

**'An Honest Pair of Oars': Players, Watermen, and *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside***

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*This essay offers insight into two playing companies' ties to a key industry in early modern London and the ways such interconnections shaped the neighbourhoods adjacent to the Thames. It examines Touchwood Senior's speech in Thomas Middleton's A Chaste Maid in Cheapside in relation to the Swan, the Blackfriars, and watermen's trade to argue that this moment highlights sympathies for the watermen's plight from the Lady Elizabeth's Men and exposes underlying tensions between the watermen and the King's Men in 1613 and 1614.*

In Thomas Middleton's *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, Touchwood Senior describes an incident in which watermen, boatmen who carried playgoers and other entertainment seekers across the Thames, helped a gentleman elude 'varlets' who had chased him into the Blackfriars theatre. The 'most requiteful'st' watermen also helped Touchwood Senior escape eight sergeants, he admits (4.3.7, 3).<sup>1</sup> The playing company, location, and timeliness of this scene in *Chaste Maid*, performed in 1613 at the Swan theatre on the Bankside by the Lady Elizabeth's Men, sheds light on then current happenings between watermen and the players. The Bankside playhouses suffered particularly after the Globe burned in June 1613, and a number of playing companies performed north of the city in Middlesex. These circumstances resulted in a financial crisis for the watermen, who relied heavily on the business of Bankside theatrical patrons. In her notes to *Chaste Maid* regarding Touchwood Senior's speech, Linda Woodbridge intriguingly writes, 'To report [this incident] on the stage of the Swan was to denigrate a rival theatre, on the wrong side of the river in the watermen's view, as a rowdy, dangerous place'.<sup>2</sup> By examining Middleton's play in relation to evidence regarding the interactions between the Swan and the Blackfriars and their connection to the watermen's trade, this essay investigates the proposition Woodbridge raises. I argue that Touchwood Senior's speech reveals sympathies for the watermen's plight from the Lady Elizabeth's Men and exposes underlying tensions between the watermen and the King's Men in 1613 and 1614. This essay thus provides insight into two theatrical companies' ties to a key industry in early modern London and the

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ways in which such interconnections shaped the neighbourhoods adjacent to the Thames. Rather than focusing on the impact of one theatre on a particular neighbourhood, this essay contributes to the topic of this section by offering a nuanced discussion of the reciprocal relationship between specific playing companies and the watermen's trade, based on their mutual or competing interests.

Several theatres in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries — including the Globe, the Rose, the Swan, and the Hope — were located on the southern bank of the Thames on the Bankside, so many theatregoers relied on the Thames ferryboats, or wherries, to transport patrons from the City of London across the river. As Andrew Gurr explains, 'The Thames wherries offered the nearest thing to a taxi service London had at the time'.<sup>3</sup> Poorer patrons had to cross London Bridge by foot, but the wealthier ones could pay a half-penny for transport across the river by a sculler and a penny by two oarsmen.<sup>4</sup> Thomas Middleton relates in his pamphlet *Father Hubