literature*, (London: Scholar Press, 1986, 1982), 31.

Of Faith.

¶ Of fayth and the wonderfull working of the same: and
stedfast beliefe of the fathers in olde tyme.



The signification.

T'He man in armour signifieth all stedfast beleuers of the veritie, being armed with constant zeale of Christianitie, and weaponed with the shilde of liuely faith, the spere of continuance, and the sworde of the word of God: The Diuil vnder him is temptation, being overcome by faith in Christ Iesus.

¶.iiij.

Faith

Fig. 2⁴¹⁷

⁴¹⁷ Stephen Batman, *A Christall Glasse of Christian Reformation*, (London: John Day, 1569), M4^r.
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in the distance he faces a challenging journey across the uncertain watery terrain in front of him, upon which boats are being driven before the wind. As Gail Kern Paster points out, the comparison of water and air to the passions is a commonplace in early modern literature; “the passions act within the body just as the forces of wind and waves act in the natural world.”⁴¹⁸ The hill in the distance is the same rock of “Manlie Constancie” to which Paster draws our attention in Henry Peacham’s *Minerva Britannica*. However, Batman’s image differs from Peacham’s in placing the man in “armour” in the foreground of the image, thereby confronting the man with a challenging pilgrimage across the water. Batman’s image introduces an element of time into the performance of “manlie constancie;” it is not here a static state, but rather appears as a destination to be approached in ‘travail.’

A similar figure appears in the frontispiece of puritan minister John Downname’s conduct book, *The Christian Warfare against the Devill World and Flesh* (1608),⁴¹⁹ reproduced below as Fig. 3. Beneath the Tetragrammaton at the top of the image stands the obedient Christian, clothed in the full armor of God. Each feature of this figure captures an aspect of prophetic speech: the (male) Christian’s “loins” are “girde about with veritie”; he is shod with the “Gospell of peace,” and carries the shield of faith and the sword of the Spirit, “which is the word of God.” Ephesians 6:19 requests prayer “that utterance may be given unto me.”⁴²⁰ The Christian is tempted by the female figure at the

⁴¹⁸ Paster, *Humoring the Body*, 2, 6.

⁴¹⁹ John Downname, *The Christian Warfare against the Devill World and Flesh*, 2nd ed. (London: Felix Kyngston, 1608), frontispiece. Reproduced by permission of the University of Michigan Special Collections, January 2007.

⁴²⁰ Eph 6:12-19, Geneva Bible (1579).



Fig. 3

top left (Fig. 4 below) who echoes the temptation of Christ (Matt. 4:9) in offering the Christian the world; “Omnia haec tibi dabo” – “All this I give to you.” Her body is revealed, disclosing her shameless worldliness. The inscription above the Christian reads “State, Vigilate et Orate” – “Stand, Watch and Pray.” Bodily action – standing – is joined with the performative integration of sight and speech, which seems to enclose and protect him.



Fig. 4

As the faithful pilgrim embarks on life’s journey in the panel at center left (Fig. 5 below) however, his body is no longer enclosed. Instead, he wears what seems to be a mask on his left shoulder, and carries a bridle of rope in one hand and the sword of the Spirit in the other. The fire of prophetic performative speech issues from his mouth,⁴²¹ and worldly

⁴²¹ Zirka Filipczak has traced the humoral association of masculinity and fiery heat in Western European art, for example in mid-sixteenth century works by Hendrik Goltzius. See Zirka Z. Filipczak, *Hot Dry Men, Cold Wet Women: The Theory of Humours in Western European Art, 1575-1700*, (New York: American Federation of Arts, 1997) esp. 10-11, 44-45.

trials surround him as he walks. The inscription above him reads: “Saltem visi non dolo”
– “At least sights will not hurt me.”



Fig. 5

In the panel at center right (Fig. 6 below), the Christian’s classifying gaze is turned inwards, scanning and classifying the body, using humoral terminology to mark any inward rebellion, as Bozeman notes:

When Greenham declared the saints’ duty to “sit as it were in the watch-tower of their hearts, viewing to espie even their least declinings,” or when Richard Rogers called for “hearts daily fenced thus with watch and ward,” they expressed the

belief in a rampant libido within...the Old Adam within the human psyche is a hive of dangerous desires that must be vigilantly scanned and screened.⁴²²

The psychological and sexual reading Bozeman gives to the unruliness of interiority was noted above as a product of the instability and permeability of the humoral body.



Fig. 6

The panel in Fig. 6 images the dangers of the Old Adam, “Vetus Homo,” whom the Christian is advised to “put off” – “deponite veterem hominem.” The book of Ephesians ambiguously connects the “old man” with both prophetic speech and sexuality: “That ye put off concerning the former conversation the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts...” As noted above, the action of consuming the host in the Catholic ritual

⁴²² Bozeman, *Precisianist Strain*, 110.

of the Lord's Supper is opposed in puritan discourse with the performative, renewing action of speech. At the old man's feet caper more worldly temptations; devils merrily drink wine, and theatrically mask their faces.

Religious historian Theodore Dwight Bozeman finds in puritans, rather than *homo clausus*, the liminal figure of *homo viator*. Bozeman connects Catholic devotional practices to Richard Greenham's practices of "spirituall phisicke," finding there

...the image of the saint as a "pilgrim" (the traditional *homo viator*, or *peregrinus*) journeying toward heaven through the transient and wicked world, the lifelong "spirituall battaile" against flesh, world, and the devil, the attainment of detailed self-knowledge through regular and searching introspection...

For *homo viator* the outcome of the pilgrim's journey is never certain, but must constantly be performatively refocused as "the ceaseless 'watch' over dangerous motions of the soul."⁴²³ That, finally, is the paradox the puritan body performs: it is bridled, contained, and given order by the unchanging authority of godly speech; and it is permeable, unruly, and constantly subject to dangerous motions. In the figure of the armored man represented in Downname's frontispiece, the fiery performance of prophetic speech has consequences for early modern puritan religious experience: it discloses an ordered humoral interiority; it reforms the gaze, and gives the faithful Christian power to resist worldly temptation; and it constructs space and time, marking the trajectory of the life journey of the puritan body. Puritan vision is sight in which a textual logic – the Word consumed, digested, and retained in memory – appropriates the gaze, and restores it to behavior in the classificatory action of inspired performative speech. As long as the Christian holds on to the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word, his gaze will divide the visible and interior worlds according to categories that are eternal, unchanging, issuing

⁴²³ Bozeman, *Precisionist Strain*, 78.

from the cloud above him. The classifying gaze performatively decides social status, and produces action; disorderly worldly sights are trampled underfoot in the action of iconoclasm. Puritan prophetic speech functions by means of bodily dispositions that produce eschatological doxa, cosmic distinctions between the elect and the reprobate.

Nancy Cocks has shown that Calvin consistently figures the mind as the “bridle” of the flesh, without which “no mad beast would rage as unrestrainedly.” For Calvin, to subject the soul to the governance of what Lemnius calls the “discrased” body is to render it beastly; “in his elect, such diseases are cleansed by the Lord.”⁴²⁴ The image of the bridle figures the lifelong performative liminality of puritan religious experience, in which the mind watches over and struggles to harness the flesh; the Old Adam follows the Christian to the end, pouring demonic speech into his ear. The efficacy of the Word in leading sin captive is dependent not upon the closure of the body, but rather on the faithful performance of prophetic speech throughout the entire journey. Puritan prophetic speech edifies by constructing the interior “places” of puritan religious experience; which is to say, it mortifies and sanctifies; it is fiery, ‘painful’ speech that that bodies forth the performance of the puritan social persona.

Ritual Practices of the Puritan Body: Sports and the Sabbath

Objections to sports, particularly those practiced on Sundays, are central *topoi* in four of the seven antitheatrical pamphlets published between 1577 and 1583. The continuity between objections to Sunday sports and antitheatrical protest emerges even more clearly when considering other anti-sports pamphlets published in the period that do

⁴²⁴ Jean Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, John T. McNeill (ed.). Ford Lewis Battles (trans.), (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1960), 2.3.3. See also Nancy Cocks, *Metaphors and Models in John Calvin’s Institutes of the Christian Religion: A Feminist Critique*, unpublished Th.D. thesis, Toronto School of Theology, 1989, 123.

not mention the theatre at all. Collinson has drawn attention to the following: Humphrey Roberts, ‘minister of the Church in Kings Langley’, *An earnest complaint of divers vain, wicked and abused exercises practised on the Sabbath day* (1572); the anonymous *A treatise of daunces, wherein it is shewed, that they are accessories to whoredome* (1581); Thomas Lovell, *A dialogue between custom and veritie concerning the use and abuse of dauncing and minstrelsie* (1581); and Christopher Fetherston, *A dialogue agaynst lighte, lewde, and lascivious dauncing* (1582). As Collinson suggests, “This crescendo of anxiety about dancing in 1581-2 is very striking.” Roberts was particularly concerned about the “country custom” of the “silver games,” athletic contests held on Sundays that benefited charities.⁴²⁵ A similar concern motivated Greenham’s own Bishop Cox, objecting in 1579 to “wanton dancing and maygames”, to insist: “No such disorders to be kept upon the Sabbath day’.”⁴²⁶

At Dry Drayton, objections to recreations are grounded in the authority of the puritan body, ordered by godly speech. Sustaining the perlocutionary authority of the communion promises noted above, REM524 observes that the godly must “redeem the tym.” The statement on sports therefore extends to public recreations the ordering authority of the ritual promises noted above:

Concerning recreations, hee could not away that they should bee to pas away the tyme seing the holy ghost did wil us to redeem the tym: And howsoever the creatures of god may sometime of some men for some cause bee used for our refreshing: yet cards and dice hee thought altogether unlawful and that it were better that some good men would abstein even from ther pleasures lawful, then that by them evil men should take occasion to use pleasures unlawful. Howbeit above al hee thought that having such variety of exercises no man might be dul, if in wisdom, and in ther time hee would not use them and that the caus why such

⁴²⁵ Collinson in Durston and Eales, 35.

⁴²⁶ *Ibid.*, 37.

spiritual delights do not affect us, is because men have not the word of god dwelling in them.⁴²⁷

The communal nature of godly religious experience is constructed in this entry as a product of the performative nature of puritan practices. If one person's proper use of a lawful recreation is sufficient for others to "take occasion" to be led astray, then they should "abstein" even from lawful recreations. However, of recreations in general, REM524 suggests that there are plentiful occasions for joyful "exercises" available; and if they do not succeed in producing "affect," the cause is to be sought within rather than in the activity itself. In pleasures and recreations, as much as in the labor of a calling, the time is to be redeemed by the authority of the indwelling "word of god."

Puritan protests against Sunday and holiday sports were not, however, solely focused on interior order. The puritan ordering of public space was associated with developments in market practices, and worked to bring godly order to entire towns, as noted above. Christopher Hill cites William Haller, suggesting that puritans attempted to adapt English culture to the demands of a money economy by obliging people to work harder. Their efforts may have produced a social change that was not solely material:

'The merry England doomed by Puritan asceticism was not all cakes and ale, maypole dancing and frolics on the village green.' In the face of the 'social chaos and moral corruption of many a swollen town and decaying country neighbourhood,' the Anglican Church seemed to be 'being used simply as a bulwark to protect privilege against reform.'⁴²⁸

Hill later notes the common association of church-ales, Whitsun-ales, and the getting of illegitimate children: "We must be very careful not to sentimentalize ye olde morris

⁴²⁷ REM524 Fol. 26^v, in Parker and Carlson op. cit., 181-2.

⁴²⁸ Hill, *Society and Puritanism*, 126, citing William Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), 116-7.

dances of Merrie England.”⁴²⁹ Gregory Semenza concurs with Hill’s reading of puritan protest as a primarily economic force: “Ultimately Northbrooke’s treatise is less about the innate evil of sports than the manner in which sports hinder industry.”⁴³⁰ However, the evidence of puritan practices presented above suggests that the source of puritan authority in early modern culture was religious rather than economic. While business leaders and “the industrious sort of people” were prominent in endowing lectureships, for example, the evidence also shows that puritan practices crossed class lines. Puritan efforts to order public space sometimes engaged productively with challenges posed by chaotic social conditions.

It is in the chaotic circumstances of one town that the figure of the “man in armour” appears in theatre history. Robert Tittler has drawn attention to the challenges faced between 1599 and 1600 by Henry Hardware, Mayor of Chester. Patrick Collinson has credited Hardware with the suppression of the Midsummer Show in 1600.⁴³¹ Hardware replaced the “oulde customes” with a figure in armor. The record reproduced in REED *Chester* shows the following:

This mayor was a godlye ‘over’ zealous man, and kepte a verye worshippfull and A plentefull howse, he ruled well, yeat he gate greate yll will Amonge the commons. For Appooseinge him selfe Againste some companies espetially the Showmakers orders and agaynsete oulde customes of thys cittye...

He caused the Gyanntes, in the Mydsome show to be put downe & broken and not to goe, The devil in his fethers to ride for the buchers but a boy as others had he put Awaye and the Cuppes and Cannes. And dragon and Naked boyes but caused a man in complet Armor to goe before the show in their steed⁴³²

⁴²⁹ Ibid., 190-1.

⁴³⁰ Gregory M. Semenza, *Sport, Politics, and Literature in the English Renaissance*, (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2003), 56.

⁴³¹ Collinson, *Birthpangs*, 54-5, and “Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism as Forms of Popular Religious Culture,” in Durston and Eales, op. cit., 44-45.

⁴³² Lawrence M. Clopper, ed., *Chester*, REED (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 182.

There seems to be little doubt that Hardware was a puritan. Tittler points out that Hardware was a successful merchant who in 1591 had been elected to the common council of the city, known as the Forty, but had refused to take the oath of office and was therefore denied the position.⁴³³ Puritans were known to regard public or common oaths “with abhorrence.”⁴³⁴ Equally problematic were the features of the Midsummer Show noted above, to which the REED *Chester* adds these further details:

The begiinge thereof beinge, uncertayne, but it is more anchante then the Whitsun playes...this midsomer showe, had [in it] divers thinges in it which weare ofencive in anchant times (as Christe in stringes) men in womens apparel, with Divells attendinge, them, called cuppes and cannes, with a divell in his shape riding there, which preachers of Gods worde, and worthy divines there spake against as unlawfull and not meete, with divers other thinges which are now reformed but for the decensise of it now used, It is thoughte by all both decente fitt and profitable to the Cittie⁴³⁵

The offenses presented by these sights were evidently classified as “unlawfull” by the “preachers of Gods worde.” As Collinson rightly suggests, the spectacle of “Christe in stringes” was particularly offensive: “To *represent* the Word was to ‘make a mocking stock of him’ and to perpetrate a counterfeit.”⁴³⁶ The suppression of the “anchante” capering devils was a puritan re-ordering of time and space.⁴³⁷ The bodies of naked boys were replaced with the man in “complet Armor.” The festive occasion of the old liturgical calendar was reinscribed with the performance of the body’s interior authority,

⁴³³ Robert Tittler, “Henry Hardware’s Moment and the Puritan Attack on Drama,” *Early Theatre* 1 (1998), 42.

⁴³⁴ Richard Greaves notes: “In most respects, there was broad agreement between Anglicans and Puritans on oaths...Puritans maintained the religious nature of the oath, which is a fundamental reason for the seriousness with which it was taken and the ire over its use in ecclesiastical courts, particularly the High Commission.” Bancroft used the oath *ex officio mero* to break the presbyterian movement during the same period of Hardware’s first election. See Greaves op. cit., 680-692 *passim*.

⁴³⁵ Clopper, op. cit., 353. The extra [in it] is reproduced here as it is in the original text.

⁴³⁶ Collinson, *Iconoclasm to Iconophobia*, 14.

⁴³⁷ Permitting any kind of procession at all might have been a concession on Hardware’s part. Keith Thomas notes that puritans rejected even the annual Rogationtide procession preserved in the Elizabethan Settlement. Thomas op. cit., 64.

and its constant watchfulness over both inner and exterior, public space. The Word shifted from a visible presentation “in stringes” to a public performance of ordered interiority.

Sarah Beckwith examines this shift in her passionately argued book *Signifying God*. She suggests that the reform movement, which doubly implicated the church and the theatre, was “the replacement (as practice and hermeneutic) of a theater of signs by a theater of disguise.” Beckwith recognizes the spatial reorganization performed by the erasure of the objects of ancient ritual memory:

The abolition of the feast day is part of a widespread change in the landscape of the sacred. The reorganization and suppression of the Corpus Christi pageants are a part and parcel of a thoroughgoing reorganization of the spatial and public life of the city. [...] It is not simply then that iconoclasm destroyed the artifacts of this catholicity, but rather that if, as I have argued, the sacraments in the plays are precisely the performance of community, then the erosion of the collective spaces of the culture had a decisive effect on their playing.⁴³⁸

Beckwith’s argument implies a question: How general was the “erosion of the collective spaces of the culture”? The substitution of the “man in armour” for the pageants and cycle plays did not occur in Chester alone, Patrick Collinson suggests. At York, the Whitsuntide plays were “progressively replaced by the annual ‘Show of Armour’ on ‘midsummer eve’.”⁴³⁹ Collinson reads the new urban environment as “secular (but with undertones of godliness), civic-minded, patriotic, and martial.”

Collinson’s uneasy, paradoxical reading suggests a transition towards the authority of the individual body in public space. It is a body disguised, contained within, armor; but it is also a body performing the authority of prophetic speech, of the “preachers of Gods worde” in Chester. The communally performed struggle between

⁴³⁸ Beckwith, *op. cit.*, 122, 130-1.

⁴³⁹ Collinson, “Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism as Forms of Popular Religious Culture,” in Durston and Eales, *op. cit.*, 45.

Christ and the “Divells attendinge” him has been relocated to the interior space of the body, where it is enacted between the ordered faculty of judgment and unruly humors and affections. As Debora Shuger puts it:

The retreat of presence inward creates history (or historical consciousness), that is, the arena of specifically human action over time, while “cosmological” habits of thought, whether of a medieval or Calvinist variety, transform events and institutions into expressions of the divine will.⁴⁴⁰

In other words, protestant religious experience was newly and crucially dramatic, liminal, unfolding “over time,” within the providential framework of the divine will.

Beckwith suggests that the disappearance of the medieval drama was a consequence not so much of suppression, but rather of its increasing irrelevance due to politically inspired reform that came from the court downward, replacing Catholic officials piecemeal with Protestant ones.⁴⁴¹ In Chester, however, Hardware was decidedly a local man; Tittler notes substantial efforts from various quarters in the central government to appoint political favorites to important local offices in Chester,⁴⁴² but those efforts were successfully resisted. Chester was a particular target for official attention because of its position as point of embarkation for military forces bound for the Irish war. Thousands of men had passed through Chester during each of the five years preceding Hardware’s term in office. To make matters worse, the period 1594-6 saw three of the poorest harvests of the century. A number of Chester merchants had their goods confiscated by pirates just before his election, and were “greatly impoverished.”⁴⁴³ All in all, the conditions Tittler narrates preceding Hardware’s mayoral term were highly unsettled. Hardware’s response resisted the intrusion of national forces into civic space,

⁴⁴⁰ Shuger op. cit., 12.

⁴⁴¹ Beckwith, op. cit., 126-7.

⁴⁴² Tittler, op. cit., 45.

⁴⁴³ Ibid., 43-46.

by performing it in the parade of a “man in armour;” his journey is an enunciation that re-inscribed the civic space. As de Certeau suggests, “The act of walking is to the urban system what the speech act is to language or to the statements uttered.”⁴⁴⁴ The “man in armour” performed an appropriation of Chester’s civic places from the control of the national government and the dictates of the medieval festive calendar. It performed a new “conversation” within the body of the town. Just as there was no room for *adiaphora* within puritan interiority, there was no room for ambiguity in the puritan reordering of civic space.

⁴⁴⁴ de Certeau, op. cit., 97.

Conclusion

Attending closely to puritan ritual practices, both in a local setting and more broadly, has produced evidence of a significant number of privileged oppositions those practices performed. I have selected or excerpted from thirty of the entries in REM524 on the basis of persistent performative threads that those practices construct. As far as possible, I have endeavored to draw attention to consistent social distinctions the practices themselves perform, between puritan practice and other kinds of ritual or social practice. I seek to avoid producing “the implication that performativity is what defines ritual as ritual,” or naturalizing the “researcher/event relationship as if it were a formal aspect of the event itself.”⁴⁴⁵ Equally, however, I have pointed out that close attention to puritan practices has been a lacuna in past critical discussion of the early modern English antitheatrical pamphlets.

While the observation that the puritan persona and the puritan body were the products of self-fashioning is not new,⁴⁴⁶ my suggestion that puritans were most clearly identifiable, and indeed were so known to others, by the zeal of their performative speech practices might still be regarded as a troubling challenge to the stability of religious experience. Implicit in that assumption, however, is the same priority of thought over action Bell critiques in ritual theory, and Worthen and others in performance theory. Performative cultural practices are no longer regarded as mere etiolations of language, but rather, serve to construct and produce subjectivity through the mimetic process of citation. Behaviors return to the present from the repertoire held in the memory, as I have repeatedly observed in my analysis above. As Bell reminds us, citing Bourdieu, “nothing

⁴⁴⁵ Bell op. cit., 42.

⁴⁴⁶ See for example Michael Schoenfeldt’s *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England*, especially the “Introduction,” and Margo Todd, “Puritan Self-fashioning,” in Bremer op. cit., 57-87.

less than a whole cosmology is instilled with the words ‘Stand up straight!’”⁴⁴⁷

Conversely, Butler’s observation⁴⁴⁸ that rhetorical excess in speech is the site for the construction of resistance offers some explicatory purchase for the social role played by the emergent puritan body. That rhetorical excess, in puritan speech, is the site for the construction of a resistant prophetic order. My intention has been neither an emptying-out of religious experience by some covert attack, nor a reification of religious discourses. I suggest, rather, that performance is a useful tool for understanding the particularity of ritual cultures. In my analysis I have endeavored to focus on practices that constructed the ritual aspects of puritan performance *per se*; while I have alluded to some of their consequences for questions of gender, race, and class, a more thorough examination of those aspects of puritan culture must for now be set aside. However, before doing so, I want to note that the social consequences of what has been misrecognized as Scriptural authority are clarified by a performance-based approach to religious experience. The utter alienation of the flesh from sexual desire, for example, emerges more clearly when the bodily practices intended to contain desire are considered; and those practices had particular consequences for the construction of gender categories. The boundaries of religious cultures shift constantly through time, even if discourses construct them as stable. Marking those shifts in bodily practices provides insight that may prove serviceable in proposing strategies for change.

At the time, the puritan dispositions surveyed above “focused on the expressive signs of belief and grace,” as Agnew suggests. And as the evidence shows, puritans actively engaged with what he calls the “placeless market.”⁴⁴⁹ The rise of the market

⁴⁴⁷ Bell op. cit., 99.

⁴⁴⁸ See p. 45 above.

⁴⁴⁹ Agnew op. cit., 141.

Agnew documents connects clearly with the disposition of watching reported above.

Agnew connects the “placeless market” with a “placeless church,” in that both are constructed in practices that demand taking account of one’s estate:

Whether it was in their recurrent imagery of spiritual bookkeeping or in the obsessive dichotomies of Ramist logic, Puritan theologians displayed what Walter J. Ong has called “an accountant’s approach to knowledge.”⁴⁵⁰

However, if the authority of puritan ritual was no longer situated in the church sanctuary, the evidence presented above suggests it was to be found within the properly ordered puritan body. It is therefore a mistake to suggest, as Agnew does, that “Man’s mimetic talents made all ritual suspect in the eyes of Puritans”.⁴⁵¹ On the contrary, ritualized repetition was a central aspect of the consumption of prophetic speech. Consumption and digestion produced performances such as that of Robert Passfield noted above, and contributed significantly to the market value of prophetic performative speech. The Ramist logic of the puritan body was disclosed in the ritual performance of fiery speech, a practice that was consciously constructed as an authoritative ritual practice to be mimetically repeated. Those practices of repetition served to restore speech practices from memory, and reiterate them in private, domestic, and public places, contributing to the reshaping the civic order of early modern England. In the next section of this study I will attend to the patterns of production and consumption of puritan prophetic performative speech that are exemplified in the antitheatrical pamphlets, and their engagement with the market for argument.

Repetition was one of the many puritan cultural practices that constructed the puritan “communion of the Saints,” in which the authority of prophetic performative

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., 142.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., 138.

speech circulated from officially authorized preachers to the laity amongst whom they worked. As Susan Haedicke and Tobin Nellhaus observe, dialogue between those who offer authorized models of performance and those for whom they claim to speak tends to blur lines of social distinction and authority in a democratizing way.⁴⁵² At Dry Drayton, prayer had the authority to construct both pastor and lay member as “children of God,” permitting them to confer. Greenham often ate meals with his students, and rebuked them for waiting for him to pray over the meal; as they were “annointed with the same Spirit,” they equally had authority to speak. More broadly, a similarly communal approach is visible in the repetition held at “the house of one Davies,” in which the local vicar’s official standing is no apparent matter for comment. The shift towards the communally constructed “placeless church” is even more clearly visible in the fast observed at Wisbech, in which the Lord’s Supper – that ritual within which the performatively authorizing promises were noted above – was taken “walking about.” The ambulatory puritan church-within-the-church, perhaps not so much placeless as internalized, digested, and reproduced in performance, constructed the body of Christ as a performative body of his “saints.” Michael Schoenfeldt notes the levelling impact of practices that performed the pneumatic Pauline body: “For Paul, then, the image of the mystical body politic united in Christ undoes earthly hierarchies, and emphasizes an ethic of mutual interdependence.”⁴⁵³ The evening repetitions in particular seemed suspiciously like sedition to Bishop Aylmer; he branded them “night conventicles.” Collinson finds evidence of such conventicles in several counties across England. It was at one such

⁴⁵² Susan Haedicke and Tobin Nellhaus, *Performing Democracy: International Perspectives on Urban Community-Based Performance*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 3.

⁴⁵³ Michael Schoenfeldt, “Reading bodies,” in *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 223.

evening meeting that the ability to perform prophetic speech served to identify the speaker as “the man.”⁴⁵⁴

Turning in the next section to the antitheatrical pamphlets will also shift the geographic focus of discussion. From Chester and Dry Drayton, I will turn my attention to London, where the pamphlets were printed. I will examine the objects in question, to determine the extent to which puritan appropriations of humoral physiology, and the privileged distinctions and oppositions evident in puritan practice in the 1580s in Dry Drayton, are sustained and reiterated in cheap godly antitheatrical print. At the opening of the present section, Henry Holland observed that the lips of the righteous feed many. I hope to suggest the extent to which the antitheatrical pamphlets reiterated constructions of the puritan body to offer edifying “food” in the market for argument.

⁴⁵⁴ *EPM*, 375-80.

Section 2: The Market for Argument

*What credit, hath any good counsel in Players lippes,
when it workes no amendment in themselves?*⁴⁵⁵

As Patrick Collinson has suggested, different scholars have proposed various explanations for the sudden appearance in the late 1570s and early 1580s of such a substantial body of godly print attacking the theatre and other sports. Theatre's supposed origins in pagan cultures, the defense of Sabbatarianism, concern over social disorder and public health, the desire to suppress "filthy" sexual behaviors, idolatry and iconoclasm, and the economic wastefulness of such idle recreation have all provided topics for analysis.⁴⁵⁶ Collinson's oft-cited notion of "iconophobia" is a notable example of a substantial critical focus on shifts in the relation between representation and authority during the period. However, much of the discussion has focused on discursive evidence drawn from the texts themselves. To that rich conversation, this section proposes to contribute a view of the authority of representation produced by the performing body caught in the act of speech. Stephen Gosson's complaint, noted above, directly engages with the questions of authority and representation in performance, privileging the performative speech of the preacher and the capacity to amend lives it constructs against the utterance of the "Player" whose efficacy he challenges.

The evidence presented below suggests that the central, and often organizing, social action of the antitheatrical pamphlets, as a body, was to privilege and perform the authority of prophetic performative speech. While White and Stockwood are the most overt about challenging official authority in their advocacy of religious freedom of

⁴⁵⁵ Stephen Gosson, *Plays Confuted in Five Actions*, (London: Cyprian, 1582. Reprinted at New York: Johnson Reprints, 1972), D2.

⁴⁵⁶ Collinson, *Iconoclasm to Iconophobia*, 11-12.

speech, Munday reiterates a similar challenge as an aspect of his performance. However, viewed as products offered in the marketplace, the antitheatrical pamphlets perform a ritualizing function: with the sole exception of Gosson's *School of Abuse*, all the antitheatrical pamphlets privilege prophetic performative speech, and construct its authority to order both bodily interiority and social persona. Even Gosson's choice in *School of Abuse* to privilege classical over scriptural knowledge is announced as strategic; his later pamphlet *Plays Confuted* clearly announces its claims to prophetic authority. Furthermore, Northbrooke's pamphlet, Munday's, Gosson's *Plays Confuted*, and Stubbes' *Anatomy* all invoke the performative authority of ritual promises to assert the claims of prophetic speech. Plainly put, the early antitheatrical pamphlets, taken as a body, claim the *performative* authority of the reiterated Word of God over any other kind of authority, and endeavor to shape cultural practices on the strength of that authority.

The privileging of the consumption of prophetic performative speech as a means to properly order the humoral body is a consistent strategy in the antitheatrical pamphlets. This strategy is not only argued for rhetorically, it is also performed by the dramaturgical action of the dialogue form that is common to four of the eleven pamphlets surveyed below. That dramaturgical form offers a model for the ordering force of the market consumption of cheap godly print in the material culture of London. Just as characters in those four pamphlets consume prophetic performative speech, so those who purchased the pamphlets performed that same act of consumption by reading them. Consuming, retaining, and digesting the pamphlets' contents is the means whereby godly bodily order might be performatively taken up. The pamphlets therefore served as a means to purge the consumers' bodies of disorderly humors, and similarly to purge the civic body of

disorderly bodily practices, by means of ‘argument.’ Consumption of prophetic performative speech is consistently privileged over consumption of such disorderly sights and sounds as can be seen and heard in theatres and at dances, card tables, inns, taverns, and brothels.

In addition to promoting consumption of prophetic performative speech, the pamphlets also offer the authority of learning for consumption. There is substantial inconsistency among them, though, about what constitutes proper knowledge. White and Stockwood most clearly privilege the “plain” speech observed at Dry Drayton; Gosson and Northbrooke, by contrast, freely offer classical learning both as authority for their claims and as material for consumption. Northbrooke’s pamphlet, Stockwood’s, Gosson’s *School of Abuse*, and Munday’s all describe theatre as a kind of school; consumption of proper learning, in all the antitheatrical pamphlets, is expected to produce reformation of practice.

The antitheatrical pamphlets privilege the consumption of prophetic performative speech because of the ordering action such speech performs within the body, although that privileging action most often is constructed in the negative: the effects of ungodly kinds of speech in disordering humoral interiority are repeatedly described, and often the physiological process of digestion and production of polluting humors is noted in some detail. Governed affections are strongly privileged over strong, disordering affections such as concupiscence; the figure of the bridle of the affections is repeated in Northbrooke’s pamphlet, both of Gosson’s, Munday’s, and Stubbes’. The effects of ungoverned affections upon the heart, soul, and mind are discussed in all the pamphlets surveyed below, with the single exception of Lovell’s. Ungoverned affections are

consistently described as disordering the body's interior places, and in particular, the mind. The force of the rhetoric expended on this topic is often striking; the consumer is exhorted to avoid "filthie cogitations," to avoid keeping a "fleshly," "divided," or "carnal" mind, and, rather, to protect "constancy of mind."

This section is structured in two chapters. In the first, I will survey the antitheatrical pamphlets published between 1577 and 1583, supplementing them with sermons and less widely known pamphlets on recreations such as dancing. I will observe the social distinctions these documents perform, and compare those distinctions with the view of the puritan habitus developed in Chapter One. Contextual background on the antitheatrical pamphlet writers' biographies and so forth is widely available, and will not be reproduced here for brevity's sake.⁴⁵⁷ In Chapter Four, I will endeavor to place the production and consumption of antitheatrical print within a social, geographic, and economic context. That context, I will suggest, shows that the two opposed models of performance competed directly with each other in the same markets, offering for popular consumption competing paradigms of bodily containment and disclosure.

Given what is known about the diverse religious allegiances and educational backgrounds of the writers of the antitheatrical pamphlets, it should come as no surprise that they do not speak univocally. Neither do they consistently perform the same social distinctions as those observed above in Dry Drayton in the 1580s. However, there are common threads to follow. The fact that few of the antitheatrical writers who have so

⁴⁵⁷ See William P. Holden, *Anti-Puritan Satire, 1572-1642* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954); Arthur F. Kinney, *Markets of Bawdrie: The Dramatic Criticism of Stephen Gosson*, (Salzburg: University of Salzburg Press, 1974); Aaron Myers, *Representation and misrepresentation of the Puritan in Elizabethan Drama*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931); Colin Rice, *Ungodly delights: Puritan opposition to the theatre, 1576-1633* (Alessandria, Italy: Edizioni dell'Orso, 1997); William Ringler, *Stephen Gosson: A Biographical and Critical Study*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1942); and Elbert N. Thompson, *The Controversy between the Puritans and the Stage* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1903, reprinted 1966).

often been collectively vilified as “Puritans” can be clearly defined as puritans is ultimately less significant than the embodied dispositions and privileged social distinctions their products helped construct. Those schemes of opposition contributed ritualized meaning to London’s geography, and helped organize the spatial, temporal, and bodily environment in which early modern Londoners lived. In what follows, I will treat the pamphlets in the chronological order in which they appeared. Through that examination, I hope to construct a view of the antitheatrical body as it performs the puritan repertoire of ritualized dispositions.

Chapter 3: *The Antitheatrical Pamphlets*

John Northbrooke: A Treatise wherein...Vaine playes ...are reproved...

John Northbrooke's 1577 treatise has a lengthy title, as did many similar documents published in the period; it announces itself as a reproof of "Dicing, Dauncing, [and] Vaine playes or Enterluds" undertaken with the "Authoritie of the word of God." The treatise is divided into three subsections, each treating a different subject, and is prefaced with an Epistle Dedicatory and an address "To the Christian and faithfull reader." The first section of the pamphlet, *A Treatise against Idlenes, Idle Pastimes, and Playes*, makes up fully half its total volume; the second and third sections on dice-play and dancing, respectively, are much shorter. The body of the treatise is written as a dialogue between two characters, Youth and Age, an apparently ironic fact that commentators have noted,⁴⁵⁸ given the treatise's attack on plays.

Early in the Epistle Dedicatory, Northbrooke grounds his discussion in the correspondence between the physical human body and "the common wealth of Christ, (which is his mistical body)." As I noted above, this correspondence was no mere analogy, but rather was held to have a material, ontological basis in both humoral physiology and the Ptolemaic model of the universe. Northbrooke develops his view of that correspondence, referring to passages from I Corinthians in which, Northbrooke suggests, Paul compares the "churche of Christ to a natural bodie, &c.," in which "every member helpeth the whole..."⁴⁵⁹ Northbrooke directly compares medicinal regimens for bodily health with other kinds of consumption intended to produce spiritual health:

⁴⁵⁸ See for example Tanya Pollard's introduction to her edition of Northbrooke's treatise. Tanya Pollard, (ed.) *Shakespeare's Theater – A Sourcebook*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 2.

⁴⁵⁹ John Northbrooke, *A Treatise wherein Dicing, Dauncing, Vaine playes or Enterluds with other idle pastimes c. commonly used on the Sabboth day, are reproved by the Authoritie of the word of God and*

We can be content (for the health of our bodies) to drinke sharp potions, receive and indure the operation of extreme purges, to observe precise and hard diets, & to bridle our affections & desires &c. much more shold we do so for the health of our soules. And wher should we seeke for this helth of our soules, but only at Christ Iesus, who is our only Phisition...⁴⁶⁰

Northbrooke's treatise therefore unfolds within the context of the ordering of bodily interiority in humoral terms by means of the bridling of affections, and the correspondent experience of godliness constructed by control of consumption and disclosure. Gregory Semenza has commented on Northbrooke's strategy, suggesting "Northbrooke systematically combats traditional and humanist defenses of sports and pastimes by replacing Galen with Christ, sport with sermons, health with salvation."⁴⁶¹ However, the evidence noted above⁴⁶² would suggest that Northbrooke's thesis is consistent with a much broader integration of religious and medical discourses that was widespread in early modern English protestant practice. That integration had its basis in the ancient model of the pneumatic body developed, for example, in Paul's epistles to the Corinthians, which physicians such as Lemnius appropriated in the early modern period. As Semenza suggests, though, the result of Northbrooke's strategy is to privilege the opposition between what Agnew calls the "ceremonial imperatives of medieval town life"⁴⁶³ and the emergent practices and dispositions of radical protestantism.

The material object of consumption is, for Northbrooke, quite clearly the word of God. The entire margin of the first page of his prefatory address "To the Christian and faithfull reader" consists of a compilation of citations from the Bible. That pattern of

antient writers. Made Dialoguewise by John Northbrooke Minister and Preacher of the word of God, (London: H. Bynneman, 1577), ii^r.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid., ii^v

⁴⁶¹ Semenza op. cit., 54.

⁴⁶² See Introduction, 51, 62-4.

⁴⁶³ Agnew op. cit., 113.

scriptural citation is sustained throughout the treatise, albeit not always as intensely, and is supplemented with citations from the church fathers and classical writers. Northbrooke therefore privileges his “Christian and faithfull” readers as persons of education, eager to consume the scriptural and classical references he compiles; William Ringler calls Northbrooke “a quotation monger of some industry,” noting that the vigorous assembly of citations characterizes Northbrooke’s two earlier pamphlets on Christian doctrine.⁴⁶⁴ And indeed, the dramaturgical structure of the dialogue’s action reinforces the notion that the reader, following the character “Youth,” is expected to experience a series *anagnorises* while reading the pamphlet. Youth repeatedly says “I see now,” or “I perceive now;” he announces near the beginning of the pamphlet that “I have small learning.”⁴⁶⁵ Towards the pamphlet’s end, Age asks whether Youth has heard enough citations. Youth answers:

Satisfie, quoth you, yea, I assure you, they have even cloyed me and filled me to the full, I never hearde so many worthy fathers alleged, as you have done, both of olde and later writers...⁴⁶⁶

This statement conflates hearing with material consumption, producing a body “filled” with citations by means of the sense of hearing, and recalling Greenham’s “greedie desire to eat up God’s Word.” The humoral analogy is sustained further a short while later, when Youth says “These your sayings have pierced my hearte, and done me very much good.”⁴⁶⁷ Age’s action is to challenge Youth, occasionally in quite confrontational terms, to accept the wisdom he offers. Youth’s climactic conversion is completed with this well known statement:

⁴⁶⁴ Ringler, *op. cit.*, 59.

⁴⁶⁵ Northbrooke *op. cit.*, 31.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 137.

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 139.

There was never more preaching, and worse living, never more talking and lesse following, never more professing, and lesse profyting, never more wordes and fewer deedes, never trewer faith preached and lesse workes done, than is now, which is to be lamented and sorowed.⁴⁶⁸

From posing obstacles to Age's arguments, Youth has moved to become an advocate of the authority of prophetic performative speech. While nobody would claim the plot of Northbrooke's dialogue sustains much dramatic tension, the thrust of its action is a performance of bodily "profyting" by means of the consumption of knowledge.

In *A Treatise against Idlenes*, Northbrooke opens his argument by offering five causes why "wee oughte to heare and reade Gods holye worde."⁴⁶⁹ The first cause, suggesting the model of the puritan body observed above, is "the command of God (Deut. 12) to walk after the Lorde your God and to feare him..." The second cause privileges the acquisition of knowledge of God, producing bodily order in a similar way to the practices observed in Dry Drayton. Having established the authority of the Word and the necessity of hearing it, Northbrooke immediately connects the demands of scriptural authority with bodily practices: "The doctrine of the Gospell is not a Libertine doctrine, to give a carnall libertie to men, to doe and lyve as they liste..."⁴⁷⁰ Enjoining his readers to use sleep "moderately and orderly," Northbrooke describes that moderation in specifically humoral terms:

Sleepe is a surceasing of all the senses from travel, which is, or is caused by certaine evaporations and fumes rysing of our meate and sustenance receyved, mounting from the stomacke immediately unto the braine, by whose great coldnesse these vapors warme are tempered, casting into a slumber everye the forces or senses exterior, at which time the vitall spirites retiring to the heart, leave all the members of the bodie in a sleepe, untill such time againe, as these sayde vitall spirites recover new force and strength to them againe, and so these

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid., 145.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid., 11.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid., 12.

vapors, or ceasing, or diminishing, man agayne awaketh, and returneth to himselfe more apt to his businesse, than at any time before.⁴⁷¹

The maintenance of a temperate humoral state in the body is therefore central to Northbrooke's argument. On the basis of it, he develops his critique of the uses of recreations, joining with the puritan practices at Dry Drayton in the expectation that his "faithfull" readers will work to "redeme the time."⁴⁷² Like the man in "complet armor," faithful Christians are expected to "watch and pray."⁴⁷³ Northbrooke therefore demands that a proper ordering of time and place requires Sabbath observance. Just as was the case in Dry Drayton during the same period, Sabbath observance connects bodily practices with the spatial and temporal environment. Northbrooke designates three aspects of the Sabbath:

The first is corporall: to cease from our bodily labours. Seconde is spirituall: to cease from our sinne. Thirde is heavenly: that is after this our pilgrimage, and ende of our life, we shall keepe our Sabboth and rest in heaven with Jesus Christ for ever and ever.⁴⁷⁴

To redeem the time, Northbrooke stipulates a list of recreations permitted to the "precise" that includes "the reading of the worde of God;" while he recognizes the need for an "honest and a necessarie ydlenesse,"⁴⁷⁵ the main thrust of his argument remains the performance of distinctions between acceptable and unacceptable uses of time.

For Northbrooke, the godly use of time is directly connected to the practice of godly speech. Northbrooke cites Ephesians 4:29: "Let no corrupt communication proceede out of your mouths, but which is good to the use of edifying, that it may

⁴⁷¹ Ibid., 18.

⁴⁷² Ibid., 27

⁴⁷³ Ibid., 25.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., 43-4.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., 29, 39.

minister grace to the hearers...”.⁴⁷⁶ The performative efficacy of prophetic speech in constructing the bodily edifice of protestant religious experience is reiterated here, and produces similar social distinctions. Bodily order and social distinction are specifically sustained in Northbrooke’s treatise by means of illocutionary performative utterance in the form of a ritual promise:

You must also call to remembrance what vowe & promise you made in your baptisme: you must remember that we be al called to godlynesse and cleannesse: you must remember the shortnesse of your time, and the uncertaintie thereof: also the paynes of hell for the ungodly, &c. These things shall draw you away from the companies of the wicked, and make you desire the companie of the godly and vertuous men.

Having been so sternly reminded by Age of his baptismal promises, Youth requests that Age will pray for him, that he might “crucifie the flesh with the affections and lusts thereof;” Youth is thus alienated from his own flesh, and takes up the authority of prophetic speech to perform his emerging persona. Age responds by asking that Youth “expresse by thy doings, thy inward fayth,” and that he return no more to his prior “filthye ydle life.”⁴⁷⁷ Age thus demands the performative disclosure of interior order in future “doings.” In Northbrooke’s pamphlet, the authority of performative speech acts to shape bodily practices in ways that closely parallel the practices of ritual authority constructed in Dry Drayton. Having reasserted that performative authority, Northbrooke moves immediately to a discussion of kinds of idle recreations, foremost amongst which is the theatre. Speaking specifically of the Theatre and the Curtain, Northbrooke has Age intone:

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid., 44-5.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid., 54.

Satan hath not a more speedie way and fitter schoole to work and teach his desire, to bring men and women into his snare of concupiscence and filthie lusts of wicked whoredome, than those places and playes, and theatres are...⁴⁷⁸

In Northbrooke's construction the theatre is both a geographic and an inward place, a "schoole" of ungodly affections that produces an inner chaos of "filthie" pollution. "Playes" are both a performance practice and a "schoole"; just as puritan practices of "gadding" to sermons reordered public space in a way that was intended to instruct, the newly constructed places of theatrical performance offer places that teach transgressive affections. Northbrooke's view of *The Theatre* and *The Curtain* connects microcosm and macrocosm, and suggests a common model of order for both civic and bodily places.

Within the aegis of the authority of ritual promises, Northbrooke also locates the necessity to school the senses. Northbrooke cites the prophet Jeremiah:

...thou shalt by hearing divelische and filthie songs hurte thy chaste eares, and also shalt see that which shall be grievous unto thine eyes: for our eyes are as windowes of the mynde, as the Prophete sayeth: Death entred into my windowes, that is, by mine eyes.

This statement constructs the antitheatrical body as a house whose dangerously open doors and windows expose its interior spaces to the dangers of invasion and pollution. Those portals are the senses of hearing and sight; by means of them, death threatens the "mynde", the seat of the pneumatic animal spirits. Northbrooke appropriates martial imagery to construct an image of the fiery attack on chastity that the stage presents:

For these Playes be the instruments and armour of Venus and Cupide, and to saye good soothe, what safegarde of chastitie can there be, where so many faces look upon hir, and againe she uppon so manye? She must needes fire some, and hir selfe also fired againe, and she be not a stone: for what minde can be pure and whole among such a rabblement, and not spotted with any lust?⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid., 59-60.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid., 63.

Purity of “minde”, so dramatically threatened in this passage, is the privileged orderly space of godly interiority, and here it is threatened with attack by means of the senses. Even the performance of “histories out of the Scriptures” is not sufficient to redeem the stage; for Northbrooke, the mingling of “scurrilitie with Divinitie” is the most offensively dangerous mixture of polluting affections with the *topoi* of godliness, the places that should be held separate within the ordered godly edifice. Both sight and hearing, the “ytching eares,” are threatening to godly order. In the place logic of the body, “the heart of the wise is in the house of mourning: but the heart of fooles is in the house of myrth.”⁴⁸⁰ For Northbrooke, the eyes are particularly dangerous; in the pamphlet’s later section on dancing, he calls the eyes “*Fores & fenestra anima*, the doores and windowes of the minde;”⁴⁸¹ but I want to insist at this point that the antitheatrical body is an edifice performatively constructed in parts, a house containing windows, doors, and many rooms, whose proper order produces the temperate humoral experience of godliness. The eyes are a dangerously open passage precisely because, when confronted with unbridled affections on the stage, they threaten the edifice of godly interior order.

Northbrooke’s construction of the sensory dangers of the theatre has particular consequences for women, who “(especialle) shoulde absent themselves from such Playes.” In his strongly gendered reading, Northbrooke ascribes to women the responsibility for their own rape: “What was the cause why Dina was ravished? was it not hir curiositie? the Mayden woulde go forth, and understande the manners of other

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid., 66-7.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid., 123.

folkes.”⁴⁸² If the antitheatrical body constructed humoral paradigms of vulnerability, those paradigms found particular expression in the dangerously curious female body:

...the nature of women is much infected with this vice. And therefore Saint Paule admonisheth women to love their husbands, to bring up their children, and to be byders and tariers at home.

The humoral basis of patriarchal containment is made more explicit by the association of women with water, as Gail Kern Paster has shown. Northbrooke provides a further example of the shaming fluidity of the female body:

Give the water no passage, no not a little (sayth Syrach) neyther give a wanton woman libertie to go out abroad. If thy daughter be not shamefast, holde hir straitly, least she abuse hir selfe thorow overmuch libertie.

From this observation Northbrooke returns to his dominant thesis on idleness; the proper use of time will construct defenses against the pollution of sinful affections. “Idlennesse is the mystresse of wanton appetites, and Portesse of Lust’s gate.”⁴⁸³ The edifice of the antitheatrical body is protected by the body’s proper “doings”; idleness, female vulnerability, and lust are associated with each other in Northbrooke’s view. In redeeming the time, honoring in performance the authority of ritual promises, the portals and interior rooms of the godly body protect themselves from “filthie” appetites.

The antitheatrical body protects itself by performing work that redeems the time. The closure and containment of that body is not a complete separation from the world; its containment is tempered with performative acts that disclose its interior order. Northbrooke’s *Treatise against Dauncing* is the third of his pamphlet’s three sections. In it, Youth and Age turn their attention to dance; Age begins their discussion by making distinctions between three kinds of dancing. He describes dancing “onely for pleasure

⁴⁸² Ibid., 68.

⁴⁸³ Ibid., 69.

and wantonnesse sake” as “vayne and nothing worth.” Youth objects that there are many biblical examples of dancing, and following his master’s example he cites a substantial list of them. Age, however dismisses Youth’s objections by distinguishing between properly ordered dance, such as might be found in the Bible, and the vanity of early modern country dances:

Also, their daunces were spirituall, religious, and godly, not after our hoppings, and leapings, and interminglings men with women, &c. (dauncing every one for his part) but soberly, gravely, and matronelyke, moving scarce little or nothing in their gestures at all, eyther in countenance or bodie...

The proper sort of dance separates the genders from each other, and constructs dance as a communal activity in which dancers dance as the body of Christ, and not “every one for his part.” The dancing godly body is contained, “moving scarce little or nothing.” This containment is an aspect of the performance of the ordered redeeming of the time; “As when there is a tyme and cause to mourne and lament, then must we use it.”⁴⁸⁴ In their proper use, the dances will not “stirre up and inflame the hearts of men.”⁴⁸⁵

In his initial stipulation of three kinds of dance, Northbrooke notes one kind of dance as biblically acceptable:

There is also another kynde of dauncing, whereby men were exercised in warrelike affayres, for they were commaunded to make gestures, and to leape, having upon them their armour: for that afterwarde they might be the more prompt to fight, when neede (for the publike weale) should require: this kynde of dauncing was called *Saltatio Pyrrhica*, because it was exercised in armour.⁴⁸⁶

This contained dance was performed for “no vayne pleasure and carnall pastime,” but rather served to disclose the godly affections of joy and gratitude produced by the

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid., 118.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., 122.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid., 113-4.

properly ordered godly body performing itself before God, as Northbrooke suggests King David does in the Old Testament:

In that he daunced, it was done in two respectes: one for ioye that the arke of God was restored agayne: the other for that God had exalted him to be a King and Ruler over Israell, and this kynde of Daunce that he daunced may be called *Saltatio pyrrhica*.⁴⁸⁷

For John Northbrooke, the man in complete armor should disclose his joyful affections by dancing before God.

Two Sermons: Thomas White and John Stockwood

The Paul's Cross sermons of Thomas White and John Stockwood are often cited as examples of antitheatrical discourse.⁴⁸⁸ Peter Lake notes that other antitheatrical pamphlets such as Munday's allude to these sermons for "precedent and legitimation."⁴⁸⁹ The sermons therefore possessed a special authority in the market for argument, which they acquired because they were officially authorized performances of prophetic speech, uttered in the most powerful public pulpit in the nation. The speech they offered in performance was captured and later made available for consumption in print in the same civic space in which the original performance had occurred; as I will show in the second chapter of this section, the publishing rights to both these sermons were held by printers whose shops lay in Paul's Churchyard. These sermons therefore associated an authoritatively ordered civic place with both speech and print publication. As noted above in the Introduction, the antitheatrical pamphlets were often read out loud, reiterating the original oral performance of the sermons whose authority they appropriated.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid., 119. In an earlier marginal note, Northbrooke cites 2 Samuel 6:14 in reference to David's dance.

⁴⁸⁸ See Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, Vol. 1, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1923), 254, and Lake, *Lewd Hat*, 340, 357, 425, 435, 440, 487, and 499. Lake even calls Stockwood's sermon "the onset of the campaign" (485). See also Ringler, *op. cit.*, 68, and Mullaney, *op. cit.*, 47.

⁴⁸⁹ Lake, *Lewd Hat*, 455.

Even as these sermons were performed, the authority of puritan prophetic speech was under attack. In December, 1576, Queen Elizabeth demanded of Archbishop Grindal that he suppress prophesyings; he refused to do so. The process of official containment of puritan speech was therefore slowed, but it proceeded nevertheless. On May 7, 1577, for example, Elizabeth sent a letter to John Whitgift, who was at that point still Bishop of Winchester, instructing him to suppress all “assemblees” or “prophesyenges” in his diocese. She describes such meetings as “unmeete for vulgar people,” and suggests they caused the people to be “schismatically divided,” “to the breach of common ordre.”⁴⁹⁰ Thomas White’s antitheatrical sermon at Paul’s Cross was delivered on November 3, 1577,⁴⁹¹ and published in 1578. John Stockwood’s was preached on May 10, 1578, and published in 1579.⁴⁹² The two sermons therefore were preached within the very year puritan assemblies were in the process of being suppressed. Peter Lake suggests that the antitheatrical pamphlets, and the sermons they referred to, were directly competing with the stage:

In this literature and in many a later jeremiad, the relations between the popular stage, the popular press and true religion were depicted as being simply and starkly adversarial.⁴⁹³

While that is no doubt the case, it is also true that in 1577 puritan prophetic speech itself occupied a political position that was in important ways “starkly adversarial” to that of

⁴⁹⁰ Laud-Selden-Fairhurst MS 2003, fols. 40-41, reprinted in Stanford E. Lehmberg, “Archbishop Grindal and the Prophesyings,” *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 34 no. 2 (1965), 142.

⁴⁹¹ In his introductory notes to the reprinted text of this sermon (New York: Johnson, 1972), Peter Davison notes that this sermon has been erroneously dated by some, as White preached at Paul’s Cross also on December 9, 1576. However, the later sermon is clearly the one that attacks the theatre. While Davison attributes its timeliness to the visitation of the plague in 1577, I suggest that its defense of the authority of puritan prophetic speech is an even more relevant context within which to place it.

⁴⁹² John Stockwood, *A very fruitefull Sermon preched at Paules Crosse the tenth of May last, being the first Sunday in Easter Terme: in which are contened very necessary and profitable lessons and instructions for this time*, (London: George Bishop, 1579), A1^r.

⁴⁹³ Lake, *Lewd Hat*, 425.

the state church. Lake's suggestion implies, however, that examination of White's and Stockwood's sermons may provide a fresh view of the social distinctions performed by antitheatrical prophetic performative speech; hence their inclusion here with the early antitheatrical pamphlets.

Thomas White's sermon has neither a dedicatory epistle nor an opening address to the reader. Rather, it opens with what seem to have been White's own prefatory comments to his hearers, which are punctuated with brief prayers. White begins by meditating on his social role as preacher: "If I were a manpleaser, I were not the servaunt of God." He thus immediately performs a social distinction between preachers who speak prophetically and those whose speech is worldly. In meditating on his role, White assumes a liminal position, between everyday conversation and the prophetic voice of his sermon. Reflecting on the role of preacher, White performs his distance from it, and prepares himself and his hearers for his performance of it in the ordering action of prayer, constructing them communally as "my brethren."⁴⁹⁴

White asserts the continuity of prophetic speech, from pre-Christian times until the present:

God is alive still, & his word endureth for ever: & as there is no other doctrine for you, so is there no new commandement for us. Loke what authority they had then, & the same have we now, though not in the same sort, nor after the same measur...⁴⁹⁵

White therefore collapses history into a synchronic continuum of divine authority.

Amongst the many consequences of that move is his assertion of the eternal authority of

⁴⁹⁴ Thomas White, *A sermon preached at Paul's Cross, 3 November 1577*, (London: Francis Coldock, 1578), A5^r.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, A3^r.

prophetic speech, which speaks out of the divine eternal and into the fallen present.

White then draws a social distinction on the basis of that authority:

...it is as truly sayde of a Pastor now as it was ever of any Prophet or Apostle then, He that receyveth you receyveth me, and the contrary, He that refuseth you refuseth me.⁴⁹⁶

White asserts the authority of the pastor to receive or refuse congregants into the body of Christ, on the basis of the supplicant's willingness to "receyve" the pastor's prophetic speech. White draws two implications from that assertion:

Two principall notes doe arise by due consideration of thys that I have sayd. First, that against flattering falsehode, we use faithful flatnesse. Secondly, that contrary to childishnesse and folly, we shewe wisdom and discretion: and these being ioyned together, are the moste necessariest of all the number of graces, whiche concerne a Steward, without the which he shall doe his maister but simple, small, and very slender service.

A faithful preacher, in White's construction, is a steward of the authority of godly speech.

White privileges a "faithful flatnesse" of speech, and indeed, the entire sermon offers comparatively few literary citations or Latin phrases; the marginal notes consistently refer to citations from Scripture. White's sermon therefore participates in similar practices of the performance of "plain" prophetic speech observed at Dry Drayton; for White, such speech serves as a marker of puritan identity: "And it shall be a good note for me now, and for al my breethren for ever heereafter that are planted in thys Citie, to be knownen by this marke of playne speaking..."⁴⁹⁷

The passage on which White preaches is from Zephaniah 3: "Wo to that abhominable, filthie and cruell Citie..." His text is about a place: the ancient biblical city, which he treats as an analogy for London. Within the place, he divides society into two:

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid., A3^v.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid., A5^v.

Gods threatnings have a twofolde operation and effect: the one in the chosen, and it toucheth them verie neere, and turneth their hearts, and humbleth them in all their soule, as *Ninivie* may be a lively example: the other in the wicked, and they are made more obstinate, froward, and hard at the hearte...⁴⁹⁸

White suggests prophetic speech performatively constructs a social order, and then works differently upon the bodies of those within each part of the order. Against those whose hearts are hard, God's "wrath kindleth like a coale, and flameth as the fire."⁴⁹⁹ The chosen, by contrast, are able to "confidentlye buylde" because of the "immutable" strength of God's "woorde."⁵⁰⁰ White connects the paradigm of the house with the ordered humoral body, as he moves towards a discussion of hypocrisy:

...but that is a double harte that speakes one thing and dothe thinke another, whose minde is cleane contrary to his mouth. For all the members of the body are but ministers and expressers of the minde, although the tongue be chief thereof...⁵⁰¹

God must be worshiped with a single heart; those who are double-hearted seek to serve both God and man, which White established as unacceptable at the very beginning of his address. White therefore asserts that the public persona constructed by edifying speech must in turn produce speech that emerges from a properly ordered interiority, in which tongue, mind, and heart are all in their proper places.

Within this analysis of bodily structure, domestic place, and civic space, White constructs privileged oppositions on the basis of the use of time, in a manner consistent with puritan practices. In that context, he constructs an organizing scheme that sustains godly social structure within the authority of the prophetic word:

And the wealthyest Citizens have houses for the nonce: they that have none, make shift with Alehouses, Tavernes, and Innes, some rowyng on the water, some

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid., A8^r.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid., A8^v.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid., B2^v.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid., C3^r.

roving in the field, some idle at home, some worse occupied: thus what you gette evilly all the weeke, is worst spente on the Sabboth day, according to the Proverbe, Ill gotten, ill spent: blame not your servantes if they follow your example, for youre prodigalitie makes them unthriftie.⁵⁰²

This statement privileges the authority of the Word, patriarchal household authority, and the social order of the godly house against those whose “prodigalitie” leads them to an “unthriftie” waste of time, space, and earnings. The shaming humoral instability of such behavior is given fluid expression in ill-spent liquid consumption in alehouses, and even in “rowying on the water.” These idle occupations of time are found across traditional class lines; the “wealthiest Citizens” can afford to keep their wastefulness behind closed doors, but their “servantes” follow their masters’ ungodly example in the public eye.

White’s dissection of the body of the city is sustained further in his attack on the stage, where he links place and consumption with the most dangerous of diseases:

Looke but uppon the common playes in London, and see the multitude that flocketh to them and followeth them: behold the sumptuous Theatre houses, a continuall monument of Londons prodigalitie and folly. But I understande they are nowe forbidden bycause of the plague, I like the pollicye well if it holde still, for a disease is but boded or patched up that is not cured in the cause, and the cause of plagues is sinne, if you looke to it well: and the cause of sinne are playes: therefore the cause of plagues are playes.⁵⁰³

Theatres, for White, are both bodily and civic *topoi* or places, “houses” that serve as a “continuall monument” to sin within the diseased body of the city, standing in stark contrast to the godly edifices amongst which they are constructed: “This is a general plague, that the fewest flocke to the church in every place.”⁵⁰⁴ As his sermon comes to a close, White makes clear that he is addressing the Lord Mayor of London:

...you are come to a sicke and a sore citie, you must therefore play both the Phisition and Surgeon, you muste awake out of *Endimions* sleepe, and thrust

⁵⁰² Ibid., C7^{r-v}.

⁵⁰³ Ibid., C7^v-8^f.

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid., E2^f.

dilligently our sword of iustice in, to launce out all corruption and bagage which is gathered in the bowels, we stopped not our nose so at the plague, as the Lord doth stoppe hys nose at our sinne: the stincke of London is come up before hym...⁵⁰⁵

White attributes to the office of Mayor the authority to purge the body of the city, by the use of “our sword of iustice.” Just as the humoral body must be cleansed to be a fit vessel for the *pneuma* of God, so London must be cleansed by the authority of prophetic performative speech in order that it may become the City of God.

In closing, White seizes that authority to challenge the Mayor, just as Dering had threatened the Queen in the sermon noted earlier:

Tully truely sayde (*Magistratus virum indicat*) authoritie doeth declare a man, whether he Love superstition or religion, whether he love Justice or brybes, whether he be inclined to mercy or to crueltie, & whether he be covetous or liberal: and if hee be a Lion, his pawes: or if he be a Wolf, his iawes wil soone bewray him: the cry of the Orphane & oppressed wil Hunte him and finde him out.⁵⁰⁶

White here opposes godly, just, merciful, and liberal authority with superstitious, cruel, and covetous authority; he comes near to implying that the Mayor is a corrupt wolf ravening on the populace. White’s sermon therefore consistently privileges the rights of prophetic performative speech to freely challenge worldly authority, even if doing so is to risk worldly consequences. From beginning to end, his sermon is a performance of the proper place of prophetic speech in a Christian nation; within it, White sketches organizing schemes that attend upon prophetic speech, and that structure time and space to produce both godly and ungodly places. Within the ordered body of the City of God, the theatre is a disease.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid., F7^f.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid., F7^v.

John Stockwood's sermon is similarly concerned with the political rights and freedoms accorded to prophetic performative speech. Stockwood's "Epistle Dedicatory" previews some of his sermon's bolder claims, beginning with his suggestion that "scarse the twentieth parishe were provided of his able Teacher."⁵⁰⁷ Stockwood's theme is "the true and sincere preaching of [God's] worde."⁵⁰⁸ The common focus of White's and Stockwood's sermons on the political status of preaching, viewed within the context of the very recent constraints placed by the Crown upon prophesyings, mark their sermons as resistant speech that responds strategically to a changed political field. That resistance is much more explicitly stated in Stockwood's sermon than it was in White's:

Shall sinne therefore be left unrebuked, because naughtie men, to excuse themselves, whose consciences accuse them, will goe about too perswade men of great countenance that we preach against them? Which now a dayes is a practise too common. What if for hatred of him that rebuketh in the gate, and through abhorring him that speaketh uprightly, we be tearmed by the odious names of Puritans, Precisians, unspotted brethren, as nothing is more usuall in companies...where reformation is earnestly craved...⁵⁰⁹

Stockwood here directly attributes the repression of puritan speech to the court intrigues of "naughtie men." He thereby avoids directly impugning Queen Elizabeth and the episcopate, a subtle move that he will develop further. The text for Stockwood's sermon is Matthew 9:35; he divides the text into four "partes," each of which meditates on a particular aspect of Christ's preaching ministry. His central theme is the requirement for godly preaching: "And Paule commaundeth his Timothie, to preache the woorde, to bee instant, in season and out of season, to improove rebuke, exhorte..."⁵¹⁰ Since Christ himself took on the office of preacher, when he might have claimed any more noble

⁵⁰⁷ Stockwood, op. cit., A3^f.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid., A4^f.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid., B7^f.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid., B5^v.

office, preaching is “not so meane or base a thing, that anie man ought to be ashamed or thinke scorne of the same.”⁵¹¹ And yet, incredibly enough to Stockwood, that is exactly what has happened. Stockwood avoids attributing to the Crown the suppression of puritan prophetic speech by laying the problem at the door of the Catholics:

I cannot tell whether I may terme it madde follie or foolishe madnesse of the Pope, and his loftie Prelates, that rejecting altogether preaching, as a thing that is of little valewe and estimation, chose rather to reigne like Princes then to preache like paynefull Pastoures.⁵¹²

Stockwood thereby strategically constructs a privileged opposition between what he constructs as a Catholic rejection of preaching, and the “valewe and estimation” that “paynefull” preachers should enjoy; but he is unable to resist taking a passing swipe at “loftie Prelates.”

Having outlined the occasion for his sermon, Stockwood proposes an organizing scheme for prophetic performative speech that moves from bodily containment, to the social status of pneumatic disclosure, and thence to the construction of the social, temporal, and geographic environment. Throughout his performance, Stockwood cites only from the Bible. Drawn from the Old Testament image of the prophetic priest, the “man in armour” reappears in Stockwood’s sermon:

And as God commaunded his Priest Aaron to have in the breastplate upon his hearte, the Urim and the Thummim, the one signifying light, and the other perfection; meaning also by Urim knowledge, and by Thummim holinesse: so doeth he hereby declare what vertues are required in a Preacher...⁵¹³

The “vertues” Stockwood stipulates are “knowledge and understanding” of the Bible, and godliness of “maners & conversation.” These are, for Stockwood, the Urim and the

⁵¹¹ Ibid., C5^v-6^f.

⁵¹² Ibid., D1^f.

⁵¹³ Ibid., D1^v-2^f.

Thummim that Aaron's breastplate signified. Stockwood prays that God will send more such preachers and teachers, and "roote out the others."

Following the example of Christ drawn from his sermon's text, Stockwood asserts the rights of the body of believers to assemble publicly:

Secondly, in that Christ so diligently, frequenteth, & resorteth unto open assemblies and publike meetinges of the Church there teaching and preaching unto the people, hee doeth by this example confirme the use of the common comming together of Christians in one publick place, for the hearing of the word which is indeede very commendable, and in no case to be contemned or despised...⁵¹⁴

Stockwood's description of the "comming together of Christians" reiterates the descriptions of public fasts and prophesyings noted in Chapter One above. Rather than describing regular Sunday worship in church, he alludes to "open assemblies and publike meetinges" in language that strikingly parallels Elizabeth's letter to Whitgift noted above. Consumption of prophetic speech, the "hearing of the word," is commendable in "one publick place" which remains unspecified, but which "in no case" is to be "contemned." For Stockwood, the authority of "teaching and preaching" extends, apparently, into *any* public place. Just as Stockwood's own sermon performance begins by creating a liminal space, a prefatory prayer that constructs his hearers as his "brethren," so the "hearing of the word" serves here as the structuring force that produces "the common comming together of Christians." Stockwood's assertion directly challenges the efforts of the Crown to stipulate the temporal and spatial occasions for the construction of godly communal identity by means of prophetic performative speech.

Just as was the case at Dry Drayton, Stockwood suggests that the hearing of the Word has the effect of ordering interiority:

⁵¹⁴ Ibid., D6^{r-v}.

...so that by the diligent hearing of the word of God truly preached in these assemblies, we learn to geve over the corrupt lusts of our olde man, we doe profite unto newnes and amendement of life...⁵¹⁵

The “assemblies” in question, then, claim efficacy in producing “amendement of life.”

They produce “profite” by properly ordering the affections, the “lusts of our olde man.”

From reforming bodily order, Stockwood moves to the authority of the word to construct the patriarchal social order of the house:

Let us learne therefore by this example of Christe diligently preaching in the Synagogues of the Jewes...diligently to make our repayre unto publike places of preaching the woorde at times appointed; and let us not onely our selves resorte thither, but also see that our whole houses and families, and all those that belong unto our chardge come thither also, where they may be taught...⁵¹⁶

The diligence Stockwood attributes to Christ is reflected in the ordering zeal and universal scope of the authority of “preaching the woorde.” The office of the head of the household is to “see” that not only the family within it, but also “all those that belong under our chardge” must also be placed under the authority of the Word.

Having ordered bodily and domestic space, Stockwood moves to suggest an order for the godly temporal and spatial environment. That ordering scheme begins, of course, with Sabbath observance:

If God himselfe were so severe for the observation of his Sabboth, that hee willed him which on that day gathered stickes, to be stoned to death weene wee at his hande to escape unpunished whom all kinde of vayne exercises may on that day pul us from holy meetings...⁵¹⁷

For Stockwood, Sabbath observance is literally a matter of life and death. For the inhabitants of London, participation in “vayne exercises” is a product of the original sin,

⁵¹⁵ Ibid., D7^r.

⁵¹⁶ Ibid., D7^v.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid., D8^{r-v}.

an overweening pride, and is a practice that should expect providential punishment. First among those practices is attendance at the theatre:

And here I cannot but lament the great disorder of this honorable citie, wherin, in this cleare light of the Gospel, & in the often and vehement outcrying of God his Preachers against suche horrible abuses, there are notwithstanding suffered licentious too reigne many detestable excercises and filthie stage playes, which on the Lordes day robbe him of halfe his service, and drawe thronges and heapes of wanton youthes unto the seeyng & hearing of Baudie Enterludes, to the poysoning and corrupting of their mindes and soules...⁵¹⁸

Stockwood here clearly privileges the authority of prophetic speech to order the civic environment. The “often and vehement” performative action of preaching to order the “honorable citie” has been abused. Instead, the “filthie stage playes” are “suffered” to “reigne.” The resultant social disorder is given a specifically pneumatic reading, in that it disorders bodies that should be properly ordered, “poysoning and corrupting” the interior places of their “mindes and soules” by means of the unschooled senses of “seeyng and hearing.” Such exercises are vain because they produce, not “amendment of life,” but rather a disordered interior space. That interior disorder is reflected, as it was in White’s sermon, in the social calamity of rampant disease: the onset of plague. If God once lifts his providential hand, “staying the plague among you,” then once again godly time and place are abused, as “on this Sunday, and that Sunday” Londoners go to “suche a place, and such a place,” in such numbers that they run “thicke and threefolde.” Instead of containing their consumption in a fast to meet the threat of plague, as was the practice at Dry Drayton, these “heapes of wanton youthes” consume “Baudie Enterludes.” The consequences of such a practice of consumption extend to the marking of opposed public

⁵¹⁸ Ibid., E1^r.

spaces: “youre Churches [are] in moste places emptie, when as the Theaters of the Players are as ful as they can throng.”⁵¹⁹

Stockwood is also much more explicit than White in privileging the proper humoral order of Christ-like preaching, which once again constructs the unity of pneumatic interiority with the social persona or office of the preacher. Stockwood suggests that efficacy in preaching is in fact a product of a properly ordered interiority:

Preaching requyreth an earnest and willing minde, a bolde spirite, a fervent desire, a glad and ioyfull affection from the very hearte, to extoll, advaunce, commend and set foorth openly before all men, the word of God, and glad tidinges of the kingdome, without all respect of filthie lucre, or vaine seeking to please men, for the which so doo are not the servauntes of God.⁵²⁰

Stockwood here privileges the efficacy of preaching that is “set foorth” from properly ordered interior spaces against the “vaine” effort to please. The “earnest” mind of such a preacher experiences the proper affections of joy and gladness, and speaks with a “bolde” spirit. In a construction that Bryan Crockett has found in Perkins’ *Art of Prophecy*, Stockwood suggests that godly preachers “shoulde so behave them selves in all these as the spirite of the Lorde effectually workyng in their heartes, should minister and offer occasion acording to their own inward feeling.” The proper affections, working “in their heartes,” are products of the pneumatic action of the Holy Spirit. Just as Perkins was later to use the humoral imagery of fire to describe godly affection,⁵²¹ Stockwood uses the contrasting coldness of those whose “colde sermons take as colde effect in the mindes of those before whom they speake.”⁵²² Stockwood’s humoral figure is no mere conceit, but rather is an aspect of the humoral ordering of the body produced by properly

⁵¹⁹ Ibid., E2^r.

⁵²⁰ Ibid., H1^v.

⁵²¹ Crockett, op. cit., 11. Crockett connects Perkins’ construction with Method acting, but does not engage with the passage’s use of humoral physiology.

⁵²² Stockwood op. cit., H3^r.

prophetic speech: “For this fervencie and earnestnes in the preacher, is it in deede which pearceth deepe into the conscience of the hearer, GOD his spirite woorking...”⁵²³ Not the play, but the sermon, is the thing that catches consciences; but to do so it must speak with the pneumatic fire of the Holy Spirit.

Stockwood first privileges “this zealous and fervent manner of teaching” against “this other kinde of teaching which mans brayne hath forged,” in which the senses are not schooled, which “pierceth not the hearte, delighteth the sense of the bodye, but moveth not the minde...”. Stockwood’s construction of the performance of preaching closely parallels the practices observed at Dry Drayton. Structuring space into place by means of performative action, Stockwood privileges plain prophetic speech over humane learning: “Let us not make of the pulpet a schoole of philosophie, nor of the Church the deske of an Oratour.”⁵²⁴ Later in his performance, Stockwood privileges the ordered, healthy body of puritan social order over a substantial list of civic ills, among them swearing, blasphemy, spousal abandonment, drunkenness, and “filthie playes,” all which go unpunished by the “common wealth”, and along with them the “ignorant and unable ministers, idle shepherdes, dumbe dogges,” who go uncorrected by the church authorities. All these are “God his iuste plagues and scourges,”⁵²⁵ which beg for spiritual physic from God’s word. Stockwood therefore places the theatre in the same category as “unable ministers”; they are members of the class of “vayne exercises.” As Stockwood’s sermon draws to a close, he calls for the leadership of the church to gather in a “godly

⁵²³ Ibid., H3^v.

⁵²⁴ Ibid., H5^v.

⁵²⁵ Ibid., J5^{r-v}. Peter Lake notes that Stockwood’s fervency in preaching, while exemplary of puritan speech, should not be construed as being *exclusively* puritan: “While it would be an error to see the mode of discourse and address identified above as the Paul’s Cross jeremiad as a puritan monopoly, there can be no doubt that the first and most natural exponents of it, men like Stockwood and Thomas White, were puritans” (*Lewd Hat*, 561).

conference” to discuss “in prayer and fasting” the “defaultes of the Citie, and house of the Lord.”⁵²⁶ For Stockwood, the antitheatrical body should construct its authority as a communal body, by carefully performing its containment and disclosure.

Stephen Gosson: The Schoole of Abuse

The epistle dedicatory of Gosson’s first antitheatrical pamphlet is addressed to Sir Philip Sidney. In it, Gosson suggests his pamphlet should be viewed as “The Schoole which I builde...”.⁵²⁷ Gosson sustains that construction in his address “To the Reader,” in which he suggests that the purpose of his “Schoole of those abuses” is to “pull your mindes from such studyes, [and] drawe your feete from such places...” as the theatre. However, the frank acknowledgement of “the Reader” distinguishes Gosson’s first pamphlet from its predecessors, in that it does not construct readership as a community, but rather interpellates the reader as one who “studyes” in his “Schoole.” Gosson’s strategy performatively produces him as a teacher, one whose superior learning is offered as a commodity for consumption.

Referring obliquely to members of the theatre community, Gosson confesses he lacks the “authoritie in me to bridle their tounge.”⁵²⁸ He therefore places his pamphlet within a discourse of humoral restraint in consumption of speech. That practice of restraint is further developed in the body of the pamphlet, in which he warns of the delight of the senses offered at the theatre:

⁵²⁶ Ibid., K3^v.

⁵²⁷ Stephen Gosson, *The Shoole (sic) of Abuse, Containing a plesaunt invective against Poets, Pipers, Plaiers, Jesters, and such like Caterpillers of a Comonwelth; Setting up the Flagge of Defiance to their mischievous exercise, & overthrowing their Bulwarkes, by Prophane Writers, Naturall reason, and common experience: A discourse as plesaunt for Gentlemen that favour learning, as profitable for all that wyll follow vertue*, (London, Thomas Woodcocke, 1579), 3^v-4^r.

⁵²⁸ Ibid., 7^{r-v}.

There set they a broche, straunge consortes of melodie, to tickle the eare, costly apparrell to flatter the sight, effeminate gesture to ravish the sence, and wanton speache, to whette desire and inordinate lust.⁵²⁹

For Gosson the tickling of the ear with music and wanton speech is here more dangerous than the sights offered to the eye; he judges “cooks and painters the better hearing,” for their wares “both are ended in outward sense.” The theatre’s wanton speeches pose a threat to the properly ordered interior space of the godly body:

But these, by the privy entries of the eare, slip downe into the heart, and with gunshotte of affection gaule the minde, where reason and vertue shoulde rule the roste.⁵³⁰

Gosson’s ordering of the senses and interior spaces of the body is therefore not structured in the same way as was the case at Dry Drayton, where consumption of food and speech were equally carefully moderated because both were seen as affecting the body’s humoral balance; “cooks” get off more lightly than the theatre. Gosson does, however, connect bodily place with ritualized place and time: the “Customers” on Sundays “flocke too Theaters, and there keepe a generall Market of bawdrie.” Gosson’s defense of Sabbath observance is mild, when compared with that of Northbrooke, White, and Stockwood. Although he finds no “filthinesse” actually committed in the theatre, Gosson is suspicious of the transactions that are initiated there, which “cheapen the merchandise.” Throughout the pamphlet, Gosson distinguishes between and privileges kinds of consumption.

It is on the level of educated consumption that *The Schoole of Abuse* performs its most fully articulated distinction. Arthur Kinney notes that certain passages in *The Schoole of Abuse* are taken almost verbatim from John Rainolds’ lectures, which Gosson recorded while he was Rainoldes’ student at Oxford. Rainoldes taught Gosson, Lyly, and

⁵²⁹ Ibid., B6^v. Pollard (25) reads “a broche” as “abroach,” open for public view.

⁵³⁰ Ibid., B6^v-7^r.

George Pettie, all of whom used the euphuistic style Gosson deploys in *The Schoole of Abuse*.⁵³¹ William Ringler suggests that Gosson “was better acquainted with the ancients than were Greene, Lodge, Nashe, or even Lyly...”.⁵³² *The School of Abuse* is a sustained performance of that mastery of classical learning. From beginning to end, the pamphlet offers a seemingly endless parade of classical references and in-jokes, served up in a lightly humorous tone. As such, it stands in stark contrast to the commitment to plain speaking offered by White and Stockwood. Gosson suggests that he has avoided citing from Scripture only as a matter of strategy, as the “authoritie of Scriptures” is so clearly preeminent as not to need discussion:

This have I set down of the abuses of Poets, Pipers, & Players which bringe us to pleasure, slouth, sleepe, and sinne, and without repentance to Death and the Devill: which I have not confirmed by the authoritie of Scriptures, because they are not able to stand uppe in the sight of God: and sithens they dare not abide the felde, where the worde of God doth bid them battaile, but runne to antiquities...I have given them a volley of prophan writers to begin the skirmish...⁵³³

Gosson’s performance plays on his classical learning, and flatters his readers by suggesting that they, too, have read as widely as he: “Who soever readeth his Epistle to Lambert the governour of Hellespont, when players were banished, shall finde more against them in plainer tearmes, then I will utter.”⁵³⁴ The body of Gosson’s first antitheatrical pamphlet is what Clifford Geertz would call a wink;⁵³⁵ it offers classical learning for consumption as a coded communication directed to the small class of those who are able to distinguish themselves as capable of digesting it.

⁵³¹ Kinney, op. cit., 10.

⁵³² Ringler, op. cit., 100.

⁵³³ Gosson, *School of Abuse*, D1^r.

⁵³⁴ Ibid., C8^v.

⁵³⁵ Clifford Geertz, “Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture,” in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, (New York, Basic Books, 1973), 6-7. Geertz suggests (p. 6) a winker is communicating: (1) deliberately, (2) to someone in particular, (3) to impart a particular message, (4) according to a socially established code, and (5) without cognizance of the rest of the company.

As an addendum to the body of the pamphlet, Gosson offers an address “To the Gentlewomen Citizens of London...”. When practices that perform gender are at stake, Gosson’s construction of bodily containment becomes more overt. In this section of the pamphlet, eyesight is privileged over hearing: “Thought is free: you can forbidd no man, that vieweth you, to noate you, and that noateth you, to iudge you, for entering to places of suspition.”⁵³⁶ While Gosson here associates transgressive gazing with civic “places of suspition,” his notion that “thought is free” contrasts with the puritan construction of the mind as an aspect of the fallen flesh. Gosson does not order the interior places of the mind in the same way as Greenham. However, Gosson uses a pneumatic construction of the effects of the lustful gaze:

Blazing markes are most shot at, glistring faces cheefly marked – and what followeth? Looking eyes, have lyking hartes, liking harts may burne in lust. We walke in the Sun many times for pleasure, but our faces are tanned before we returne: though you go to theaters to se sport, Cupid may catche you ere you departe.

Heat travels from the “blazing” mark, to the “glistring” face, through the “looking” eyes to the “harts” that “burne in lust.” Gosson’s coy evocation of Cupid, rather than Satan, not only sustains his insinuating performance of classicism, but also constructs his own distance from such lustful oeillades. In a move that calls to mind Francis Barker’s excoriating reading of Pepys,⁵³⁷ Gosson disavows himself of, whilst disclosing, the problem of “mine owne maladie” by confessing that while it is “hard to say that all offend,” yet he dares “swear for none.”⁵³⁸ Like Northbrooke before him, Gosson suggests that women’s virtue is “best perfourmed by staying within.”⁵³⁹

⁵³⁶ Gosson, *School of Abuse*, F2^r.

⁵³⁷ See Francis Barker, *The Tremulous Private Body*, (London: Methuen, 1984).

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*, F3^r.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*, F4^r.

In Gosson's construction the antitheatrical body privileges individual consumption and production of classical learning that emerges from textual hermeneutic rather than from performative reiteration. Gosson's choice of patron, a noted scholarly knight, and the classical material he offers the reader both locate authority in a logic that is more isolated from the body than the logic of practice evident particularly in White and Stockwood's sermons; neither authority nor affection emerges from a repertoire of communal experience in this pamphlet. In performatively constructing himself as a teacher, Gosson marks the antitheatrical body as producing a more isolated voice in the market for argument.

Anthony Munday

The pamphlet *A second and third blast of retrait from plaies and Theaters* has been consistently attributed to Anthony Munday.⁵⁴⁰ The cover announces its author as "Anglo-Phile Eutheo," and cites Ephesians 5:15-6, which advises the reader to "walke circumspectlie," "redeeming the time...".⁵⁴¹ The two parts of the body of the pamphlet are prefaced with a brief address "to the Reader," which purports to have been written by some anonymous third party. Munday therefore follows Gosson in constructing his text, initially at least, as a written work. That address acknowledges Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse* as the first "blast of retrait," and notes the "dehortations" of the "godlie preachers" to "shun plaies."⁵⁴² The first part of the body of the pamphlet is Munday's translation of Book Six of Salvianus' *De Gubernatione Dei*, and the second part, which is

⁵⁴⁰ Arthur Freeman traces the attribution, which is based on the biographical details the pamphlet offers of its author's life, to F.J. Fleay's *A Chronicle History of the London Stage* (1890). Donna Hamilton's study of Munday accepts his authorship of it. See Freeman's "Preface" to the Garland edition of the pamphlet (New York: Garland, 1973), 5; and Donna Hamilton, *Anthony Munday and the Catholics, 1560-1633*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1988), 18-21.

⁵⁴¹ Anthony Munday, *A second and third blast of retrait from plaies and Theaters*, (London: Henrie Denham, 1580), A1^r.

⁵⁴² *Ibid.*, A2^r-4^v.

approximately twice as long as the first, is apparently of Munday's own invention. The pamphlet was entered into the Stationers Register on October 18, 1580, appearing about a year after John Stockwood's sermon was published.⁵⁴³

A second blast of retrait opens with an immediate statement of the disordering effect of the consumption of theatre performance upon the godly body:

For other vices chalenge their several portions within us, as filthie cogitations the minde; unchaste aspects the eies; wicked speech the eares: so that when one of these doth offend, the rest may be without fault. But at Theaters none of these but sinneth, for both the mind there with lust; and the eies with showes; and the eares with hearing be polluted: al which are so bad, that no man can wel report or declare them with honestie.

This statement observes the function of the senses, the "eies" and the "eares," in threatening the several interior "portions" of the body with pollution. Whilst other vices might affect one of the body's parts, the theatre uniquely affects them all, filling the mind with lust and "filthie cogitations." The theatre is marked once more as dirty, dangerous, and invasive; the protection and containment of the godly body is therefore privileged.

That protecting containment is offered by the authority of prophetic performative speech.

Munday's translation of Salvianus invokes the ritual promises uttered during baptism:

For what is the first profession of Christians at their baptisme? They protest they wil renounce the Diuel, and al his workes, his pompes, and vanities. Therefore by our owne confession, showes & pompes are the workes of the Diuel.⁵⁴⁴

The performative authority of baptism promises constructs the "Christians'" bodies by means of a purgative renunciation of vanity. That construction is described as a building:

But the Diuel is in his pompes and showes, then it foloweth that by returning unto his pompes wee forsake the faith of Christ. Then hereby al the mysteries of the Beliefe are unlosed: and al which foloweth in the Creede, is weakened, and tottereth. For the building cannot stand, if the principal be downe.⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴³ Freeman, "Preface" to Munday, op. cit., 5.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid., B5^r.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid., B5^v.

The authority of performative speech is here a construction that holds in “the mysteries of the Beliefe”; if the authority of outward structures of faith have been denied, which was the action performed by iconoclasm, then the only remaining bulwark between humans and Satan is the “building” of the body, which must not be “unlosed,” or faith itself is lost. The analogy between the body and the construction of a house is soon given a more explicitly humoral reading:

For, I demand, [...] who beholdeth his neighbors house on fire, and wil not by al meanes provide for the salfetie of his owne? wee do not onlie see our neighbors to burne, but also are set on fire our selves from the chiefest part of our bodies. And, abomination: what a mischiefe is this? we burne, we burne, yet dread we not the fire wherwith we burne.⁵⁴⁶

If the antitheatrical body is not protected by a proper fear of God, it will be consumed by the flames of sin. The danger is visible to the eye, yet it emerges from the heart, the “chiefest part of our bodies.” Salvianus’ prophetic exhortation to repentance advises his readers to “forthwith make recourse unto the house of the Lord,” where in prayer the proper godly affections will be disclosed in “ioie and teares together,” and in the “sacrifice of a new conversation.” The reconstructive effects of this new godly speech include the expulsion from the body of the “madnes of stages” and the “filthines of plaies,” and a renewed performative “promise” of “a new life to the Lord.”⁵⁴⁷ In Munday’s translation of Salvianus, speech performatively structures the godly body.

Munday’s treatise, *A third blast of retrait*, begins with a statement on the nature of knowledge, whose “seat and abode” is in the mind. Knowledge, Munday suggests, should be “satisfied with reason.” His opinion of “common plaies” is that “in a Christian-weale they are not sufferable. My reason is, because they are publike enimies

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid., C2^{r-v}.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid., D2^{r-v}.

to virtue, & religion.”⁵⁴⁸ Munday privileges educated reason against the “opinions of the rude multitude;” he thus distinguishes himself as a member of a superior minority, but he does not, like Gosson, move from that position to a performance of classical erudition.

Rather, Munday constructs an epistemological distinction that has a humoral basis:

...the opinions of the rude multitude are not alwais the soundest, which are mooved with unconstant motions, whereby manie times they like of that which is most hurtful; and dislike that which is most profitable: because the one pleaseth their humors, and the other restraineth their affections.

Sound opinion is, for Munday, a “profitable” product of constancy of mind, restrained affections, and properly ordered humors.

Having established himself as amenable to reason, Munday performs what Peter Lake calls his “evangelical conversion narrative,”⁵⁴⁹ performed in a style reminiscent of the conventions of prison conversion common to cheap godly print. Munday confesses that he has “bene a great affecter of that vaine art of Plaie-making.”⁵⁵⁰ The consequences of that “vaine” pursuit include an inability to hear “godlie” speech: “I stopped mine eares, and hardened mine harte against their counsel.”⁵⁵¹ However, he is saved from his “former life” once God decides to “cal” him to “the readinge of his worde...” which provokes him to “a streit examination of my life...”⁵⁵² This process closely parallels the practices of reading and hearing the Word in Dry Drayton, where hearing produces “profit” and the systematic performance of “watching.”

Munday’s self-examination leads him to avowal and a public performance of disclosure:

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid., D3^r-4^r.

⁵⁴⁹ Lake, *Lewd Hat*, 443.

⁵⁵⁰ Munday op. cit., B7^r.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid., B7^v.

⁵⁵² Ibid., B8^{r-v}.

I thought it my part to laie open to al mens eies the horrible abuse aswel of plaies as of the Inactors, & the disorder of their Auditorie; that the abuse being perceaved, everie man might reforme himselfe, & be weaned from their wickednes...⁵⁵³

Theatre is an “abuse” to those who hear it, the “Auditorie,” and a wicked liquid from which “everie man” must “be weaned.” The shaming fluid disclosure of ungodly consumption and bodily disorder finds particular expression amongst women:

Some citizens wives, upon whom the Lord for ensample to others hath laid his hands, have even on their death beds with teares confessed, that they have received at those spectacles such filthie infections, as have turned their minds from chast cogitations, and made them of honest women light huswives; by them they have dishonored the vessels of holines; and brought their husbandes into contempt, their children into question, their bodies into sicknes, and their soules to the state of everlasting damnation.⁵⁵⁴

Munday marks the consequences of the humoral invasion of theatre’s “filthie infections.” Sin is disclosed in the humoral purgation of tears, which as Gail Kern Paster has noted are a humoral signifier of feminine shame.⁵⁵⁵ The possession of unchaste minds has changed the social status of the women’s bodies from “honest women” to “light huswives.” Theatre has polluted the container of their holy bodies, and thus has threatened the integrity of their husbands’ houses, producing social disorder out of bodily disorder: their husbands are physically moved, “brought,” into the place of “contempt,” their children into “question,” and their souls to the fiery pit of hell itself. From temporal bodily invasion comes synchronic, cosmic damnation.

Munday vividly sustains the trope of humoral invasion and pollution throughout the pamphlet, consistently connecting the theatre’s action on the body with forms of speech. At the theatre, the “eies” are “carried away with the pride of vanitie,” and the

⁵⁵³ Ibid., B8^v-C1^r.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid., C1^{r-v}. Chambers (op. cit., Vol. 1, 258) notes similar statements in Northbrooke and Stubbes. This should not surprise, as both Munday and Stubbes reiterate Northbrooke several times.

⁵⁵⁵ Paster, *Body Embarrassed*, 8-9, 47.

“eares abused with...lecherous, filthie, and abhominable speech.” As a result the hearers’ own speech is infected: “is not our tong there imploied to the blaspheming of God’s holie Name...?”⁵⁵⁶ Munday later connects speech, consumption, and pollution:

Those unsaverie morsels of unseemelie sentences passing out of the mouth of a ruffenlie plaier doth more content the hungrie humors of the rude multitude, and carieth better rellish in their mouthes, than the bread of the worde, which is the foode of the soule.⁵⁵⁷

This statement reiterates his earlier performance of a class distinction. “Unseemelie” humoral consumption is all the more unfortunate in those whose defenses in the form of knowledge are so weak, the poor “rude multitude.” Towards the end of the pamphlet, Munday specifically compares godly speech and theatrical speech on the basis of their ability to effect change:

But when I see the word of truth proceeding from the hart, and uttered by the mouth of the reverend preachers, to be received of the most part into the eare, and but of a fewe rooted in the hart: I cannot by anie means beleieve that the wordes proceeding from a prophane plaier, and uttered in scorning sort, interlaced with filthie, lewde, and ungodlie speeches, have greater force to moove men unto virtue, than the wordes of truth uttered by the godlie Preacher, whose zeale is such as that of Moses...⁵⁵⁸

The “wordes of truth” that proceed “from the hart” of the “reverend preachers” are distinguished from those of the players on the basis of the preachers’ zeal. The zeal of their performance is uttered out of a synchronic, biblical view of time, and carries the authority of Moses himself. The players’ passion has no authority to amend lives because it is “interlaced with filthie, lewde, and ungodlie speeches.” Even the “word of truth” has a limited efficacy, “but of a fewe rooted in the hart;” how then could speech that is sublunary and unequally “interlaced” with pollution, rather than pure and eternal,

⁵⁵⁶ Munday op. cit., E6^v.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid., F1^f.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid., H7^v.

have any performative authority? Munday suggests the unacceptable bodily order must be purged, or restrained: “The snake in our bosome, which wee nurish with such care, wil soonest annoie us. Let us throwe awaie our fleshlie minds, and bridle our affections.” For Munday also, the performance of the godly body entails containment of the emotions, and alienation from the “fleshlie.”

Following Northbrooke, White, Stockwood, and Gosson, Munday associates the theatre’s humoral pollution with both bodily and civic place. Munday constructs a complex argument that focuses on and asserts the authority of performative speech to order and edify the godly body, and by means of that bodily order, to reorder public space. Munday first constructs a privileged opposition between the true church and the theatre:

Whosoever shal visit the chappel of Satan, I meane the Theater, shal finde there no want of yong ruffins, nor lacke of harlots, utterlie past al shame: who presse to the fore-frunt of the scaffoldes, to the end to showe their impudencie, and to be as an obiect to al mens eies. Yea, such is their open shameles behavior, as everie man maie perceave by their wanton gestures, whereunto they are given: yea, they seeme there to be like brothels of the stewes. For often without respect of the place, and companie which behold them they commit that filthines openlie, which is horrible to be done in secret.⁵⁵⁹

Munday seeks to contain “in secret” the open “filthiness” that offers a threatening “object to al mens eies.” That filth is particularly to be found in a certain unholy civic place, the “chappel of Satan,” which is “like brothels of the stewes.” There the “harlots” are without the shame they should feel at their openly sexual display; they have no “respect of the place,” either in their bodies or in the public gaze of the men who behold them. Consumption of theatrical performance is thus a directly opposite practice to the practice of the containment of concupiscence observed at Dry Drayton; instead of governing the

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid., G3^r.

eyes, men in theatres gaze freely, and what they see hurts their eyes. The “harlots” escape from authority is complete; “neither reverence, justice, nor anie thing beside can governe them.”⁵⁶⁰ Those whose gaze consumes the performances on offer in the theatres are infected with delight, past all reason:

Seek to withdrawe these felowes from the Theater unto the sermon, they wil saie,
By the preacher they maie be edified, but by the plaier both edified and delighted.
So that in them the saieng of S. Paule is verified, where he saith, that *The
wisedome of the flesh is nothing but enimitie against GOD.*⁵⁶¹

In the edifice of the godly body, Munday suggests, unrestrained indulgence in delight is the wisdom of the flesh.

Munday privileges the authority of the mind within the ordered godly body. In the “Schoole-house of Satan,” he suggests, humoral disorder is taught:

Mans minde, which of it sefle is proane unto vice, is not to be pricked forward
unto wantonnes, but bridled: if it be left unto it selfe, it hardlie standeth, if it be
driven forth, it runneth headlong.⁵⁶²

This statement echoes the language of Calvin’s construction, noted above, of the ordered places of the mind and the flesh, in which the unbridled flesh produces humans as mere beasts. The force that performatively constructs the body’s interior order is that of conversation, which at Dry Drayton constructed complex social distinctions:

I would rather wish that the evil conversation of others might be an occasion to
drawe us backe; least perhaps we be wrapped in the vices that raigne in al the
wicked, and so be partakers of the punishment due to them.⁵⁶³

Conversation, here in Munday’s argument, is associated with a civic place from which we might better be drawn back. In that place are the bodies of the wicked, the “harlots” in whom vices reign, in despite of any authoritative speech. Those vices threaten to

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid., G3^v.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid., G4^r. Munday’s marginal note cites Romans 8:7.

⁵⁶² Ibid., G5^r.

⁵⁶³ Ibid., G5^v.

infectiously “wrap” the godly, so that “we” then consume damnation as “partakers” of proper punishment.

Having established the authority of “conversation” to construct the body’s interior order, Munday explicitly attributes that authority to the bodily performance of the actor:

It is marvelous to consider how the gesturing of a plaier, which Tullie termeth the eloquence of the bodie, is of force to move, and prepare a man to that which is il. For such things be disclosed to the eie, and to the eare, as might a great deal better be kept close. Whereby a double offense is committed: first by those dissolute plaiers, which without regard of honestie, are not ashamed to exhibit the filthiest matters they can devise to the sight of men: secondly by the beholders, which vouchsalfe to heare and behold such filthie things, to the great losse both of themselves and the time.

The gestures of a “plaiier,” for Munday, have all the authority of a “force” to order the body’s interior spaces. The unbridled “conversation” of the player, combining speech and gesture, is disclosed to the “eie” and “eare” of the “beholders.” Munday recognizes the performative force of embodiment, and anatomizes it as a two-stage process. Within the “chappel of Satan,” those things are “disclosed” which should be contained and “kept close.” The players, like the “harlots” who occupy the same civic and social place, are “not ashamed”; instead, in the first stage of performative speech they disclose what are once more marked as “the filthiest matters,” “such filthy things,” a dangerously polluting infection invading the body and transgressing the authority of godly speech. That such transgressions occur is confirmed in the beholders’ loss of godly identity; they suffer a “great losse of themselves” in the second stage of the process when they take up the players’ acts, because of the pneumatic disordering of their interior places. They also abuse the authority of their communion promises by failing to redeem “the time”, challenging their social personae as children of God. In Munday’s formulation, theatre’s performative authority challenges that of prophetic speech by invading the body,

disordering its properly ordered places, displacing their identities, and abusing the ritual status of the performative.

This crucial passage constructs what Robert Weimann calls the “bifold authority” of the players’ speech. Weimann suggests that the Reformation served to “internalize authority,” and “to shift the basis of its verification from external and public modes to internal and private ones.”⁵⁶⁴ If theatre performance had an emerging self-authorizing force in the 1580s, that force is described in Munday’s pamphlet in terms of its potential to transgressively reorder the bodies of its beholders in ways that relocate them outside the boundaries of their proper social places. Munday marks theatre as a resistant form of speech, producing the body as a site in which Agnew’s “new social contract” was constructed.

As he turns to questions of justice and authority, Munday’s use of the language of protest and resistance resonates with Stockwood’s sermon. In privileging the authority of Scripture and the godly ordering of time, Munday objects, as Stockwood did, to the use of an anti-puritan epithet:

Tel manie of these men of the Scripture, they wil scof, and turne it unto a iest. Rebuke them for breaking the Sabboth day, they wil saie, you are a man of the Sabboth, you are verie precise; you wil have nothing but the worde of God; you wil permit us no recreation, but have men like Asses, who never rest but when they are eating.⁵⁶⁵

Munday here is returning to an argument he made earlier in his treatise, in which he asserted the authority of godly speech to shape civic practices:

The Magistrates hart must be as the hart of a Lion. He is not to shrink in the Lordes cause, or to stand in feare to reform abuses of the Common-weale, because of some particular men of auctoritie. He must have both stoutnes, and constancie to repress evil. And then doubtles the Lord wil blesse them in their

⁵⁶⁴ Weimann, *Authority and Representation*, 14.

⁵⁶⁵ Munday op. cit., 90-1.

enterprises. Let not therefore the intercession of the mightie moove the Magistrate to staie his sworde from doing iustice on the wicked.⁵⁶⁶

Like Stockwood, Munday seems to argue that the checking of godly reform is a product of “the intercession of the mightie.” The humoral signifiers of “constancie” of mind and “stoutnes” of “hart” are familiar from the earlier antitheatrical materials. Even more striking is Munday’s use of the figure of the lion as a model for godly authority. The reiteration of this figure from White’s sermon suggests that Munday may have either heard White preach, or read his sermon in print; Munday’s pamphlet appeared less than three years afterwards. Both White and Munday use the figure of the lion whilst challenging civic authorities to restrain the theatre by means of the law; both suggest that political intrigue has prevented due justice being done; both offer arguments defending the performative authority of godly speech; and both mark theatrical speech as transgressive, invasive, and polluting to the antitheatrical body. Further evidence suggests Munday was familiar with the antitheatrical pamphlets and sermons that preceded his. As noted above, Northbrooke describes the eyes as “*Fores & fenestra anima*, the doores and windowes of the minde.” Munday echoes that construction:

There cometh much evil in at the eares, but more at the eies, by these two open windowes death breaketh into the soule. Nothing entreth more effectualie into the memorie, than that which commeth by seeing; things heard do lightlie passe awaie, but the tokens of that which wee have seene, saith *Petrarch*, sticke fast in us whether we wil or no...⁵⁶⁷

In humoral physiology, memory and minde are places within the tripartite soul. Munday joins Northbrooke in constructing the body as a house featuring dangerously open passages, whose containment needs to be asserted lest death cause the structure to fail.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid., 73-4.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid., G6^{r-v}.

I committed myself earlier to eschewing discussion of biography. Nevertheless, Munday's offers a particularly intriguing case that is of relevance at this point. Donna Hamilton notes that throughout much of his adult life, Munday resided in the parish of St. Giles without Cripplegate.⁵⁶⁸ Collinson suggests "The neighbourhood of Cripplegate and the Minories was a hotbed of puritanism and even of sectarianism".⁵⁶⁹ Munday testified at the trial of the Jesuit missionary Edmund Campion; at that trial Munday would have met his neighbor John Field, who served as the notary for Campion's interrogation.⁵⁷⁰ Field lived in a house on Grub Street, and was also a member of St. Giles without Cripplegate.⁵⁷¹ Munday later served as a pursuivant for Richard Topcliffe, "Elizabeth's chief torturer."⁵⁷² All of this might suggest Munday himself was a puritan. However, Hamilton suggests that Munday's pamphlet may be read as "propagandistic for the Catholic loyalist position," as he carefully constructs an argument that is entirely consistent with the Catholic precedents on which he draws. Munday was an actor and writer for the stage whom Francis Meres described as "our best plotter."⁵⁷³ Given all of the above, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest, as Hamilton does, that *A Second and Third Blast of Retrait* is itself a performance on Munday's part, in which he seeks to disguise himself as a puritan in order to obscure his Catholic loyalism. Hamilton describes as a "typical manoeuvre" his propensity to provoke "readers into thinking he was a 'rabid' Protestant."⁵⁷⁴

⁵⁶⁸ Hamilton op. cit., xx.

⁵⁶⁹ Collinson, *Godly People*, 338.

⁵⁷⁰ Collinson, *Godly People*, 351.

⁵⁷¹ Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, s.v. John Field. Available at <http://www.oxforddnb.com> Accessed December 27, 2007.

⁵⁷² Hamilton, op. cit., xxi.

⁵⁷³ Hamilton, op. cit., 18-21. Her association of Protestantism and the imagery of animal disease might be read as a representation of the zealous rhetoric Munday performs.

⁵⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, xvii.

Munday was apparently skilled at serving up constructions of himself for others' consumption; he attended a church that had puritan associations, and his pamphlet reproduces the language of puritan sermons. Twice he calls his readers "deere brethren",⁵⁷⁵ and his use of repetition occasionally skirts the edges of Jonsonian satire, as in his rendering of a citation from Salvianus: "we burne, we burne, yet dread we not the fire wherwith we burne." Munday's performance of the "part" of "Anglo-Phile Eutheo," presenting to "mens eies the horrible abuse...of plaies," is a theatrical display whose efficacy in constructing his identity persists into contemporary scholarship. Barish "takes up" Munday's performance, placing him among those who attack the stage for religious reasons.⁵⁷⁶ Lake more perceptively attributes Munday's stance to the pressures of market demand: "Munday indeed was the epitome of the hack, writing for hire both for and against the stage and against both catholics and puritans."⁵⁷⁷ However, tracing the levels of performative utterance in the pamphlet suggests still another reading. Understood *as* performance, the pamphlet's voice is complex. It is a representation of puritan culture on whose credibility its writer depended, in some measure, for the concealment of his Catholicism. From Munday's position, it is a subversive challenge to the efficacy of prophetic performative speech; it reiterates that speech while refusing its ordering action in the body.

Tracing the genealogy of the Stage Puritan as clown, Robert Hornback notes that in 1593 Munday wrote *Sir Thomas More*, in which two rebel characters, George and Ralph Betts, are identified as puritans by Munday's use of what Hornback calls "Puritan

⁵⁷⁵ Munday, op. cit., E4^v, F2^f.

⁵⁷⁶ Barish op. cit., 104, 191.

⁵⁷⁷ Lake, *Lewd Hat*, 484.

cant.”⁵⁷⁸ Yet the satirical edge of Munday’s later anti-puritan writing had to be suppressed if *The Second and Third Blast* was to be effective in constructing his identity as a puritan. Nevertheless, reading it retrospectively the satire appears occasionally as a barely restrained giggle. Anglo-Phile Eutheo may be the earliest example of the Stage Puritan character.

That suggestion does not, however, serve to qualify the social efficacy of the distinctions and privileged oppositions the pamphlet performs. Munday knew the market for which he wrote; as I have shown above, his pamphlet took up the discourses of bodily and social order that had been offered in previous pamphlets. It is a reiteration of prior performative utterance, and went to market effectively disguised in borrowed robes. However, more effectively than Gosson’s messy disavowals, Munday’s pamphlet serves to etiolate the performative efficacy of prophetic speech, by subtly drawing attention to the reflexive humoral process that produced it. Munday’s pamphlet is a performance that effectively alters the status of the antitheatrical body. The availability of the market for cheap godly print provided the stage upon which Munday performed the part of Anglo-Phile Eutheo. In Anthony Munday’s *Third Blast*, the antitheatrical body shifts one step further away from ritual persona, and towards the commodity status of the personated theatrical character.

Three Treatises against Dancing: Thomas Lovell and Christopher Fetherston

In 1581, Thomas Lovell published his *Dialogue between Custom and Veritie concerning the use and abuse of dauncing and minstrelsie*.⁵⁷⁹ Christopher Fetherston’s

⁵⁷⁸ Robert Hornback, “Staging Puritanism in the Early 1590s: The Carnavalesque, Rebellious Clown as Anti-Puritan Stereotype,” *Renaissance and Reformation* XXIV, 3, (2000), 43-4.

⁵⁷⁹ Thomas Lovell, *A Dialogue between Custom and Veritie concerning the use and abuse of dauncing and minstrelsie*, (London: John Allde, 1581).

tract on the same subject appeared in the following year.⁵⁸⁰ Also appearing in that year is the anonymous *A Treatise of Daunces*. None of these three pamphlets is very remarkable, except insofar as they sustain and reiterate both the form and the content of the antitheatrical pamphlets that preceded them. Both Lovell's and Fetherston's pamphlets are written in dialogue form, and feature two characters: an older character that opposes the traditional forms of dancing, and a younger one that initially defends them. Fetherston's "Minister" and Lovell's "Veritie" both cite extensively from and privilege the authority of Scripture; while Lovell's "Custom" and Fetherston's "Iuuenis" both defend the traditional rights of the common people to enjoy sports and recreation, Iuuenis does so with considerably more wit and persistence. Both Custom and Iuuenis experience an anagnorisis at the climax of the dialogue. The stiffer resistance performed by Iuuenis allows him a more strongly stated conversion. Minister advises him to "Put off the olde man, and put upon thee the new man. Cast off the woorkes of darkenes, and put upon thee the armour of light." Iuuenis does so, and responds, "Oh howe am I nowe altered from my former estate, oh what a suddaine change do I feele in my self, even in a moment?"⁵⁸¹ Minister, the "wise Phisition," then moves to administer a "pleasant potion" to follow the "first bitter drinkes." He recommends to Iuuenis: "Give thy selfe wholly to the reading and hearing of the worde of God." Iuuenis should continue to be "feruent in prayer."⁵⁸² Given their dialogue form, their offering of scripture in authority for their assertions, and their asserting of the curative power of consumption and

⁵⁸⁰ Christopher Fetherston, *A Dialogue agaynst light, lewde, and lascivious dauncing: wherein are refuted all those reasons, which the common people use to bring in defence thereof*, (London: Thomas Dawson, 1582), dated on the front cover.

⁵⁸¹ Fetherston, *op. cit.*, E3^v.

⁵⁸² *Ibid.*, E3^r, E4^v, E6^r.

production of godly speech, Lovell's and Fetherston's pamphlets sustain the oppositions and organizing schemes noted earlier, particularly in Northbrooke's work.

Lovell's dedicatory epistle is addressed to Robert Crowley and Thomas Brasbridge.⁵⁸³ In 1581 Brasbridge was appointed vicar at Banbury, initiating its reputation as a center of puritan practice.⁵⁸⁴ Lovell's dialogue is remarkable only for the fact that it was composed in verse; the whole work is doggerel in ballad form. In his opening epistle Lovell justifies in humoral terms his choice to write in verse:

I addressed my self to comprehend this argument in veerses (though not pleasant to the eares of such as delight in vanitie: yet I hope (by Gods woorking) profitable to the harts of such as reioyce in Veritie that thereby some might taste how good and holsome this medicine is, and it may be that one kinde of meat diversly dished, may provoke divers mens appetites to taste of it...⁵⁸⁵

Lovell's argument is to be brought to market "diversly dished" as a kind of meat, intended to provoke consumption amongst "divers" men. Lovell conflates speech with writing, as he addresses the "eares" in his effort to "comprehend" his argument in such a way that it might be profitable to their hearts. While his dedicatory epistle complains briefly about the laxity of magistrates in permitting Sunday sports, the dialogue itself is more melodramatically framed as a struggle between sin and truth:

In this conflict and battel feerce,
in front shall Scripture be:
As Armor strongst that thou therewith,
dismaid, the rest maist flee.⁵⁸⁶

Armed with Scripture, the sword of Truth, Veritie seeks to banish the traditional sports associated with the medieval ceremonial calendar. Custom defends making merry "at

⁵⁸³ E.K. Chambers notes that Crowley and Brasbridge both authored minor antitheatrical pamphlets of their own, in 1578 and 1583 respectively. Chambers op. cit., Vol. 4, 184.

⁵⁸⁴ Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, s.v. Thomas Brasbridge. Available at <http://www.oxforddnb.com> Consulted January 11, 2008.

⁵⁸⁵ Lovell, op. cit., A7^v-8^r.

⁵⁸⁶ Ibid., B4^v.

whitsontide” as a traditional church fundraiser, “ells youth will nothing pay.” Veritie quickly dismisses that proposal, “For then we celebrate the tyme,/ when holy ghost was sent;”⁵⁸⁷ such lewd recreations are not appropriate at such a holy time. Lovell’s dialogue seeks to reorder the body’s interior spaces, in the “hart,” and to do so by a regimen of aural consumption that feeds the body and restructures the temporal environment. Lovell therefore supports and extends the same social ordering of sport as was observed above in puritan practices.

Fetherston’s dialogue is set in an ecclesiastical place, the parish in “Vbique (the broadest parishe as I suppose in Ailgna).” Fetherston’s choice of setting will later be appropriated by Philip Stubbes. Like Lovell, Fetherston conflates kinds of consumption:

Wee can goe to no Market in this part of Ailgna, but we shall have good store of foode, both for our soules, and bodies, so plentifulle is the woorde preached amongst us.⁵⁸⁸

Fetherston fills the marketplace with the sound of passionate exhortation: “O Ailgna repent.”⁵⁸⁹ Like Lovell’s, Fetherston’s argument is grounded in the effects of dancing on the humoral body, and thus on the mind:

All the Philosophers do graunt this in generall, the *temperatura animi sequitur temperaturam corporis*: that the temperature of the minde, doeth folow the temperature of the body. Whiche wordes doe serve very much to the overthrowing of your position. For if so bee it the bodie be made sluggish, and sleepe with dauncing, and altogether unapt to doe any thing...then must the minde needes be brought into the like case.

Fetherston also seeks to privilege Sabbath observance. He recommends Sunday pastimes such as prayer, meditation, and visiting the sick; by such means might Iuuenis “redeeme

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid., C1^v-2^f.

⁵⁸⁸ Fetherston op. cit., A1^v.

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid., A6^f.

the time, whiche they have lewdly let passe.”⁵⁹⁰ While neither Fetherston nor Lovell contributed any original argument, their reiteration of many of the privileged oppositions observed in Dry Drayton extended the redemptive hegemony of the puritan habitus.

The anonymous *Treatise of Daunses* endeavors to place dancing according to the authority of Scripture, not in the “rowe of thinges indifferent,”⁵⁹¹ but rather among those practices “which...should be forbidden”⁵⁹² It has been considered an antitheatrical tract because it places, in passing, “in the order or rowe of the first, playes and daunces...”⁵⁹³ The pamphlet constructs the sinfulness of dance and theatre as a product of bodily performance: “[dances are] impudent, shameles, and dissolute gestures, by which the lust of the flesh is...inflamed, as wel in men as in women.”⁵⁹⁴ These “dissolute” gestures communicate “pollution and filthines” to their beholders, by means of the eyes: “the sighte of all our senses is it which hath most force & strength to make us incline to uncleannes and filthines...”⁵⁹⁵ The writer cites church fathers such as Augustine and Chrysostom in authority, and closes by demanding once more whether dances can justly be placed among “indifferent things.”⁵⁹⁶

Taken individually, these three pamphlets would hardly merit attention; however, their appearance so close together in 1581, in the midst of the episcopal campaign to contain puritan prophetic speech, suggests their strategic significance in performing the ritual authority of prophetic speech to contain bodily practices. Patrick Collinson has remarked on the sudden appearance of so many of these treatises: “There is no disguising

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid., B4^v.

⁵⁹¹ Anonymous, *A Treatise of Daunses*, (1581; reprinted New York: Garland, 1974), A2^f.

⁵⁹² Ibid., A4^f.

⁵⁹³ Ibid., A4^v. This tract is re-published in the same Garland volume as Field’s *Godly Exhortation*.

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid., A5^f.

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid., A6^f.

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid., C2^v.

the anxiety of the preachers about the irrepressible sexuality of the young and about the central place of dancing in the economy of pairing and mating.”⁵⁹⁷ However, as Catherine Bell suggests, the process of ritualization misrecognizes what it is in fact doing. All three of these pamphlets assert the authority of prophetic speech to place the “lewd” gestures of the dancing body outside the ritualized environment, in a way that is quietly consistent with the ritual imperatives of the puritan body. For them, the performance of prophetic speech should contain and order the body’s affections, and restrain the gestures that communicate those affections.

Stephen Gosson: Plays Confuted in Five Actions

Gosson’s *Plays Confuted* is prefaced with a dedicatory epistle addressed to Sir Francis Walsingham. If Gosson had hoped for preferment from Sir Philip Sidney for dedicating to him *The School of Abuse*, the tactic backfired: as Tanya Pollard and others have suggested, Sidney “seems to have written his *Defense of Poetry* in 1581 at least partly as a rebuke to Gosson...”⁵⁹⁸ However, Gosson persists in *Plays Confuted* with the strategy of seeking a noble patron. That strategy is consistent with the central distinction Gosson performed in *Schoole of Abuse*, a distinction he sustains in some measure in *Plays Confuted in Five Actions*. Gosson offers fewer classical allusions in the later pamphlet, but they are certainly prominently evident; much of his epistle to Walsingham is written in the same tone. By contrast, the body of the pamphlet is framed in five “actions”, each of which appropriates one of the four Aristotelian logical causes.⁵⁹⁹ The fifth is an overview and summary of his argument. While the pamphlet’s five actions

⁵⁹⁷ Patrick Collinson, *Religion of the Protestants*, 225.

⁵⁹⁸ Pollard, *op. cit.*, 20.

⁵⁹⁹ William Ringer (*op. cit.*) offers extensive analysis of the logic and sources Gosson cites. Arthur Kinney suggests Gosson’s logic is both Aristotelian and Ramist (*op. cit.*, 58).

seem similar to traditional five act dramatic structure, the similarity is cursory.⁶⁰⁰ The pamphlet is not written as a dialogue, and cannot be said to create any kind of dramatic tension in the same way three of its predecessors attempt. Rather, the pamphlet offers philosophical rhetoric for its readers' consumption, marking them with the distinction of having sufficient education to digest Gosson's argument.

For Gosson, prophetic speech has the authority to shape both the bodies of its hearers and, by correspondence, the body of the nation. Early in the pamphlet's first "Action," Gosson asserts the power of preaching to renew an ordered interiority:

The worde of God is livelie, and mightie in operation: being livelie, if it doe not quicken and stirre us up to a neweness of life, it is a token that we have no life, but are alreadie stone deade...⁶⁰¹

While Gosson does not detail here the working of the "Worde" in the same way as it was offered in detail at Dry Drayton, the authority of prophetic speech to "quicken" refers to the action of the Spirit within the godly body, which here constructs the social distinction between elect and reprobate. Later in the first "Action" Gosson offers a more specific view of the performative power of prophetic speech to order interior place:

God thinking him selfe not sufficiently honoured, except the outwarde conversation of our life doe give a testimony to the worlde of the inward holinesse of the minde, chargeth us severly to avoide every thing that hindereth the outwarde profession of Christianitie.⁶⁰²

Speech, performance, and religious allegiance, conflated in the word "conversation," are here constructed as "testimony" of the inward state of the "minde." The authority of that conversation is, first, its performative efficacy in producing the distinction between

⁶⁰⁰ Jean Howard finds Gosson's choice of form ironic. See her *The Stage and Social Struggle in Early Modern England*, (London: Routledge, 1995), 35-40.

⁶⁰¹ Stephen Gosson, *Playes Confuted in five Actions*, (London: Thomas Gosson, 1582; reprinted New York: Johnson Reprint, 1972), B2^v.

⁶⁰² *Ibid.*, B8^r.

“holinesse” and corruption of speech in the “profession” of faith. That authority must then shape consumption:

Yf we be carefull that no pollution of idoles enter by the mouth into our bodies, how dilligent, how circumspect, how wary ought we to be, that no corruption of idols, enter by the passage of our eyes and eares into the soul?⁶⁰³

A regimen of consumption constructs the boundaries of the antitheatrical body, containing the godly soul as the privileged locus of an ordered interiority, threatened with “pollution” by means of mouth, eyes, and ears.

Just as the consumption and performance of godly speech constructs the godly body, Gosson suggests that prophetic performative speech has the authority to shape the bodily order of the nation. His third action opens with a defense of the liberty of speech:

Such ought to be the liberty of speach in every well governed commonweale, that neither vertue might lacke an open friende, nor vice an enemy, and happy no doubt were wee in England; if as vertue is never commended in cloudes, so vice might bee touchte in the open Sunshine.⁶⁰⁴

In England, a “well governed commonweale,” the distinction between virtue and vice is plainly visible, “in the open Sunshine.” Gosson proposes that “I will speake somewhat farther against Playes,” a perlocutionary act with the intended ordering result that his “countrymen” will “open their eares” and “shake out the dust that lies within...”⁶⁰⁵

While Gosson claims the liberty to speak publicly, he constructs his speech as an orderly aspect of the well-governed state, rather than as a resistant force.

Gosson derives the authority of prophetic speech from officially authorized illocutionary performative speech acts: the ritual promises that attend baptism and communion. The authority of the ritual promise is invoked to privilege the necessary

⁶⁰³ Ibid., B8^v.

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid., E2^v.

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid., E3^f.

constraint of the senses. Gosson states that “the sweete numbers of Poetrie flowing in verse, do wonderfully tickle the hearers eares.” Moving from the “sweetnes of wordes”⁶⁰⁶ to a discussion of the seduction of the eye, Gosson associates the bodily place of the senses with the civic place of their undoing:

For the eye beside the beautie of the houses, and the Stages, hee sendeth in Gearish apparel masks, vaulting, tumbling, dauncing of gigges, galiardes, mources, hobbi-horses; showing of judgeling castes, nothing forgot, that might serve to set out the matter with pompe, or ravish the beholders with varietie of pleasure.

Unrestrained delight of the eye is produced by the potentially endless list, “nothing forgot,” of sights that “ravish.” The consumption of theatrical performance challenges the authority of prophetic speech to shape the body and the temporal environment; “to spend our time so is to be carnally minded.” Gosson moves to reconstruct that bodily and social boundary, suggesting that to suffer such carnal mental disorder is “Death.”

Consumption of theatrical spectacle places the viewer outside of the communion ritual that performs participation in the body of Christ: “howe then can wee looke to be Partakers of the benefittes of Christ, which runne a contrary race to him?” For Gosson, faith itself is circumscribed by the illocutionary prophetic performative: “Where no promise is, there can be no fayth...”⁶⁰⁷ In a ringing expostulation, Gosson invokes the passion of prophetic speech:

Paul flatly pronounceth the delights of the flesh to be enmitie against God...O horrible ingratitude; we followe the pompe and vanitie of the wicked worlde, which we renounced in Baptisme, O damnable apostacy.⁶⁰⁸

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid., D8^v.

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid., E1^f.

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid., E1^v.

For Gosson, the consumption of the vain sights and sounds of the theatre corrupt the eyes and ears by delighting the “flesh”, and thereby performatively places the consumer’s body outside the edifice of the body of Christ.

In the pamphlet’s fifth action Gosson further develops his construction of the infectiousness of sensual delight as an invasive humoral force that produces a shaming public disclosure of the affections:

The diuel is not ignorant how mightily these outward spectacles effeminate, and soften the hearts of men, vice is learned with beholding, sense is tickled, desire pricked, and those impressions of mind are secretly conveyed over to the gazers, which the plaiers do counterfeit on the stage.⁶⁰⁹

The “manlie constancie” of mind Gail Kern Paster describes⁶¹⁰ is here rendered “effeminate” by the tickling of the senses. As Margaret Jane Kidnie has pointed out, the word “effeminate” had a complex meaning in early modern England, and could have implied not weakness or passivity, but rather, an excess of concupiscent desire.⁶¹¹ The pollution of the ordered body with transgressive “impressions of the mind” is all the more dangerous because it happens “secretly,” as the result of a “counterfeit” performance. The “spectacles” of the stage, Gosson suggests, are “mightily” effective in teaching “vice.” What is communicated to the beholder is precisely that disordered interior mixture of impressions and affections within the “counterfeit” body of the “plaiers,” which is “conveyed over to the gazers,” producing in them disorderly hearts and minds. Gosson narrates the process step by step:

At this the beholders beganne to shoute, when Bacchus rose up, tenderly lifting Ariadne from her seate, no small store of curtesie passing betwene them, the beholders rose up, every man stoode on tippe toe, and feemed to hauer over the payre, when they sware, the company sware, when they departed to bedde; the

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid., G4^r.

⁶¹⁰ Paster, *Humoring the Body*, 2-6.

⁶¹¹ Margaret Jane Kidnie, op. cit., 30.

company presently was set on fire, they that were married posted home to their wives; they that were single, vowed very solemnly, to be wedded.⁶¹²

This narrative traces the process of the stage's polluting infectiousness. First the "beholders" are led to disclose their unruly affections, beginning to "shoute." Next their bodies are moved, puppet-like, by the bodies of the players, standing as the players stand. Then, the audience's speech exactly repeats the players' speech, uttering oaths. Finally, as the players leave the stage presumably to consummate the action of the play, the "company presently was set of fire." In the burning disclosure of transgressive lust, public affection penetrates and pollutes private place as the beholders "posted home;" those without such a home utter oaths quickly to acquire one. Constructing once again the privileged oppositions between public and contained place and between acceptable and unacceptable performance, Gosson associates the bodily disclosure of sensual invasion with civic place; theatres are "the very markets of bawdry, where choice without shame hath bene as free, as it is for your money in the royall exchaung..."⁶¹³

The privileging of the educated and noble classes appears even more overtly in *Plays Confuted* than it did in *The School of Abuse*, as here it is not wrapped in the light tone of euphuism:

I trust they will not have God which is the Author of all wisdome, al learning, all artes, to be ruder in setting down to his people the precepts of life, then Philosophers are to give to their scholers the precepts of arte.⁶¹⁴

In this statement Gosson enrols God as the highest of the "Philosophers," as the "Author of all wisdome." He defends the superior status and authority of scriptural precepts against the implication that they might be "rude" or common; rather, they deserve a place

⁶¹² Gosson, *Plays Confuted*, G5^r.

⁶¹³ *Ibid.*, G5^v.

⁶¹⁴ *Ibid.*, E4^v.

above others' "arte." Gosson's class distinctions specifically privilege the noble classes on questions of attire and social standing, in a fashion consistent with his strategy of seeking noble patronage. That privilege is not only articulated in the language of classical allusion, but is also sustained in Gosson's appropriation of a philosophical rhetorical style.⁶¹⁵ Gosson assumes humoral physiology as an aspect of his logic. "A common weale is likened to the body, whose heade is the prince, in the bodie: if any part be idle, by participation the damage redoundeth to the whole..."⁶¹⁶ In the pneumatic body, the performance of participation flows in both directions; as Dale Martin noted in Paul's letter to the Corinthians, for a Christian to have sexual contact with a prostitute has the reciprocal effect of polluting Christ himself.⁶¹⁷ Gosson's discussion focuses at this point on the profession of playing as a calling, but theatrical practices of costuming are stiffly attacked because of their similarly reciprocal implications for the national order of rank, class, and gender:

If we grudge at the wisdome of our maker, and disdain the callinge he hath placed us in, aspyring somewhat higher then we shoulde, as in the body; when the feete woulde bee armes...this confusion of order weakens the head: So in a commonwele, if privat men be suffered to forsake their calling because they desire to walke gentlemen like in sattine and velvet, with a buckler at their heeles, proportion is so broken, unitie dissolved, harmony confounded, and the whole body must be dismembred and the prince or the heade can not chuse but sicken.⁶¹⁸

Gosson's view of godly social order appropriates the authority of godly speech in the assertion of the social power of the "calling". He reinforces class distinctions on the basis of the calling, in a way that seems markedly different from the social ordering performed by puritans between the elect and the reprobate. As Collinson suggests

⁶¹⁵ See Ringler, *op. cit.*, for a close reading of Gosson's use of Aristotle.

⁶¹⁶ Gosson, *Plays Confuted*, G6^v.

⁶¹⁷ See Introduction above, 57.

⁶¹⁸ Gosson, *Plays Confuted*, G6^v.

regarding prophetic speech at prophesyings, and Tyacke regarding puritan practices of naming, puritan practices often constructed social distinctions that crossed class lines. In Gosson's more rhetorically sophisticated argument, the disordered correspondence between social rank produced by the "calling" and public performance produced by theatrical costuming practices threatens to "dismember" the very body of the nation, and thereby endanger the health of its prince.

Similarly, Gosson reinforces distinctions of gender on the basis of social categories:

The Law of God very straightly forbids men to put on womens garments, garments are set downe for signes distincte between sexe and sexe, to take unto us those garments that are manifest signes of another sexe, is to falsifie, forge, and adulterate, contrarie to the expresse rule of the worde of God.⁶¹⁹

This passage privileges distinctions between "sexe and sexe," and challenges, on the basis of the authority of prophetic speech, the common theatrical practice of dressing boys as women. Gosson's argument here reiterates his argument noted above about the breaking of social "proportion;" he performs a distinction that focuses on kinds of acceptable and unacceptable performance, on the basis of their ritual implications. To "take unto us those garments" that transgress the dominant social categories of rank and gender is unacceptable. Gosson appropriates the force of Aristotelian logic to produce a "necessary" privileging of both class and gender boundaries:

The profe is evident, the consequent is necessarie, that in Stage Playes for a boy to put one the attire, the gesture, the passions of a woman; for a meane person to take upon him the title of a Prince with counterfeit porte, and traine, is by outwarde signes to shewe them selves otherwise then they are, and so with in the compasse of a lye...⁶²⁰

⁶¹⁹ Ibid., E3^v.

⁶²⁰ Ibid., E5^f.

Gosson here reiterates the authority of prophetic speech to perform social distinctions, in a way that is consistent with his assertion of the rights and authority of prophetic performative speech more generally. For actors to dress like women is just as dangerous as it is for them to dress like gentlemen or princes; the health of the social body will thereby be unacceptably disordered.

The most powerfully Ramist argument Gosson constructs concerns the proper ordering of interiority. Gosson is consistently concerned with the proper place of the mind and the affections, and seeks to subject interior order to the performative authority of prophetic speech. The pamphlet's first "Action" directly compares bodily and civic order, applying to them a logic of place:

Because that as in the Church singing and praying the Lorde together as hee him selfe hath instructed us in his worde, is a signe by whiche the true God is assured that we sacrifice our hearts unto him with the Calves of our lippes: So the Divell perceiving us to advance the offrings or sacrifices of the Gentiles, after the same manner of houses, or apparell, of Stages, of Plaies, that he instructed the Gentiles by his Oracles, hath great cause to be merrie, and to hold himself honored thereby.⁶²¹

In the "Church," the authority of the "Lorde" is constructed in the performance of "singing and praying." That performance properly orders the bodily places of hearts and "lippes." By direct contrast, the "houses" of the theatre construct the power of the "Divell" in the unacceptable ritual "sacrifices of the Gentiles." In Gosson's fourth "Action" the correspondence between bodily and civic place focuses more clearly on the interior order:

He that travelleth to advance the worst part of the minde, is like unto him, that in governement of Cities, gives all the authoritie to the worste men, which being well weighed, is to betraye the Cities, and the best men, into the handes of the wicked. But the Poetes that write playes, and they that present them upon the Stage, studie to make our affections overflow, whereby they draw the bridle from

⁶²¹ Ibid., C2^v.

that part of the mind, that should ever be curbed, from runninge on head; which is manifest treason to our soules, and delivereth them captive to the devil.⁶²²

This passage constructs ungoverned affection as humoral excess, an interior “overflow.” Gosson once more uses the figure of the bridle, an ordering action of the interior space first found in the antitheatrical pamphlets in Northbrooke, and reiterated in *The Schoole of Abuse* and Munday’s *Second and Third Blast of Retrait*. That part of the mind that is subject to the affections must be “curbed” or it will run headlong into “treason,” a capital crime. Those who “studie to make our affections overflow” are therefore the “worste men,” whose products disorder both interior and civic places.

Gosson further develops his humoral argument in the same “Action,” describing the action of delight and the ungoverned affections upon the body. He grants that “sorowe and delight are contrarie,” and suggests that contrariety is often practiced by “Phisitions” who prescribe “Rheubart,” which is “hote” (*sic*), to cool a fever. Similarly, “carnall delight” has the effect of hindering “the use of reason three sundry wayes...” First, it “withdraweth the minde from better studies...”. Second, by the principle of contrariety, it offers “good counsel” in order “to lie well;” and third, it “is a blocke in the way of reason” because it “breedeth a hunger, & thirst after pleasure.”⁶²³ For Gosson, the properly ordered mind and the authority of reason are consistent with godliness; Gosson privileges the life of the mind more overtly than was the case in Dry Drayton, where self-knowledge had a more experiential frame of reference produced by the disposition of “watching,” but Gosson and REM524 both require containment of the affections:

Our life is not his, excepte wee crucifie the flesh, with the affections and concupiscences of the same, wee crucifie not the affections or our flesh, when we

⁶²² Ibid., F1^{r-v}.

⁶²³ Ibid., F4^v-6^f.

resorte unto playes to stirre them upp, therefore running to playes wee live to our selves, and not to Christe, when we live to our selves, it is no life.⁶²⁴

To participate in the body of Christ and perform the authority of communion promises, Gosson suggests, the godly must crucify the flesh; and as noted above, “flesh” is as much a part of the fallen ritual condition of the mind as it is the material substance of the body. In closing this action Gosson constructs the life of the Christian as a journey:

We are placed as Pilgrimes in the flesh by which as by a jorney we must come to our owne home, therefor passing by the earth, and by the flesh it is our duety (as travelers) to be carefull to use the earth, and the flesh, and the blessings of both, so that they may further, not hinder the course we take in hande.⁶²⁵

Gosson’s marginal note for this passage cites I Corinthians 7. Bridling the flesh by performing, and thereby disclosing, the authority of the prophetic performative speech first uttered in their ritual promises, obedient Christians arrive at journey’s end at the proper place: their “owne home.”

Gosson’s *Plays Confuted* is more consistent with the practices of the puritan body than was his *School of Abuse*. Gosson here more actively appropriates the authority of prophetic performative speech to properly order the body in specifically humoral terms, and figures interiority as a proper order of the mind and the affections. However, the model Gosson offers for the proper order of the antitheatrical body remains significantly determined by his effort to defend the dominant social order, particularly on questions of apparel. Far from resisting the authority of sovereign performative speech, Gosson takes it up and reiterates it in his performance of the authority of classical learning and social rank.

⁶²⁴ Ibid., F8^r.

⁶²⁵ Ibid., G1^v.

John Field: A Godly Exhortation

John Field's short pamphlet *A Godly Exhortation* is the text of a sermon preached on January 17, 1583.⁶²⁶ Field's dedicatory epistle is addressed to "the Lorde Maior of the Citie of London," and is offered on the occasion of "this late and fearefull example of Gods iudgement," the collapse of the bear-baiting pit at Paris Garden. Field thus places his treatise in the context of a view of providential history, in which events bear the performative stamp of God's speech:

God hath spoken to us many wais, his frowning countenance hath appeared by this long & lingering visitation, both here and elsewhere by this unseasonable wether, and by this present iudgement, that is yet so green and fresh in memorie.⁶²⁷

Field's exhortation is unusual in the antitheatrical literature, in that it opens with a prayer that has been reproduced in the printed version; Thomas White's opens with a terse "In the Name of God, Amen,"⁶²⁸ but Field prays at more length for "open hearts" that the hearers may "feare" God's judgments and "profit" from them. Field's prefatory prayer is therefore consistent with practices observed at Dry Drayton in the same period; he, too, prepares himself to produce, and his hearers to consume, prophetic speech by creating a liminal frame around that speech.

The first third of Field's exhortation is dominated by his providential construction of England as the privileged site of God's blessings. For Field, England is "this little lande as a garden of the Lord...decked and garnished with sundry moste gracious and

⁶²⁶ John Field, *A Godly Exhortation, by occasion of the late iudgement of God, shewed at Parris-garden, the thirteenth day of Ianuarie: where were assembled be estimation above a thousand persons, whereof some were slaine; & of that number, at the least, as is crediblie reported, the thirde person maimed and hurt*, (London: Robert Waldegrave, 1583), C5^v.

⁶²⁷ *Ibid.*, A3^r.

⁶²⁸ White op. cit., A2^r.

excellent giftes.”⁶²⁹ Field develops his providential view of the nation, describing it as “a pleasant and good place,” “a vineyard” which God has “hedged...about” and protected with a “tower of defense,” within which there is “a wine presse” and plentiful “fruite.”⁶³⁰

Amongst the providential gifts of God is prophetic speech, which feeds the soul:

He hath given unto us his worde, which is an incomparable jewel. [...] Is it not a lanterne unto our feete, without which, we must straye? And is it not the foode of the soule, without which wee must starve: and yet who doth either seeke unto it, or feele the sweet comfort of it?⁶³¹

Consumption of prophetic speech orders the gaze, as a “lanterne” that permits proper sight; consumption of it feeds the soul, and produces comforting affections; and yet so few seek it out. Field issues a prophetic call to repentance: “O England, repent...”⁶³²

Having established the power of prophetic speech, Field constructs the familiar privileged ritual space and time of the Sabbath; but he constructs an opposition between proper godly practices and those he observes in England. Field suggests that the full authority of prophetic performative speech, here rendered as “preparation,” is not properly taken up into ritual practices, leading to an ineffectual ordering of interiority:

For if we come, we come with prophane minds, devided from God, for custome and fashions sake; without any preparation for so spirituall a service: there hearing we heare not, to make any conscience to learne our duties to grow in knowledge, & carefully to practise holy doctrines; we come as they did in the Prophetes times, with lame sacrifices, having served firste our selves...

To hear the Word with a “devided” mind is to hinder the inner labor of edification: “we” cannot “make any conscience”, and so the growth “in knowledge” does not occur. As a result, “the word also passeth amongst as a dreame.”⁶³³

⁶²⁹ Field op. cit., A4^r.

⁶³⁰ Ibid., A7^v.

⁶³¹ Ibid., B1^v.

⁶³² Ibid., B2^v.

⁶³³ Ibid., B3^v.

In the context of that improper receiving of the prophetic word as “onely a ceremonial and outward service,” Field constructs an opposition of places and performance practices in a similar style to that observed in Gosson above:

There is gadding to al kind of gaming, and there is no Taverne or Alehouse, if the drink be strong, that lacketh any company: there is no Dicing house, Bowling alley, Cock pit, or Theater, that can be found empty. Those flagges of defiance against God, and Trumpets that are blown to gather together such company, wil sooner prevail to fil those places, then the preaching of the holy word of God, the Catechizing and instructing of Children and Servaunts, can be to fill Churches.⁶³⁴

The civic places of tavern, alehouse, bowling alley, and theatre are here opposed to the churches. Within those places, the sounds of the trumpet are opposed to privileged kinds of prophetic speech: preaching, catechizing, and instructing. Field moves quickly past this point, citing from the Old Testament prophets to reassert the authority of Scripture to shape Sabbath observance.

Having described in some detail the providential judgment of God on the city as expressed in the collapse of the Paris Garden bear-baiting pit, Field closes with a call to “Ministers, my faithfull brethren” to reassert the authority of prophetic speech to shape civic space and practices “in teaching exhorting, and Doctrine, in Catechizing and training up their people & youth, that they may knowe to detest such corruptions...”.⁶³⁵ Field’s specific discussion of the theatre is thus limited to a passing reference or two; his pamphlet reiterates some of the practices of prayer and preparation for worship observed at Dry Drayton, and the central social action it performs is the privileging of the authority of prophetic speech, given providential force in the collapse of Paris Garden. Field’s brief pamphlet therefore presents a view of the antitheatrical body that is entirely consistent with the model of the puritan body developed above.

⁶³⁴ Ibid., B4^{r-v}.

⁶³⁵ Ibid., C3^v.

Phillip Stubbes: The Anatomie of Abuses

Phillip Stubbes' treatise *The Anatomie of Abuses* was entered into the Register in March, 1583, a little more than a month after Field's *Exhortation*.⁶³⁶ In his dedicatory epistle, Stubbes offers the work to Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, who only two years later was imprisoned as a defiant Catholic.⁶³⁷ Given Stubbes' equation of "Papists" with "Sorbonists...Atheists...and Sathanists," "placing all their religion in hethen garments, & Romish raggs,"⁶³⁸ Stubbes does not seem to have been very astute in his strategy of appealing for noble patronage. However, out of respect for sovereign and noble power, Stubbes adopts a carefully qualified position on some of the key questions his treatise addresses. His "Preface to the Reader" stipulates that there are acceptable kinds of "playes, tragedies, & enterluds," "allowable godly use" of dancing, and acceptably "sumptuous, or gorgeous attire".⁶³⁹ He sets out to attack only the abuse of cultural practices: "I wold not be understood, as though my speaches extended, to any, either noble, honorable or worshipfull...".⁶⁴⁰ Alexandra Walsham suggests Stubbes is most centrally concerned with "preserving traditional distinctions of rank and upholding the established social order."⁶⁴¹ Distinctions of rank are common in Stubbes' discussion of "Pride of Apparell": "By wearing Apparell more gorgeous, sumptuous & precious than

⁶³⁶ Pollard and Redgrave, op. cit., s.v. Stubbes, Philip, p. 370.

⁶³⁷ Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, s. v. Philip Howard, 13th Earl of Arundel. Available at <http://www.oxforddnb.com> Accessed January 28, 2008. Howard eventually died in the Tower, and in 1970 was officially recognized by the Vatican as a Catholic martyr.

⁶³⁸ Phillip Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses*, (London: Richard Jones, 1583; reprinted New York: Garland, 1973), C5^v.

⁶³⁹ Ibid., A6^r, A6^v, A7^v.

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid., A7^{r-v}.

⁶⁴¹ Walsham op. cit., 193.

our state, callyng or condition of lyfe requireth...” we are “puffed up.”⁶⁴² Stubbes similarly reinforces traditional gender distinctions:

But now through our fond toyes and nice inventions, we have brought our selves into suche pusillanimitie, and effeminat condition, as we may seeme rather nice dames, and yonge gyrles, than puissante agents, or manlie men...⁶⁴³

Stubbes pamphlet is therefore not an expression of political resistance, but using the same method as was chosen by Northbrooke, Lovell, and Fetherston, it offers in dialogue form a carefully limited assertion of the authority of godly speech to order and contain the body’s interior spaces, regulate its disclosing cultural practices, and order its spatial and temporal environment.

In the dedicatory epistle, Stubbes immediately places his argument in the context of a privileged godly interior order of the body. He calls mankind a “MICROCOSMOS, a litle world in himself.”⁶⁴⁴ In a fashion consistent with the work’s title, Stubbes anatomizes the interior bodily order as a catalog of human excellences, placing the ability to “forsee,” to “remember,” and to “iudge” within the body, which bears within it the “ymage of God.”⁶⁴⁵ Stubbes suggests that God made mankind to “some end and purpose,” which he suggests is the calling to a process of construction, the “edification of his People, and the building up of his Church.” Stubbes announces the hope that his book “shall somewhat conduce to the building of this spirituall howse of the Lord.”

Stubbes specifically sustains the work of edification at later points in the pamphlet. For him, the body is an edifice threatened with destruction: “...knowe you not, that your Bodyes are the temples of the holy ghost, which dwelleth within you? And who

⁶⁴² Stubbes op. cit., B7^r.

⁶⁴³ Ibid., E1^v-2^r.

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid., A2^r. Capitals in original.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid., A2^{r-v}.

so destroyeth the Temple of God, him shall God destroy.”⁶⁴⁶ In his discussion of church ales, Stubbes itemizes specific pollutions that threaten the body:

... do they think that the Lord will have his howse build with drunkenesse, gluttony and such like abhominations? Must we build this house of lyme and stone, with the desolation, and utter overthrow of his spirituall howse, clenched and washed in the precieuse blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ?

The dirtying of the clean house of the body is accomplished by unacceptable practices of consumption that threaten the ordering work, the edification, performed by the consumption of the blood of Christ, a consumption that only can occur in the context of the sacrament of the communion. The performative authority of ritual promises is invoked here in Stubbes’ pamphlet, to assert the power of prophetic speech to order the antitheatrical body, and with it, the civic places it occupies.

The humoral basis of bodily pollution is a repeated trope in Stubbes’ pamphlet. His use of humoral terminology is strikingly clear in his discussion of gluttony and drunkenness:

I cannot perswade my self otherwise but that our nicenes and curiousnes in dyet, hath altered our nature, distempered our bodies, and made us more subject to millions of discrasies and diseases, then ever weare our forefathers subject unto, and consequently of shorter life then they.⁶⁴⁷

Here immoderate consumption leads directly to a body imbalanced in temperature, and thus subject to a host of sicknesses. Stubbes asks, “Then what wiseman is he that wil receive all these enemies into the castle of his body at one time?” Consumption of food that is “dainty” produces breath that stinks, and makes “their stomack belch fourth filthy humors, and their memory decay.” Consumption of words is potentially just as harmful as consumption of food:

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid., H2^r.

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid., J1^r.

For as corrupt meates doo annoy the stomach, and infect the body, so the reading of wicked and ungodly Bookes (which are to the minde, as meat is to the body) infect the soule, & corrupt the minde, hailing it to distruction...⁶⁴⁸

For Stubbes, the mind can be kept in its proper humoral place by means of careful attention to the nature of the “Bookes” consumed. “Wicked and ungodly” books produce the same “discrasies” as “corrupt meates,” infecting and disordering the soul, the mind, and the memory, and even shortening the lifespan.

The humoral control of consumption shapes the brief passage of Stubbes’ pamphlet that actually discusses the theatre. Having summarized Sabbath observance as “the true obedience of the inward man,” Stubbes reiterates his distinction between “Stage-plays” which are “either of divyne, or prophane matter...”⁶⁴⁹ If the plays’ arguments are drawn from scripture, they are sacrilegious; Stubbes punishes the transgressive mixing of what should remain distinct: “For...it is not lawfull, to mixt scurrilitie with divinitie, nor divinitie with scurrilitie.”⁶⁵⁰ There are therefore few examples of acceptable drama, “So that whither they be the one or the other, they are quite contrarie to the Word of grace, and sucked out of the Devills teates.”⁶⁵¹ Theatre is compared to a kind of milk, offered for consumption. Stubbes reiterates Northbrooke’s specific references to the “Theaters and curtens,” noting how the “the flocking and running” of the people to see “Playes and Enterludes” disorders the city with “bawdie speaches.” Those speeches are highly humorally infectious:

Than these goodly pageants being done, every mate sorts to his mate, every one bringes another homeward of their way verye freendly, and in their secret conclaves (covertly) they play the Sodomits, or worse.⁶⁵²

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid., P7^f.

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid., L4^v-5^f.

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid., L6^f.

⁶⁵¹ Ibid., L6^f.

⁶⁵² Ibid., L8^{f-v}.

This passage echoes, and exaggerates, the narrative of polluting infectiousness noted above in Gosson's *Plays Confuted*. Stubbes closes the section on theatre by warning the reader to "beware, least wee communicat with other mens sinnes,"⁶⁵³ alluding to the "corrupt conversation" of communication in the ritual of the Lord's Supper, and placing theatrical communication outside the boundaries of godly practices.

The containment of the body in an edifice that can only be constructed by means of performance is established early in the main body of the pamphlet's dialogic action. The elder character, Philoponus,⁶⁵⁴ establishes his worldly wisdom, as he has gone to great expense "to see the goodly situation of Citties, Townes, and Countryes, with their prospects, and commodities."⁶⁵⁵ Many sights, acquired while journeying, construct Philoponus' authority. Spudeus⁶⁵⁶ announces himself as "a countrey man, rude and unlearned..."⁶⁵⁷; the disparity in their acquisition of knowledge ordered by sight powers the dialogue's dramaturgy. The exposition established, Philoponus supplies this answer to Spudeus' request for the source of "all evils in man":

All wickenes, mischiefe, and sinne...springeth of our auncient ennemie the Devill, the inveterate corruption of our nature, and the intestine malice of our owne hearts, as from the originals of all uncleannes, & impuritie whatsoever. But we are now newe creatures, and adoptive children, created in Christ Jesus to doe good woorkes, which God hath prepared for us to walke in. Wherefore wee ought to have no fellowship with the workes of darknesse, but to put on the armour of light Christ Jesus, to walke in newness of life and to worke our salvation in feare and trembling...⁶⁵⁸

⁶⁵³ Ibid., M1^r.

⁶⁵⁴ Philoponus literally means "lover of toil." John Philoponus was a sixth century Christian theologian also known as "John the Grammarian." *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, s.v. Philoponus. Available at <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/philoponus> Accessed January 29, 2008.

⁶⁵⁵ Stubbes op. cit., B1^v.

⁶⁵⁶ Spudeus originally meant "zealous good man," and later came to mean "scholar." *The Literary Encyclopedia*, s.v. Anatomie of Abuses. Available at <http://www.litencyc.com>. Accessed January 29, 2008.

⁶⁵⁷ Stubbes op. cit., B2^v.

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid., B3^{r-v}.

This passage establishes Stubbes' view of the double consciousness of these "adoptive children," placing godliness once more in the context of social performance. On the one hand, none can escape the "intestine malice of our owne hearts." The fallen "impuritie" of the flesh is an aspect of the "corruption of our nature," from which the pamphlet seeks to alienate the reader. On the other hand, by *putting on* "the armour of light" his readers, hailed as "newe creatures," can experience "newness of life." The appropriately godly affections of "feare and trembling" are produced by that performance of godly dispositions. Stubbes then compares the kingdom to a human body, in terms that are by now familiar: even the "reprobat" are "members of the same body," and if they are hurt by sin, "doth not the hart, and everie member of thy body, feele the anguish...?"⁶⁵⁹

Stubbes proposes that his treatise offers help to sinners:

Wherefore I will assay to doe them good (if I can) in discovering their abuses, and laying open their inormities, that they seeing the grevousnes of their maladies, & daunger of theyr diseases, by in time seeke to the true Phisition, & experte Chirurgion of their soules Christ Jesus, of whome onlie commeth all healthe & grace

Stubbes appropriates the curative authority of a properly ordered kind of sight that is able to discover and "lay open" what had been hidden, reiterating Greenham's ability to "unrip" hearts. Godly sight is privileged over fleshly sight. Sin and sickness are conflated as polluting "inormities" which the sufferers need to see for themselves. "Seeing" their dangerous position produces action, when they "seeke" the "true Phisition." The ability to "worke our salvation" is constructed by the proper sight of the body. That proper sight is produced by the putting on of a social role, that of a wearer of the "armour of light." Although it has been suggested that Stubbes was not himself a

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid., B3^v-4^r.

puritan,⁶⁶⁰ his treatise sustains similar dispositions of bodily containment and privileged disclosure in prophetic speech as those observed above at Dry Drayton. The disposition of watching is rendered in Stubbes as the ordering power of godly sight:

These be their exceptions, these be their excuses, and these be their pretended allegations, wherby they blind the world, and conveigh themselves away invisibly in a cloud. But if the daunce thus in a net, no doubt they will be espied.⁶⁶¹

Godly sight here properly orders ritual practices; Stubbes is discussing the use of the money raised by Whitsuntide church ales to purchase such ritual objects as surplices, as the reference to dancing in a net makes clear.

Alexandra Walsham alludes to Stubbes' "immoderate zeal against the customs and pastimes of 'Merrie England'", describing his pamphlet as "a thinly disguised diatribe..."⁶⁶² Stubbes' zealous privileging of godly containment in opposition to the potentially endless list of "abuses" and "inormities" is certainly immoderate. However, it is a sustained performance, not only *against* those enormities, but also *of and for* the authority of prophetic performative speech to contain them. In the context of government action against such speech and for a policy of adiaphorism, Stubbes' *Anatomy* is the most comprehensive and zealous attack on "things indifferent" among the early antitheatrical pamphlets. It is an anatomy of the public body of the nation, "Ailgna," whose citizens are "bold, puissant...[and] of an excellent complexion."⁶⁶³ Within that body, pride is "the principall Abuse," "the verie efficient cause of all evils."⁶⁶⁴ Stubbes diagnoses pride as "tripartite," and notes its three aspects, all of which are places in the disordered body:

⁶⁶⁰ See Collinson, "Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism..." in Durston and Eales, op. cit., 34. Alexandra Walsham suggests Stubbes was "no presbyterian" (op. cit., 198). These comments, and the others cited in the Introduction above, demonstrate the challenges of applying such categories in this period.

⁶⁶¹ Stubbes op. cit., M5^r.

⁶⁶² Walsham op. cit., 177, 191.

⁶⁶³ Stubbes op. cit., B2^v.

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid., B5^{r-v}.

“the pryde of the hart, the pride (*sic*) of the mouth, & the pryde of apparell...” The latter is the most dangerous because, “remaining in sight,” it “induceth the whole man to wickednes and sinne.”⁶⁶⁵ The rest of Stubbes’ pamphlet performs a relentless categorizing action upon a host of popular cultural practices. Not simply apparel in general, but every kind of apparel – hats, ruffs, and bands, doublets, hose, and breeches, etc. *ad nauseam* – is examined at length and put in its proper place. Stubbes’ descriptions of apparel are “peculiare” and “particulare,”⁶⁶⁶ and include perfumes, scarves, and pierced ears. After nearly fifty pages of asserting godly social order in apparel, Stubbes closes with the punishments that attend “pride of the heart.”⁶⁶⁷ A selection of plagues and judgments await those who do not repent, most of them drawn from the Old Testament. Stubbes therefore massively privileges the authority of God’s providentially performative speech to order social practices and to punish transgressions of that social order.

Stubbes’ performance of godly ordering speech is not merely an attack on idolatry, though it is that as well; nor is it a psychotic outburst of moralism, though there are few apparent limits to the social terrain it surveys. He protests the upheaval of the social order produced by the enclosure of lands, the abuse of the law by “powling Lawiers,” and even the ravages of inflationary economic conditions;⁶⁶⁸ discussing covetousness, he suggests that limits upon it serve “to bridle the insatiable desires of covetous men.”⁶⁶⁹ His ordering gaze seems able to place almost any cultural practice. In that context, the fact that he so freely plagiarizes from the antitheatrical pamphlets that

⁶⁶⁵ Ibid., B6^r.

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid., D6^r, E6^v.

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid., G4^v.

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid., J8^r, K1^r, K2^r.

⁶⁶⁹ Ibid., K5^v.

preceded his appears as an effort to ensure the comprehensiveness of the ordering action his pamphlet performs. Arthur Freeman's "Preface" to the reprinted edition of Stubbes' pamphlet finds Stubbes' "dependence on prior testimony...rather amusing."⁶⁷⁰ Such scholarly condescension misses the fundamental action performed by the dramaturgy of Stubbes' dialogue: the comprehensive acquisition of godly knowledge of social practices in Ailgna, produced by the ordering authority of prophetic performative speech. As Margaret Jane Kidnie suggests:

The sixteenth century was a period of extreme social, economic, and religious change in England; seemingly everything was in flux, and a writer such as Stubbes provides striking evidence of the personal and social anxieties such a period of transition could occasion.⁶⁷¹

I suggest that Stubbes' work not only attests to the effects of social upheaval, but also provides a clear example of the godly strategies offered in the marketplace for ordering the disordered body of the nation. When the authorities seemed to some to be uttering disorder through their policy of adiaphorism, Stubbes constructed and performed the ordering authority of prophetic performative speech to leave nothing out of its place. The encyclopedic comprehensiveness of Stubbes' work, rather than any originality either of argument or style, seems to have contributed to its unusual success; with six editions printed between 1583 and 1595,⁶⁷² Stubbes' is by far the most commercially successful of the antitheatrical pamphlets.

⁶⁷⁰ Arthur Freeman, "Preface," in Stubbes op. cit., 5. Freeman notes the strong parallels between Stubbes discussion of the argument of tragedies, L7, and Gosson's discussion of the same topic in *Plays Confuted*, C5^{f-v}. Numerous other parallels have been noted by Margaret Jane Kidnie in her critical edition of Stubbes' pamphlet; Stubbes clearly was familiar with Northbrooke, Fetherston, Stockwood, Gosson, and even Munday's works. As Kidnie suggests, Stubbes' practice of what we might call plagiarism "was not exceptional" in the period.

⁶⁷¹ Kidnie op. cit., 22.

⁶⁷² Pollard and Redgrave, op. cit., 370.

That very success in the marketplace has worked against Stubbes in criticism of the antitheatrical pamphlets. Like Munday, Stubbes has been described as a “hack;”⁶⁷³ Alexandra Walsham has suggested his “natural habitat appears to have been Elizabethan Grub Street rather than the godly household and vicarage parlour.” As she points out, Nashe attacked Stubbes and his *Anatomy* for “pretending forsooth to anatomize abuses and stubbe up sin by the rootes.” Nashe accused Stubbes of “a coloured shew of zeale,” and “a glose of godliness;”⁶⁷⁴ the latter epithet gives Walsham the title of her paper. To be sure, the force of market demand for antitheatrical print had been well demonstrated by 1583. However, perhaps Grub Street and the puritan vicarage parlour are not as far apart as we might suppose; as noted above, Grub Street lay in the parish of St Giles without Cripplegate, a church with strong puritan associations. Agnew’s formulation of the “placeless market” and the “placeless church” join in Stubbes’ pamphlet to produce a complex utterance, an “anatomy” that in some measure etiolated Stubbes’ status as an authoritative godly producer of prophetic performative speech, and instead attributed it to market forces. In Stubbes’ pamphlet, the antitheatrical body consumes the dispositions of the placeless market, and attempts to subordinate them to the dictates of performative speech. However, as Kristen Poole points out,⁶⁷⁵ the eater is changed by what he eats; the ingestion of puritan dispositions by the middle classes produced enduring effects, but likewise, puritanism itself was changed by its consumption of market practices.

Conclusion

The ritualized antitheatrical body that emerges from the pamphlets surveyed above is a product of the edifying action of prophetic performative speech. Constructing

⁶⁷³ Lake, *Lewd Hat*, xxvii.

⁶⁷⁴ Walsham, op. cit., 184.

⁶⁷⁵ Poole op. cit., 70.

an ordered interiority of the godly body is consistently figured in the antitheatrical pamphlets as building up a “house.” The figure of the house is found in Northbrooke, White, Stockwood, Munday, Gosson’s *Plays Confuted*, and Stubbes. Many of the pamphlets develop the figure at some length, in particular appropriating architectural language to describe the senses of sight and hearing as open “doors” and “windows” to the vulnerable interior.

Godly, ordered sight produced in performance by the antitheatrical body permits the viewer to replace the vain, fleshly world with edifying *topoi*; rather than simply privileging reading over sight, as Jennifer Waldron has suggested,⁶⁷⁶ the evidence gathered above suggests that the antitheatrical pamphlets privilege the complete inner reformation of the body, including the senses of sight and hearing, as part of the performative action of “quickenings” the godly body in speech acts. In the context of the ritualizing humoral practices of consumption, digestion, retention, and disclosure, the word is not a “discursive medium that can bypass the weakness of the bodily senses.”⁶⁷⁷ Rather, the word is taken up into the body in performance, producing the ordering gaze and the ritual practices of reading, digestion in the mind and memory, and disclosure in preaching, teaching and conferring as children of God. The construction of Christianity as an abstract discourse is to some degree a consequence of the Reformation, as Keith Thomas points out: “Today we think of religion as a belief, rather than a practice, as definable in terms of creeds rather than in modes of behaviour.”⁶⁷⁸ However, the charges of idolatry and immorality offered for consumption in the antitheatrical pamphlets are not

⁶⁷⁶ Jennifer Waldron, “Gaping Upon Plays: Shakespeare, Gosson, and the Reformation of Vision,” *Critical Matrix* 12 (1-2), Spring 2001, 55.

⁶⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 56.

⁶⁷⁸ Thomas *op. cit.*, 76.

simply reiterations of a theological position; because they appropriate the performative authority of ritual promises, they are also social actions that construct the social status and authority of the persons making the charge. Consumption of the pamphlets offers to their consumers the opportunity to extend and literally reiterate that authority.

The circulation of authority observed above in puritan practices both at Dry Drayton and beyond is an inconsistent feature of the antitheatrical pamphlets. The liminal space produced by the performance of an opening prayer, most clearly evident in White's and Stockwood's sermons and Field's pamphlet, might be said to mark that space as producing the "communion of the Saints." All three address their hearers as "brethren." However, those same documents are monologues, and bear the authoritative stamp of the inspired Word delivered from the pulpit. By contrast, Northbrooke, Munday, and especially Gosson perform varying degrees of mastery of classical learning, and offer that learning for consumption as a strategy to performatively produce social distinctions of one kind or another, often privileging themselves as purveyors of knowledge associated with higher social standing.

The antitheatrical pamphlets also order the worldly environment, shaping time and place to privilege the redemptive hegemony they construct. Eight of the pamphlets surveyed above privilege strict Sabbath observance over attendance at the theatre on Sundays. Many offer suggestions for proper godly recreations on the Sabbath, and strongly oppose "idle" or "vain" pastimes. Similarly, the places in which the Word of God may be consumed are consistently privileged over what are constructed less edifying civic places: churches offer the ordering action of prophetic speech, and theatres the disordering action of unbridled affections that seduce the unschooled senses. This

process of ordering the city as a body permits the ordering of geographic and civic locations in the terminology of prophetic speech. White constructs an analogy between London and “Ninivie.” Gosson’s privileged oppositions of civic place are most strongly stated when questions of gender are at stake; he warns women to avoid “places of suspicion.” Munday constructs a clear spatial opposition by associating different places with opposing kinds of “conversation.” Munday, like Gosson, also associates unacceptable places with transgressive gender behaviors, finding no “lacke of harlots” in the “chappel of Satan.” Field and Stockwood in particular construct England as a providentially privileged nation, and therefore see God’s judgment upon the places of the stage, as evidenced for example in the collapse of Parris Garden, as a result of its social location among the properly ordered places of the city, the *loci* of edification and corruption.

Within the properly ordered antitheatrical body, the unruly affections are bridled and contained. The senses are schooled, and can construct properly ordered categories in the field of all that they consume; *saltem visi non dolo*. The antitheatrical body consumes prophetic performative speech, rather than vain sights, and utters that speech again continuously by repetition. It performs its own containment, and discloses its interior order. Three of the antitheatrical pamphlets surveyed above and both of the dialogues attacking “dauncing” construct the godly body as a figure in armor. Uttering the fire of prophetic speech, the antitheatrical body orders itself in performance of that speech, and so claims the authority to order all that it sees.

The antitheatrical pamphlets consistently perform the alienation of the pneumatic self from the flesh; eight of the eleven pamphlets surveyed above specifically attack the

fleshly world. To be alienated from the flesh was to experience the doubleness of pneumatic self and public persona, a crisis that only the quickening action of the Holy Spirit could remedy. As Robert Hornback suggests, the use of the Holy Spirit's "inspiration" as a justification of authority was a central puritan strategy:

However humorous, what was at stake in attacks on inspiration was nothing less than the basis for authority in interpretation—for what Bancroft called the "authoritie and liberty of judging"—and thus the very stability of authority itself.⁶⁷⁹

Hornback's penetrating discussion connects the puritan commitment to inspiration with the Ramist logic of dichotomies, noting the association of Ramus with the Puritan clown "Stupido" in *The Pilgrimage to Parnassus*. However, the connection between inspiration and humoral physiology, which Hornback does not discuss, adds an important dimension to the performative force of inspired speech acts. The embodied field of performance, W.B. Worthen suggests, is "governed by a metonymic rather than a hermeneutic logic."⁶⁸⁰ Given that performance was not only the topic but also, in significant ways, the means of consuming the antitheatrical pamphlets, the question of authority is central to the redemptive hegemony of the antitheatrical body.

As I have suggested above, puritan engagement with the market for cheap godly print gradually served to etiolate that ritual authority. It provided Munday with a ready means to conceal his Catholic allegiance, and it served as the rationale for attacks on Stubbes launched by his critics. Such criticisms amount to an antitheatrical attack: by drawing attention to the possibly constructed nature of Stubbes' pamphlet, Nashe suggested Stubbes was not the puritan he seemed to be. And thus the whirligig of time

⁶⁷⁹ Robert Hornback, "'Verie Devout Asses': The Stupid Puritan Clown," *Renaissance and Reformation* XXVIII, 3 (2004), 103.

⁶⁸⁰ W. B. Worthen, *Shakespeare and the Authority of Performance*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 3-6.

brings in his revenges. The role of market forces in compromising theatrical efficacy has now become grounds for charges of its cultural irrelevance: "...while theatre mostly has become a marginal commodity in the capitalist cultural market-place, performance has emerged as central to the production of the new world disorder."⁶⁸¹ For Baz Kershaw, theatre is no longer the culturally transgressive force for social change that it constructs itself as. In early modern London, competing forces resisted the coercive authority claimed by prophetic performative speech, offering in the theatres a secularizing construction of the performative to create a "community of imaginers" that featured "both participation and selection." Douglas Bruster and Robert Weimann locate that imagined community in a civic place:

The 'place' of the [experiential order of representation] was an imaginative one, 'partially and temporarily removed' from the social and political positions that audience members typically inhabited.⁶⁸²

The theatre therefore directly challenged the authority of prophetic performative speech to decide "social and political position," and with those social positions or *personae*, to properly order the body. Theatre and the puritan church took root beside each other on the margins of the city, and competed in the marketplace for the authority each needed. In the next chapter, I will place that competition in specific geographic places, and observe the patterns of production and consumption produced around those places.

⁶⁸¹ Baz Kershaw, *The Radical in Performance: Between Brecht and Baudrillard*, (London: Routledge, 1999), 5.

⁶⁸² Bruster and Weimann, *op. cit.*, 40-44.

Chapter 4: Consumption and Production of Antitheatricality

In the conclusion to Section One above, I noted the particular development of the “placeless church” in puritan practices of consumption and production of prophetic performative speech. Those practices, I suggested, served to construct the properly ordered puritan body as the site for constructing the authority of that kind of speech. This chapter is divided into three subsections, in which I will present evidence showing the struggle between the “placeless church” and Agnew’s “placeless market” to construct an authoritative paradigm for the body of the imagined community. The first section discusses the relative locations of prominent puritan pulpits, and their proximity to the sites of production and the traffic patterns associated with the emergent public theatres. The spaces in which they competed inevitably produced changes in the contents of their performances, as I will show. The second section places the antitheatrical pamphlets in London’s civic spaces, and suggests the impact that their production and marketing might have produced in civic space. Finally, the social status of performance will be examined, by placing it in the context of patterns of the consumption of antitheatrical print and speech.

The Consumption of Prophetic Performative Speech

Those who wished to consume the zealous speech that most clearly identifies puritan preaching are known to have traveled across London to do so. The practice of “gadding” to sermons, and government efforts to repress it, began early in the struggle between the puritans and the episcopate. Collinson reports two incidents in which a number of such persons were arrested for improperly assembling to hear puritan

preaching. The men who proposed to offer such speech for consumption served two years in prison for their crime:

In June of 1567 about a hundred of these godly Londoners were apprehended by the sheriff after hiring Plumbers' Hall, ostensibly for a wedding. In the following March six of the eight spokesmen for this group reappear in a list of seventy-six persons arrested on premises near the Savoy belonging to the goldsmith James Tynne. Their homes were in no less than forty-two separate streets and localities, as various as Aldgate, Southwark, St Martin's in the Fields, Holborn, Islington, and Smithfield. Two of their preachers, Nicholas Crane and William Bonham, were later employed in the Minories as lecturers after the release of these puritans from Bridewell in 1569.

Plumbers' Hall was located just west of the Three Cranes in the Vintry, a place whose puritan associations I will show. Steven Mullaney has suggested that the place of the stage in early modern London was on the geographic and social periphery of the city, a place associated with lepers and those socially stigmatized for their indulgence in practices of "incontinent pleasure, of license and extravagant liberty."⁶⁸³ For Mullaney, the stage achieved that social status in part at the hands of religious repression:

...long before the emergence of popular drama, the Liberties of London had served as a transitional zone between the city and the country, various powers and their limits, this life and the next—as a culturally maintained domain of ideological ambivalence and contradiction, where established authority reached and manifested, in spectacular form, the limits of its power to control or contain what exceeded it. Viewed from a religious perspective, the Liberties unfold as a place of sacred pollution, reserved for figures like the leper, who was made at once holy and hopelessly contaminated by his affliction.⁶⁸⁴

The resistant and transgressive status accorded to the production of theatrical performance accrued to it, in part, because the authorities – the London city council in particular – did it the favor of officially identifying it *as* transgressive. Mullaney notes the double edge of the social status such an identification produced: the stage was socially constructed as both diseased and sacred, he suggests.

⁶⁸³ Mullaney *op. cit.*, 40-1.

⁶⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, viii-ix.

However, the “religious perspective” Mullaney alludes to was far from being politically or socially monolithic. While the antitheatrical pamphlets were not banned or censored, the kind of speech they offered for consumption was, as I have shown above, itself subject to official repression and constraint when uttered in the form of prophesying, lectures, and extra-ecclesial “assemblies.” Efforts to enforce conformity of preaching in London can be traced back at least as far as the Vestiarian Controversy. Collinson notes that 110 London clergy were summoned to Lambeth on March 26, 1566, and told either to “subscribe their willingness to assume” the surplice and cap, or be suspended from their functions. The fruits of their benefices were sequestered and they were threatened with deprivation if they remained obdurate.⁶⁸⁵ As a result, the production of the zealous kind of prophetic performative speech took root in places outside the jurisdiction of the bishops, and often outside that of the city council as well – in the liberties, and outside the walls. In the market for argument, puritan prophetic performative speech occupied a social place even more firmly on the margins of the civic body of the city than that of the stage; and it was to those transgressive places that puritans gaddled to consume zealous speech.

Among the churches of early modern London, Patrick Collinson identifies two in particular as “puritan strongholds.” They are Holy Trinity Minories, in the liberty of the Minories, which John Stow described in 1567 as the home of those “who called themselves puritans;”⁶⁸⁶ and St Anne Blackfriars, in the liberty of the Blackfriars. Bishop Aylmer placed both these churches under an interdict, “thus recognizing that the

⁶⁸⁵ *EPM*, 76.

⁶⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 86. Collinson notes (338): “As a royal peculiar, the Minories church was exempt from the bishop’s jurisdiction, and the parishioners themselves appointed and supported their ministers and preachers, who were always radical puritans.”

militancy of these two parishes originated among the godly parishioners as much as from their pastors and preachers.”⁶⁸⁷ Other London churches Collinson identifies as having strong puritan associations are: St Antholin’s, “where the oldest of the London lectureships had been planted in Edward’s reign,” and John Field and Thomas Wilcox served as lecturers in the 1560s;⁶⁸⁸ St Giles Cripplegate, which stood just outside the walls;⁶⁸⁹ and St Mary Aldermary, where John Field was appointed as lecturer in 1581.⁶⁹⁰ Paul Seaver joins Collinson in identifying St Antholin’s, Holy Trinity Minories, St Giles Cripplegate, and St Anne Blackfriars as churches with strong puritan associations.⁶⁹¹ Seaver also adds St Saviour in the liberty of St Mary Overies, in Southwark; Christ Church, Newgate; and St Clement Danes, where Henry “Silver Tongue” Smith preached for many years.⁶⁹² A sketch map showing the locations of these churches, and those of the public theatres open between 1577 and 1583, is shown below as Fig. 7.

As I have suggested above, the designation of a person, place, or text as “puritan” is a complex and uncertain matter. However, the evidence suggests that many of these churches were so identified by Bishop Aylmer and those who sought to suppress puritan practices of prophetic speech. At the least, Seaver’s and Collinson’s research strongly suggests that a zealous kind of speech was on offer in these churches to those who chose to come and hear it; it should not be taken to suggest that such speech could not also be found elsewhere.

⁶⁸⁷ Ibid., 202. Aylmer took this action “early in his episcopate,” in the late 1570s.

⁶⁸⁸ Ibid., 50, 87.

⁶⁸⁹ Collinson, *Godly*, 338.

⁶⁹⁰ Collinson, “John Field,” in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Available at <http://www.oxforddnb.com>. Accessed February 23, 2008.

⁶⁹¹ Seaver, op. cit., 28, 80, 123, 199, 207, 215, 217.

⁶⁹² Ibid., 199, 217. See also H. Gareth Owen, “Tradition and Reform: Ecclesiastical Controversy in and Elizabethan London Parish,” *Guildhall Miscellany* Vol. II, No. 2 (July, 1961), for a discussion of the puritan history of Christ Church, Newgate.

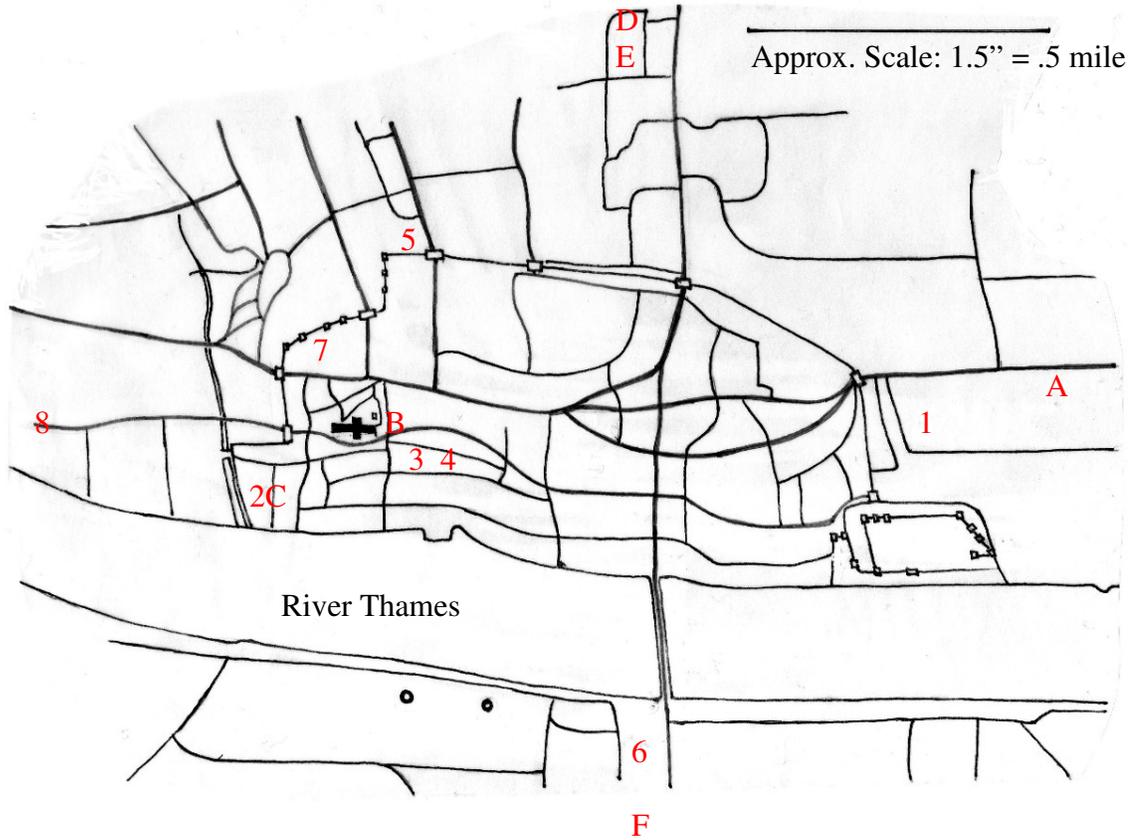


Fig. 7: Puritan Churches and Public Theatres, 1583⁶⁹³

Key

Puritan Churches

- 1 Holy Trinity Minories
- 2 St Anne Blackfriars
- 3 St Mary Aldermary
- 4 St Antholin's
- 5 St Giles Cripplegate
- 6 St Saviour's
- 7 Christ Church, Newgate
- 8 St Clement Danes

Theatres

- A Red Lion
- B Paul's Children
- C Chapel Children, Blackfriars
- D The Theatre
- E The Curtain
- F Newington Butts

⁶⁹³ Sketch map prepared by the author, from the composite map found in *The A to Z of Elizabethan London*, compiled by Adrian Prockter and Robert Taylor, (Kent: Harry Margery, 1979). Reproduced by permission of the London Topographical Society.

The play of consumer preference is evident in the choice puritans made of which church to attend. Collinson finds evidence of the ecclesiastically disordering force of such choices, citing from the anonymous pamphlet *Sophronistes* (1589):

‘His ministry was always dead and without spirit in mine eares.’ So this man had been to the South Bank to hear a new and more affecting preacher. ‘O sir, if you had heard this other man, you would have said there had beene a great difference. And for my parte, I desire to heare those by whom I am most edified.’⁶⁹⁴

While it is important to note, as Kenneth Jacobsen has, that theatres and significant pulpits are often to be found in close proximity,⁶⁹⁵ I would argue, further, that the geographic proximity of the churches and the theatres profoundly marks their competitive social proximity, in the ordering actions that each constructed themselves as performing on the bodies of their consumers. Figure 7 shows that four of the eight churches regularly offering prophetic performative speech were located outside the city walls; three of the eight were located in liberties, outside the reach of the Bishop of London. Seeking to be “edified,” consumers of prophetic performative speech gaddled to consume it on the South Bank – a civic place whose theatrical associations were already established in 1576 by the construction of The Playhouse at Newington Butts.

Just as prophetic performative speech was consumed in churches, so it increasingly shaped domestic consumption, becoming in print form a product that contributed to the construction of social distinctions. Collinson and Seaver both note that in the 1580s, wealthy London merchants and their wives formed a domestic market that supported puritan lecturers and even underwrote the production of the puritan press; as well as printing Field’s *Godly Exhortation*, Robert Waldegrave printed the first three

⁶⁹⁴ Collinson, *Religion of the Protestants*, 243-4.

⁶⁹⁵ Kenneth R. Jacobsen, *Prophecy, performance, and persuasion: Sermon art and dramatic art in England, 1575-1630*, (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation: Queens University at Kingston, 1998), 42.

Marprelate pamphlets, protected and supported by Mrs. Elizabeth Crane, who “kept what was virtually a puritan salon in her London house”.⁶⁹⁶ These patterns of consumption produced social distinctions in London that were remarked upon at the time:

Thomas Edmunds, a London parson with experience of the *classis* led by John Field, gave evidence that the godly, “as much as they might conveniently, refrained to buy or sell or usually to eat or drink with any person or persons which are not of their faction and opinions, or inclining that way”.⁶⁹⁷

While lines of social distinction might appear to be clearly marked in consumption, however, Brett Usher has traced evidence of puritan patterns of consumption in early modern London, suggesting a fascinating complexity. Richard Culverwell, a prominent mercer, surreptitiously financed much of the radical puritan print publication of the 1570s and 1580s from his house near the Three Cranes in the Vintry; John Field was, in 1569, a witness of his brother Nicholas’s will. Richard Culverwell’s wife Anne, who after Richard’s death in 1586 married William Neale, seems to have served as an active patron of the arts, supporting the work of painters and musicians. As Usher suggests, this evidence challenges “Collinson’s critical year of 1580” in marking the arrival of iconophobia.⁶⁹⁸ The urgency of puritan exhortation against the theatre appears, in this light, to be directed not just outwards at the unregenerate, but even toward consumers within the puritan fold.

Domestic patterns of consumption, digestion, and disclosure of prophetic performative speech produced a seasonal cycle of activities, extending the puritan habitus into outdoor spaces:

⁶⁹⁶ *EPM*, 393. Seaver (op. cit., 154) dates the support of wealthy merchants for puritan lectureships back into the 1560s.

⁶⁹⁷ Collinson, *Godly People*, 7. Collinson cites P.R.O., Star Chamber 5 A 49/34.

⁶⁹⁸ Brett Usher, “The Silent Community: Early Puritans and the Patronage of the Arts,” in *The Church and The Arts*, Diana Wood (ed.), (London: Blackwell, 1995), 287-302.

Twenty years later [in the 1580s] the separatists met in private houses in the winter, and in summer in the fields around the city and in one of the ‘summer houses’ in the gardens outside Bishopsgate, close by Bedlam and Moorfields.⁶⁹⁹

It is in those same gardens outside Bishopsgate that The Theatre and The Curtain were built. Radical puritan separatists would seem to have passed through Bishopsgate side by side with persons walking out to hear a theatre performance.

The gatherings and assemblies of the faithful, though they were officially proscribed, were on occasion associated with markets and fairs in the 1580s. Collinson’s narrative of one such occasion captures its political implications, but it is important to remember that large public gatherings such as fairs also featured a raucous blend of competing kinds of consumption:

It may have already been regular practice [in 1582], as it certainly was a year or two later, to hold synods at the two universities in July, at the time of the graduation ceremonies—at Stourbridge Fair time (September), too, at Cambridge—and a general assembly in London during the days of the St. Bartholomew Fair. These occasions provided cover for the unusually large assemblies of puritan ministers. In this way, the *classes*, synods and assemblies of a presbyterian Church of England were already roughly sketched out.⁷⁰⁰

As Kenneth Jacobsen points out, William Perkins’ sermon “A Faithful and Plain Exposition” was delivered in 1593 at Stourbridge Fair in an open-air setting. In a similar fashion to the Paul’s Cross sermons noted above, Perkins addressed the body of the nation. Jacobsen finds evidence of Perkins’ zealous performance style:

Perkins demonstrates an acute awareness of this “mixed” audience, heightening the theatricality and emotionality of his appeal in order to grab the attention of busy fair-goers: “Therefore what the prophet said to those Jews, I say unto you also, my brethren of this realm of England who are now here gathered out of many countries and quarters of this realm. Yea, in the name of this same God I cry unto you, Search, O search yourselves.”⁷⁰¹

⁶⁹⁹ Ibid., 88.

⁷⁰⁰ Ibid., 357.

⁷⁰¹ Jacobsen, *op. cit.*, 198.

Busy fairgoers, indeed. Perkins constructs the marketplace of the Stourbridge Fair as the national space “of the land”, the elect nation, Israel, and within that newly reconstructed space, he exhorts his hearers to keep watch over their interior places. O search! Perkins’ prophetic style is here well in keeping with that of other notorious roaring preachers of the puritan tradition noted above, such as William Whately, the Roaring Boy of Banbury. While Perkins’ godly affection is evident in his text, the social and geographic place of his performance also strongly conditioned his performance: Perkins was advancing the claims of prophetic performative speech to rightly order the sense of sight, and doing so in the most heated site of market competition. Collinson points out that these “open-air sermons” were intended as a “show of strength.”⁷⁰² While that insight captures the political aspect of puritan public sermons, it also is an apt descriptor of the zeal of the godly affections that informed their performance, and of the heat produced by market competition.

As Fig. 7 shows, puritan consumption of prophetic performative speech took place in civic places that reflected the liminal, transgressive status of that speech. Consumption of it obliged those gadding to sermons to mingle with people seeking to consume theatrical performance. The parallels are striking: to reach five of the six theatres shown on the map, the consumer of theatre was obliged to pass by one of the sites where puritan preaching was widely known to be available. Even the site of the Theatre and the Curtain had competing puritan associations. In London, the market for argument produced heated competition, in which models of the body competed for the authority to shape in speech acts the resistant, transgressive edges of civic space.

⁷⁰² *EPM*, 175.

The Antitheatrical Pamphlets and Civic Space

The association of puritan preaching and print publication has long been known to have produced a significant increase in market demand and production capacity for print, as William Haller notes:

A consequence of the greatest importance quickly resulted from the abundant use which the Puritan preachers made of the press. The press itself prospered at such a rate and to such a degree that, from being an adjunct to the pulpit, it rapidly became a distinct organ of expression in its own right.⁷⁰³

As Figure 7 shows, production of competing theatrical and puritan modes of performance were most closely geographically intertwined in the liberty of the Blackfriars. Patrick Collinson and Tessa Watt have shown that the Blackfriars was also a site in which Huguenot émigrés, fleeing French persecution in the 1560s, established a growing site for the production of protestant print:

But at this very time, in the late sixties, Giles Godet, a member of the London Huguenot congregation, used the Blackfriars as a forward base for publishing and marketing in England albums of ambitious and highly sophisticated biblical prints in the Parisian manner.⁷⁰⁴

Watt traces a genealogy of printers of religious woodcut images who lived in the Blackfriars and belonged to St Anne's. Jean Dehors arrived in England in the 1540s; in 1582 he had two 'servants', one of whom, Giles Bullenger, inherited his press and materials. Giles' son Paul also produced a series of images in the early seventeenth century. Among them is "the good hows-holder,"⁷⁰⁵ (1603), a single broadsheet image of an apparently comfortable patriarch who, "that his Howse may hold,/ First builds it on the Rock, not on the Sand."⁷⁰⁶ In the liberty of the Blackfriars, theatrical performance,

⁷⁰³ Haller op. cit., 5.

⁷⁰⁴ Collinson, *Birthpangs*, 116.

⁷⁰⁵ Watt, op. cit., 189-91.

⁷⁰⁶ Anon, "The Good Hows-holder," (London: Paul Boulenger, 1603), A1^v.

puritan prophetic performance, and godly print stood side by side in the social competition to edify the civic body.

The antitheatrical pamphlets participated more broadly in that social drama as it unfolded across the city. As was suggested above, the edifying attractions of prophetic performative speech began to reshape patterns of traffic and consumption in the public places of the city. People not only gadded across parish and even city boundaries to hear a zealous sermon, they also had opportunity to consume cheap godly publications, the antitheatrical pamphlets among them, as they gathered at the centers of puritan preaching. As Figure 7 shows, six of the eight churches with strong puritan associations were within a half-mile, or perhaps a ten-minute walk, of St Paul's Cathedral. Fig. 8 below shows the known locations of publication of nine of the eleven pamphlets surveyed above. Six of them were offered for sale in or near Paul's Churchyard. Two more were sold in shops very close to a puritan church, and the last of the nine was sold at the shop of Thomas Dawson, which lay at the Three Cranes in the Vintry, near the home of Richard Culverwell. Just as consumption of theatrical performance was subjected to regulation by the city authorities, the consumption of puritan print eventually became subject to the attentions of the ecclesiastical authorities, and served as an identifying practice for their agents to pursue:

The days were now past [in 1589] when London was an open city for puritan extremists. *Agents provocateurs* haunted the booksellers' stalls in St Paul's churchyard, engaging the clergy who came to buy books in conversation, and pretending a sympathy for the cause.⁷⁰⁷

⁷⁰⁷ *EPM*, 405.

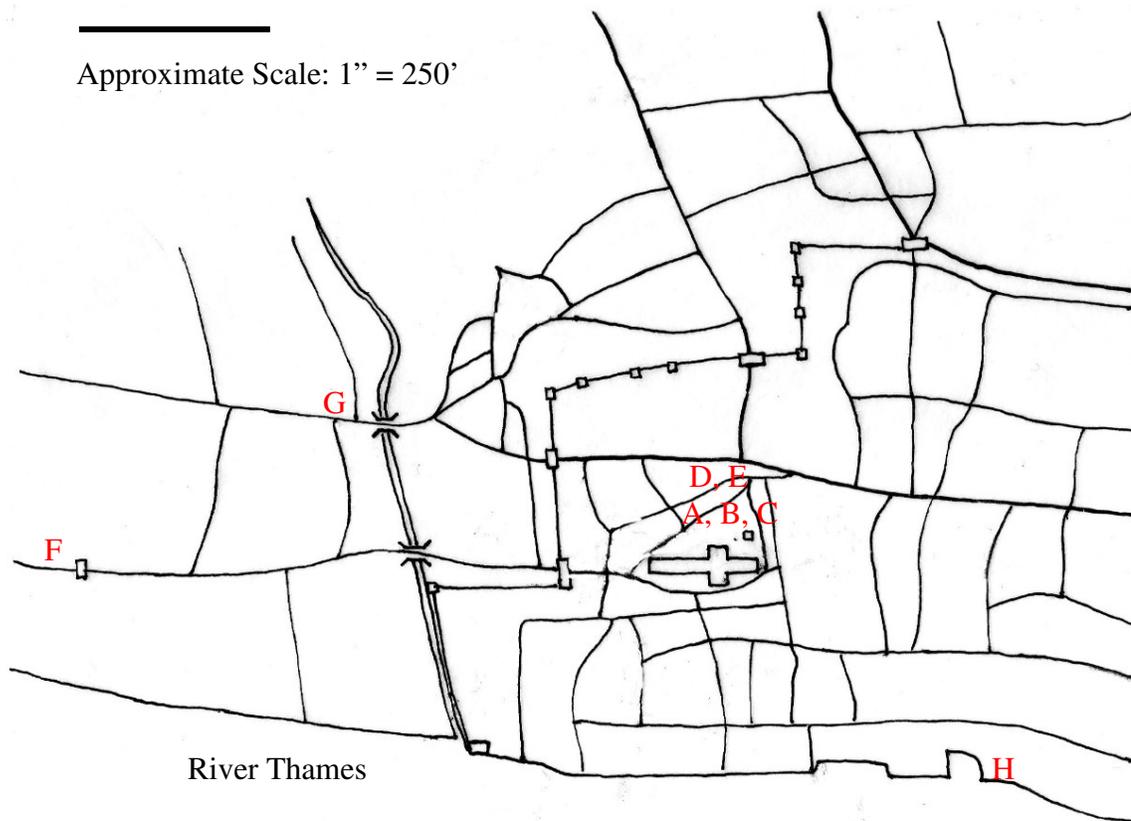


Fig. 8 – Antitheatrical and Anti-Dance Pamphlet Publication, 1577-1583⁷⁰⁸

- A – George Bishop, at the Bell, Paul’s Churchyard: Northbrooke, Stockwood
- B – Francis Coldock, at the Green Dragon, Paul’s Churchyard: White
- C – Thomas Woodcock, at the Black Bear, Paul’s Churchyard: Gosson *Schoole*
- D – Henry Denham, at the Starre, Paternoster Row: Munday
- E – Thomas Gosson, at the Castle, Paternoster Row: Gosson *Plays Confuted*
- F – Robert Waldegrave, on the Strand, without Temple Bar: Field
- G – Richard Jones, at the Rose and Crown, near unto Holborn Bridge without Newgate:
Stubbes
- H – Thomas Dawson, at the Three Cranes in the Vintry: Fetherston

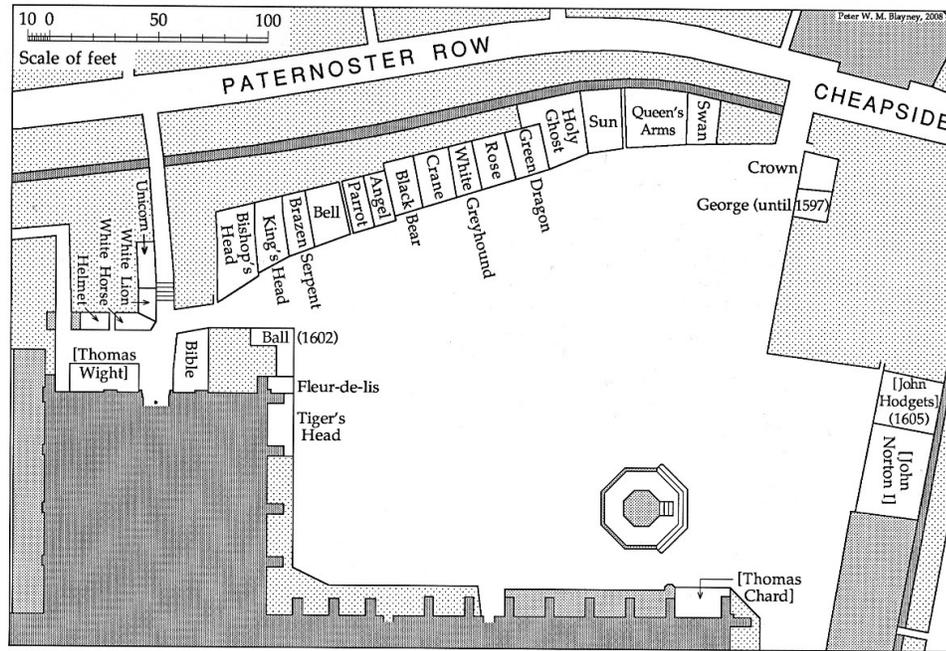
⁷⁰⁸ Sketch map prepared by the author, from the composite map found in *The A to Z of Elizabethan London*, compiled by Adrian Prockter and Robert Taylor, (Kent: Harry Margery, 1979). Reproduced by permission of the London Topographical Society. The addresses of the printers were determined from Pollard and Redgrave, *op. cit.*, *passim*, with further assistance from R.B. McKerrow, (ed.) et al., *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books, 1557-1640*, (London: Bibliographical Society, 1930).

The participation of these printers in the production of the antitheatrical pamphlets was therefore potentially transgressive; but nevertheless, it was active. Northbrooke's first edition was published by "Bynneman for G. Byshop," and its second by "T. Dawson for G. Bishoppe."⁷⁰⁹ Bynneman was known for printing "works that looked to the interests of Continental Protestantism." Bynneman had sustained business relationships with Dawson and Bishop; he also printed White's sermon for Francis Coldock.⁷¹⁰ Dawson printed Gosson's *School of Abuse* for Thomas Woodcock. These three men were therefore associated with the publication of five of the pamphlets and sermons surveyed above: Northbrooke, White, Stockwood, Gosson's *School of Abuse*, and Fetherston's dialogue against dance. Furthermore, after Bynneman's death, Henry Denham, who published Munday's pamphlet, acted as Bynneman's deputy in company matters. All of these four printers had shops in or very near Paul's Churchyard, as Fig. 8 shows; Bynneman's was in Knightryder Street, just south of St. Paul's. While St Paul's was clearly not a puritan church, it was practically surrounded by churches that were, as Fig. 7 shows. The civic places where the earliest of the pamphlets were, in Alexandra Halasz's phrase, uttered for sale are therefore very closely associated with the civic places in which the prophetic performative speech they claim as authority was also offered for consumption. "In the language of statute and proclamation, to utter is simply to publish."⁷¹¹ As can be seen below in Fig. 9, White's and Stockwell's sermons were uttered for sale within sight of the place in which their words were uttered to the ear: White's at the Green Dragon, and Stockwood's at the Bell. No detailed information is

⁷⁰⁹ Pollard and Redgrave, op. cit., s.v. Northbrooke, John.

⁷¹⁰ *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, vol. 170, "The British Literary Book Trade, 1475-1700," James K. Bracken and Joel Silver (ed.s), (Detroit: Bruccoli Clark Layman, 1996), s.v. Henry Bynneman.

⁷¹¹ Halasz, op. cit., 51.



Paul's Cross Churchyard c. 1600. Parenthetical dates indicate one shop last recorded in 1597 and two first recorded in 1602–05.

Fig. 9 Paul's Cross Churchyard c. 1600⁷¹²

available for John Alde, publisher of Lovell's dialogue, or for the anonymous treatise against dance. However, Gosson's *Plays Confuted* was published by Thomas Gosson, whose shop also lay very close to Paul's Churchyard, and Field's *Godly Exhortation* was published by Robert Waldegrave, whose shop at that time lay very close to Henry Smith's church, St Clement Danes. McKerrow suggests that Waldegrave, from the beginning of his career, "appears to have attached himself to the puritan party."⁷¹³ Even outside the circle of business relationships surrounding Henry Bynneman, the printing of the antitheatrical pamphlets was closely associated with civic places in which prophetic performative speech might be consumed; again, Grub Street and the puritan vicarage

⁷¹² Peter W.M. Blayney, unpublished map. Reproduced by permission. The octagonal figure to the lower right is the pulpit from which Paul's Cross sermons were spoken. The Bell is to the northwest of it, and the Green Dragon to the north. Note also the proximity of Paternoster Row, in which Denham and Gosson had their shops.

⁷¹³ McKerrow op. cit., 277.

would seem to have been placed very close to each other in London's imagined community.

The publication of Phillip Stubbes' *Anatomy of Abuses* marks a transition in the production and consumption of the antitheatrical pamphlets. Not only was his the most comprehensive and successful of them, it seems likely that it was also marketed in a different way. Stubbes' pamphlet was first published by "J. Kingston for R. Jones."⁷¹⁴ Richard Jones was the license holder.⁷¹⁵ Tessa Watt suggest Jones's significance in the production and distribution of cheap print in the period: "The closest thing the Elizabethans had to a broadside tycoon was the printer-publisher Richard Jones." Jones' production of ballads, books, and pamphlets was prolific; books of about three hundred pages' length, a length the *Anatomy of Abuses* approaches, would have cost "a minimum of ten pence unbound."⁷¹⁶ Jones' shop, outside Newgate and close to the Smithfield market, is in a location identified by Margaret Spufford as strategic for printers marketing their products to the network of pedlars and chapmen who traveled the kingdom. "They established their shops with an eye to their distributors",⁷¹⁷ on arterial roads leading into London, as Jones' shop on the Holborn was (see Fig. 8 above). Watt suggests the size of the region the distribution network later came to serve:

Ballads and pamphlets may also have travelled with the carriers. In *The carriers cosmographie* (1637), John Taylor listed the inns around London where carriers could be found on specific days of the week, bound for over 200 towns across Britain, and able to deliver goods and letters to the remotest regions of Scotland, Wales and Cornwall.⁷¹⁸

⁷¹⁴ Pollard and Redgrave op. cit., 370.

⁷¹⁵ Kidnie op. cit., 11.

⁷¹⁶ Tessa Watt, "Publisher, pedlar, pot-poet: The changing character of the broadside trade, 1550-1640", in Robin Myers and Michael Harris, (ed.s), *Spreading the Word: The Distribution Networks of Print, 1550-1850*, (Detroit: Omnigraphics, 1990), 65.

⁷¹⁷ Spufford, *Small Books*, 111.

⁷¹⁸ Watt, "Publisher," 71.

Not only did this distribution network reach across the nation, but it also served the placeless local market on the street. Watt cites William Cartwright's 1635 comedy *The Ordinary*, suggesting the inclusion of religious tracts and sermons amongst the materials sold outside the doors of playhouses:

I shall live to see thee
Stand in a Play-house doore with thy long box,
Thy half-crown Library, and cry small Books.
Buy a godly Sermon Gentlemen—
A judgement shewn upon a Knot of Drunkards—
A pill to purge out Popery— The life
And death of *Katherin Stubs*.⁷¹⁹

“Katherin Stubs” was, of course, Phillip Stubbes’ wife, a godly woman who died at a young age, and whom he memorialized in what became his most famous publication.⁷²⁰

Watt suggests that the network of London criers of small books was well established by Jones’ time; “how far his wares travelled out into the countryside is a question on which the records are mute.”⁷²¹ As Spufford notes, the pedlar was “the hero of ballads by the 1560s”;⁷²² Watt points out the transitional status of the pedlars, who were poised between “the oral tradition of the professional minstrel,” and the “print-based performance of the ballad seller.”⁷²³ To stand in the playhouse door and cry “small Books” is to stand in transition between oral and textual reiteration, offering both sound and print in the market for argument.

The antitheatrical body is a transitional figure not only because it stands at a point between containment and disclosure, but also because it imbricates spoken and printed

⁷¹⁹ William Cartwright, *The Ordinary*, III v, cited in Watt, “Publishers,” 65.

⁷²⁰ Mary Jane Kidnie (op. cit., 5) notes that Stubbes book, *A Christall Glasse for Christian Women Containing, A most excellent Discourse, of the godly life and Christian death of Mistresse Katherine Stubs* (1591), went through “at least twenty-four editions by 1637.”

⁷²¹ Watt, “Publishers,” 66.

⁷²² Spufford, *Small Books*, 116.

⁷²³ Watt, “Publishers,” 68.

kinds of utterance. The authority it appropriated was misrecognized as the synchronic stability of the inspired Word, figured in the Tetragrammaton and comparatively recently available in printed vernacular versions. It zealously performed that authority in fiery, painful speech, grounded in properly ordered godly humoral affections. The performance of that speech was captured in print, as what Bruce Smith calls “a trace of the embodiment of thought.”⁷²⁴ It was then offered for consumption and reiteration, extending the practices of consuming prophetic speech outwards from the civic places in the national body in which its sounds had first been heard. That sound resonated in the cries of the pedlars, standing perhaps at the playhouse door, competing directly with the sights and sounds on offer inside. The production and marketing of the antitheatrical pamphlets contributed materially to shaping the soundscape of London that Smith traces in such detail,⁷²⁵ as iteration and reiteration of the embodied recognition of pneumatic presence.

As he traces the circulation of meaning in sound, from “sense...to nonsense, speech to music, music to ambient sound,”⁷²⁶ Smith suggests that Stubbes and his predecessors should be seen as “objectors” to the ecstatic [o]:

What Stubbes and his sort want to do in political terms—what they in fact do with their printed pamphlets—is to take a four-dimensional bodily sensation and turn it into a two-dimensional text. Something heard, felt, *enjoyed* becomes, in their hands, something seen, known, *mastered*.

Here again the antitheatrical body disappears. The evidence offered above, by contrast, shows that the circulation of embodiment and text in puritan practices is precisely, so to speak, the reverse of what Smith suggests. At Dry Drayton, text was consumed into the

⁷²⁴ Smith, *op. cit.*, 115.

⁷²⁵ See Smith *op. cit.*, especially 49-95.

⁷²⁶ *Ibid.*, 148.

body by hearing and repetition, digested, and reiterated in preaching, teaching, and conference. More broadly, puritan practices of speech, song, and embodied intervention in public space while gadding to sermons extended into the four dimensions of bodily sensation the joyful, quickened performance of pneumatic presence. Puritan practices that constructed for them a redemptive hegemony were reiterated, it would seem, in the aural properties of the antitheatrical pamphlets. The antitheatrical body, rather than fearfully seeking to “regulate” and “suppress,”⁷²⁷ was competing actively for the authority to shape the ritual practices of early modern English popular culture.

As “traces of the embodiment of thought,” the antitheatrical pamphlets offer evidence of the zealous kind of speech that, as has been noted, might alone serve to identify a puritan. The antitheatrical pamphlets privilege the performance of properly ordered affections, which do not cease to be emotions that alter embodied experience merely because they are godly. Indeed, it is the very affectionate extremity of language evident in puritan and antitheatrical speech that is most clearly satirized in the conventions of the stage Puritan. That language is consistently present in the antitheatrical pamphlets, from Northbrooke through to Stubbes, performing godly affection that moves from text to [o]. Northbrooke’s *Age* exclaims, “O...howe holy is that mouth whereout commeth alwayes heavenlye speaches.” His affection communicates itself to Youth, who near the end of the pamphlet says “O Lorde, howe beastly they are, which are ledde by the sensualitie and pleasures of the fleshe.”⁷²⁸ White’s godly affectionate speech sounds to the cosmos:

⁷²⁷ *Ibid.*, 167.

⁷²⁸ Northbrooke, *op. cit.*, 45, 140.

Heare O heaven and harken O earth, sayde Esay, in his tyme, and what may wee say in our tyme, it would grieve your harte to tell a tale to a poste, and it woulde encourage as well to speake to willyng menne.

White also wishes his zealous speech would be infectious: “I woulde you were all preachers.”⁷²⁹ Stockwood, like White, takes text from the Bible and embodies it: “O how beautifull are the feete of them which bring glad tydings of peace, and bring glad tydings of good things!”⁷³⁰ Munday’s use of prophetic speech is so deliberately effusive as to flirt at times with satire, as I suggested above: “we burne, we burne, yet dread we not the fire wherwith we burne.”⁷³¹ Fetherston, like White, performs speech in an effort to re-order space: “O Ailgna repent,”⁷³² and Field joins them in addressing the nation directly: “O England repent, thou that hast tasted of so many blessings, and yet hast provoked God with so many sinnes. O London repent...”⁷³³ These cries of [o] were sounded in bodies. Three of the antitheatrical pamphlets were first preached as sermons; all of them circulated in the marketplace of cheap godly print, and were in all likelihood reiterated and consumed as oral readings in public and domestic places across the nation. Smith vividly captures the “capacities of women’s bodies for singing” in the workplaces of the city, noting how their song constructs “the shared social experience of ‘spinsters and carders’.” He alludes to “the apparatus of state control over what people may say and do – all of these factors impinge on ballad-singing.”⁷³⁴ In a similar way, the evidence presented above suggests that popular practices of speech and song constructed the puritan *habitus*. Voices and bodies shaped space into place, remaking social structure in

⁷²⁹ White op. cit., E3^v.

⁷³⁰ Stockwood, op. cit., F3^v.

⁷³¹ Munday, op. cit., 61, 71, 24.

⁷³² Fetherston, op. cit., A6^f.

⁷³³ Field, op. cit., B2^v.

⁷³⁴ Smith op. cit., 173.

religious, familial, and employment contexts, performing resistance to state control over religious matters – all constructed a *habitus* of resistance, an attempt to create a performative intervention into definitions of citizen, nation, and redemptive history, seeking entry into public discourse over the national future in a sustained and organized effort to produce a new England.

Antitheatrical Pamphlets and the Performance of Place

In his recent book *City/Stage/Globe*, D.J.Hopkins constructs a compelling narrative of the role of performance in mapping the City of London. The early modern maps of London, he suggests, “rely on spatial practices that record the personal, physical experiences on the part of the map-maker.” Hopkins describes the making of a map as “a mapping performance,” and suggests that as such, it “produces a space of representation that preserves a trace-obvious or subtle-of performance in the image itself.”⁷³⁵ Hopkins points out that Visscher’s map of London includes an image of Elizabeth’s barge, in which the barge appears to be traveling to the west, but the rowers are pulling to the east. “Elizabeth’s perpetually suspended journey is in effect “misquoted.”⁷³⁶ Antitheatrical constructions of the social action of the stage are perhaps liable to similar charges of misquotation. If Visscher knew little about rowing, it seems equally likely that Northbrooke, Stockwood, White, Field, and Stubbes may have known little about the theatre. Stubbes’ portrayals of the theatre were lifted almost verbatim, it has been noted, from Gosson. What the antitheatrical pamphlets offered in the marketplace was not so much an accurate representation of the stage, but rather, a series of representations of the writers’ performances of proper civic and social place. They each were a kind of social

⁷³⁵ D.J. Hopkins, *City/Stage/Globe: Performance and Space in Shakespeare’s London*, (London: Routledge, 2008), 70.

⁷³⁶ *Ibid.*, 98.

map that produced both bodily and civic places in an authoritative order. That construction of the personal experience of place is performed most visibly in the stark opposition many of the antitheatrical pamphlets construct, between proper and improper places in civic space. In the geographic and civic spaces they construct, the “traces of performance” are readily visible, particularly in the cases of Gosson and Munday. The ordering of civic place is performatively represented in the experience of the producers of the pamphlets, and reiterated by the pamphlets’ consumers.

Fig. 8 shows that consumers of prophetic performative speech had ready opportunities to mark their bodies as antitheatrical, as the shops that sold the antitheatrical pamphlets were situated very close to the churches known to offer puritan preaching. For example, Stephen Gosson’s first pamphlet, *The Schoole of Abuse*, was certainly printed and may have been sold at the shop of Thomas Dawson, at the Three Cranes in the Vintry; Dawson also held the rights to Fetherston’s treatise against dance. The Vintry is situated on the north bank of the Thames, and would have been one of the convenient points of embarkation for those wishing to hire passage across the river. Directly opposite it on the south side is the Bankside and, a little further downstream, the St Mary Overies Dock. Puritan consumers on their way to hear an edifying Sunday sermon at St Saviour’s on the South Bank in the early 1580’s might perhaps have paused at Dawson’s shop, to peruse the latest offerings there. From among Dawson’s stock they could have purchased Gosson’s or Fetherston’s pamphlet, thereby performing an act of social distinction. Pamphlet in hand, or perhaps tucked in a pocket – *The Schoole of Abuse* was printed in octavo, to permit precisely that convenience – such a consumer would have mingled with others embarking for the South Bank who may have had less

edifying sports in mind. Puritan gadders might have mixed with those bound for the Bank End Stairs and the bear baiting at Paris Garden, or perhaps even with those headed for the theatre at Newington Butts. As Douglas Bruster and Robert Weimann point out, their journey had a social significance that was emphasized by its material aspect:

The significance of such a crossing – a physical threshold to be crossed before encountering, and traversing, thresholds within the playhouse – would be pressed home as the playgoer was charged for the crossing, whether by water or by bridge.⁷³⁷

Within the puritan church, similarly liminal thresholds awaited the puritan gadder to the South Bank, uttered in with the ritual efficacy of prayer. Playgoers and sermon-goers shared such journeys, across the Thames and through the city gates, their bodies performing in civic space the conflicting sides of the argument over the authority of performative speech.

That social heterogeneity is exactly the kind of “postmedieval” experience Hopkins describes, noting the ways such experience served to construct spatial representations produced by cartographers. Citing John Lyly’s play *Midas* (1592), Hopkins notes the impact of market forces on the social fabric, pointing out the shift “from Broade-cloth” to “Arras” produced by “Trafficke and travell.” As the evidence above suggests, those whose “travell” took them to hear sermons were noted as “good husbands” and “good wives” by those who were not inclined to take up their performative construction of place. Popular resistance to the interpellation of prophetic performative speech produced a carnivalesque inversion that constructed the bodies of sermon-gadders as transgressive. What, one wonders, might the conversation in the boat have been like?

⁷³⁷ Bruster and Weimann, op. cit., 45.

Conclusion

Whether cried up as “small books” outside theatre doors, or peeking from pockets on boat rides across the Thames, the antitheatrical pamphlets performed a social function far more significant than the rhetorical content of their texts. They might better be understood as scripts for performance, “arguments” in the theatrical sense, which contributed to the social construction of civic and bodily place. However, as I have suggested, puritan engagement with the market paradoxically pressed that power of social construction into commodity status, challenging its efficacy and ritual authority by revealing the performativity it misrecognized and concealed. Similarly, Gail Kern Paster has pointed out the commodification of purgation, for example, as a consumer good in early seventeenth century London⁷³⁸; the efficacy of humoral medicine as physiological map of the body was itself under assault from market forces. Humoral physiology, which had for centuries been the dominant model of human physical function, began its slide towards the Hobbesian automaton.⁷³⁹ The changing social action performed by the antitheatrical pamphlets provides a set of markers that track the social status of ritualized speech in early modern England, as it shifted subtly away from its acknowledged role as embodied practice and towards its etiolated modern status as belief. Carried along by market forces, the puritan body shifted towards the antitheatrical body, a step in its journey towards the grotesque clown capering on the stage.

⁷³⁸ Gail Kern Paster, “Purgation as the Allure of Mastery: Early Modern Medicine and the Technology of the Self,” in Lena Cowen Orlin, (ed.), *Material London, ca. 1600*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 196-7.

⁷³⁹ See Agnew’s discussion of Hobbes, *op. cit.*, 86-100.

Conclusion

The controversy between the puritans and the stage is an aspect of a greater social drama in which opposed models of embodiment confronted each other, contesting how God and country would be performed and politicized. The contest has often been described as the struggle between orality and literacy, between the carnivalesque and the classical body, between the protean and the repressive, between the narrowly religious and the broadly secular. The puritan body has been read as a textual elision. Chambers describes as the puritans' "principle victory" the enactment of City regulations against playing on Sunday, 1574, and again in 1584.⁷⁴⁰ However, viewed not simply as rhetoric but as evidence of ritual practice, the antitheatrical pamphlets emerge as participating in the construction and transformation of the social role of performative speech in early modern England.

Substantial attention has been paid to the "purpose of playing," the social significance of performance on the early modern stage.⁷⁴¹ Much less attention has hitherto been paid to the role of performance in constituting English puritan culture. At this point I hope it is clear that the two sets of practices shared much more than has previously been suggested. Both appropriated the vocabulary of humoral physiology, and both claimed the authority of performative speech acts to structure place, space, time, and social persona. The social status of both was substantially altered by their parallel

⁷⁴⁰ Chambers, *op. cit.*, 313.

⁷⁴¹ See, for example, Louis Montrose, *The Purpose of Playing*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Steven Mullaney, *The Place of the Stage: License, Play, and Power in Renaissance England*, (Rev. Ed.) (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995); Robert Weimann, *Author's Pen and Actor's Voice*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); W. B. Worthen, *Shakespeare and the Authority of Performance*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) and Anthony B. Dawson and Paul Yachnin, *The Culture of Playgoing in Shakespeare's England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), among many others.

engagement with market commodification. Most importantly for this study, both the stage and the puritan church claimed the authority to properly order the body, and to represent the body both discursively and performatively in the advancement of social norms. The same naturalized paradigm of physiology that both appropriated was fully imbricated with the authority of religious discourses and practices, which is to say, with divine providence. A more fully developed comparison of puritan practices of performative speech with those practiced on the early modern stage would help to suggest the extent to which they appropriated particular methods and practices from each other. As I have suggested earlier, the conventions of the Stage Puritan offer a useful point of entry for such a study.

Paradigms of the body, of course, change over time. At the beginning of this study, I pointed out the influential role of Joseph Roach's study of paradigms of the body in structuring theatre performance method. As I write, an emergent paradigm of the body in theatre studies is that of cognitive science, which produced "an outpouring of papers" for a recent issue of *Theatre Journal*. As exemplified in the work of such neurological researchers as Antonio R. Damasio and Gerald Edelman, for example, the most basic claim of cognitive science is that brain function and the human experience of "mind" are inescapably determined by embodiment. The insights produced by Damasio, Edelman, and others have been extended into the field of philosophy by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, in particular.⁷⁴² While commenting ironically on the "death of Theory," David Saltz, coeditor of *Theatre Journal*, notes that many theatre scholars are turning towards a

⁷⁴² See for example Antonio R. Damasio, *Descartes' Error: Emotion, Reason, and the Human Brain*, (New York: Putnam, 1994); Gerald Edelman, *Brilliant Air, Brilliant Fire: On the Matter of the Mind*, (New York: Basic Books, 1992) and *A Universe of Consciousness: How Matter Becomes Imagination*, (New York: Basic Books, 2000); and George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and Its Challenge to Western Thought*, (New York; Basic Books, 1999).

practice of “conceptual blending”⁷⁴³ that includes insights from cognitive science. While cognitive science has much to offer that is of relevance to this study, the practice of conceptual blending may also help to qualify the appropriation of this new paradigm of the body.

Ellen Spolsky’s recent book *Word vs Image: Cognitive Hunger in Shakespeare’s England* applies cognitive science to a discussion of the antitheatrical pamphlets. Spolsky argues that “the cognitive clarity and thence religious purity the reformers thought to be within reach of all Christian souls via the words of Scripture was never actually available to most people.”⁷⁴⁴ Spolsky thus constructs puritan discourse and theatrical practices as offering two different models of cognition; Protestants, she suggests, “traded in a materialist, if pious, way of life for a more abstract faith based on words.”⁷⁴⁵ Spolsky views puritan culture as repressing embodied emotional experience, and attempting to substitute for it the supposed stability of literacy:

If, however, we understand, with Damasio, that the motor of change is the affective or emotional system – that it is the emotions that must approve, as it were, by encouraging the repetition and habituation of experimental solutions to environmental problems that have been found satisfying, the commitment to the existence of an invariant literal meaning cannot be maintained.⁷⁴⁶

Spolsky cites Thomas Becon’s work, *A new catechisme set forth dialogue-wise between father and son* (1564-6), pointing out that puritans viewed idols as “blockish, without senses, affects, and motions, and therefore cannot move us into devotion.”

The Catholic worshipper’s life had been full of material, analogical evidence, but the Protestant, having learned suspicion, not allowing oneself to be taken in by

⁷⁴³ David Z. Saltz, “Editorial Comment: Performance and Cognition,” *Theatre Journal* 59 (4), December 2007, 547-9.

⁷⁴⁴ Ellen Spolsky, *Word vs Image: Cognitive Hunger in Shakespeare’s England*, (London: Palgrave, 2007), x.

⁷⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁷⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 114.

theatrical representation anymore than by church statuary, was bereft of this extra dimension of knowing. He was dependent on inner resources that worked for some better than for others.⁷⁴⁷

A closer examination of puritan practices suggests that in fact, the exact opposite was the case. Puritans – amongst whom Becon might well be counted⁷⁴⁸ – had the material, analogical evidence of their own bodies, over which they practiced the kind of close watching that Shaun Gallagher calls “proprioceptive attentiveness.”⁷⁴⁹ They also took up the performative iterations of the “communion of the Saints” amongst whom they moved. Puritans knew, because they had an idiosyncratic vocabulary developed to construct that knowledge, that the “body of Christ” was the performatively produced “livelie Image of God.” Becon’s attack on statues is precisely that statues have no such living relationship with God – the text does not live in them. The text by itself is dead in puritan practices – it does not live until the Holy Spirit quickens it in performance of the puritan body. That is why puritans attacked with such rhetorical force those ministers who could not preach. The evidence presented above shows that puritan religious experience was embodied and performative, and paid close attention to the emotions.

The insights produced by cognitive science can help us to better understand theatre history, particularly when the paradigms of cultural history and performance studies are also considered. Lakoff and Johnson note the persistence of historical images in “the live conceptual and linguistic system.” For example, they point out the continued currency of expressions such as “Hold your horses,” even though horses have long ceased

⁷⁴⁷ Ibid., 131.

⁷⁴⁸ Thomas Becon (1512/13–1567) was an outspoken early leader of ecclesiastical reform during the reign of Henry VIII, Edward, and Elizabeth I; was exiled during Mary’s reign. In 1561 Becon became vicar of Christ Church, Newgate, a position he held as a non-resident until his death. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, s.v. Thomas Becon. Available at <http://www.oxforddnb.com> Accessed March 7, 2008. Albert C. Baugh et. al., *The Literary History of England*, (London: Routledge, 1975), describes Becon (375) as “the great purveyor of popular Puritan piety.”

⁷⁴⁹ Shaun Gallagher, *How the Body Shapes the Mind*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 27.

to be the dominant mode of transport.⁷⁵⁰ The persistent figure of the bridle of the affections, in that light, suggests the metaphorical status of the affections in the humoral system, as vehicles that transport the body but require proper control. Language emerges as a repository of embodied experience. The same observation might be applied to the persistence in English of humoral physiology to this day, which has given rise to entire industries – one has only to consider the production of roses and chocolate occasioned by Valentine’s Day, for example, when it has long been known that the heart has little to do with the production of emotion. However, it seems reasonable to propose that the flow of meaning in language is not unidirectional. The social status of many of the primary metaphors Lakoff and Johnson discuss has shifted significantly through history, and the meanings and somatic patterns of association that construct those metaphors have shifted with them. One of the roles of cultural history is to develop insight into the local, particular embodied meanings of the metaphors used, for example, in early modern England. Many of the metaphors Lakoff and Johnson describe as emerging from “folk theory” may actually have quite specific meanings.⁷⁵¹

For example, in their chapter on “Morality” Lakoff and Johnson include a subsection on “Moral Strength.” Moral metaphors develop out of the framework of “Subject-Self”⁷⁵² duality they have outlined earlier. “One can have a sense of what is moral and immoral, and still not have the ability to *do* what is moral. An essential condition for moral action is strength of will.” The metaphor of Moral Strength is further developed by grounding it in embodied experience: “It consists of both the strength to

⁷⁵⁰ Lakoff and Johnson, *op. cit.*, 193.

⁷⁵¹ See, for example, their concepts of “Essences” (214), “The Essential Self” (282), and “Faculty Psychology” (410-4), all of which seem strikingly similar to aspects of humoral physiology.

⁷⁵² *Ibid.*, 267-289.

maintain an upright and balanced moral posture and also the strength to overcome evil forces.” That metaphor leads to a further metaphor, “Evil Is A Force,” which Lakoff and Johnson describe in language with clearly humoral associations:

External evil is understood metaphorically either as another person who struggles with you for control or else as an external force (of nature) that acts on you. Internal evil is the force of your bodily desire, which is conceived metaphorically as either a person, an animal, or a force of nature (as in ‘*floods* of emotion’ or ‘*fires* of passion’). Thus, to remain upright, one must be strong enough to *stand up* to evil.⁷⁵³

This passage, I would suggest, has strong resonance with the pneumatic figure of the “Man in Armour.” The body is figured here as liable to both external invasion and internal insurrection; both kinds of disorder are metaphorized as physical action. Emotion is performatively disclosed in the elemental terminology of water and fire. However, the evidence presented above suggests that the social status of performative disclosure changed during the early modern period. In particular, the humoral metaphors that helped puritans identify their interiority *as* puritan, and to disclose that interior order in the performance of a puritan persona, underwent a significant shift: the bodily basis of their performative force was etiolated over time. Further cultural study, of mid-seventeenth century English puritan and non-conformist religious experience for example, might reveal what metaphors came to take their place. At Dry Drayton, however, the imbrication of “kitchen physick” and “spiritual physick” was naturalized as an aspect not only of physiological function, but also of cosmology. The insights of cognitive science are helpful in revealing the embodied nature of human experience, but despite Spolsky’s implication to the contrary, the language of embodied metaphor is not stable across periods of history.

⁷⁵³ Ibid., 298-9.

In a similar way, the social status and grounding discourses of the antitheatrical body themselves have shifted over time. Antitheatricality is the performance of a distinction; it is a punishment of transgressive display, of inappropriate speech, which first must define that speech as excessive. Antitheatricality is a product of the interaction between the dispositions of a hegemonic habitus and the resistant, liminal or liminoid refusal of dominant categories. Antitheatricality anatomizes bodies, proposes an order for the body that mobilizes in practices the discourses of the habitus, and punishes action that violates the boundaries of that discourse. Paradoxically, each of these statements applies to both the antitheatrical pamphlets and the theatrical conventions of the Stage Puritan.

To understand puritanism as performative is to construe the rivalry between puritans and the stage as a local, social, cultural struggle, rather than as an instance of a universal moral or psychological revulsion at self-display. Antitheatricality generally should be understood as strategic. Early modern English puritan opposition to the stage was not a prejudice, nor merely an opposition of biblical law, the authoritative precedent of the church fathers, or even the rhetoric of political radicals against the theatre; it was one aspect of a struggle fought in the public sphere between one form of performance and another.

Appendix A

Published Anti-theatrical Pamphlets in Date Order

- 1577 Northbrooke, John. *A Treatise Against Dicing, Dancing, Plays, and Interludes, with Other Idle Pastimes.*
- 1579 Gosson, Stephen. *The Schoole of Abuse.*
- 1580 Munday, Anthony. *A Second and Third Blast of Retrait from Plaies and Theaters.*
- 1582 Gosson, Stephen. *Plays confuted in five actions.*
- 1583 Field, John. *A Godly Exhortation.*
- 1583 Anonymous, *A Treatise of Daunces.*
- 1583 Stubbes, Philip. *The Anatomy of Abuses.*
- 1587 Rankins, William. *A Mirroure of Monsters.*
- 1597 Beard, Thomas. *The Theatre of God's Judgments.*
- 1599 Rainolds, John. *The Overthrow of stage-plays.*
- 1603 Crosse, Henry. *Vertue's Common-vvealth.*
- 1615 I.G., *A Refutation of the Apology for Actors.*
- 1625 Anon. "A Short Treatise against stage-plays.
- 1633 Prynne, William. *Histriomastix.*

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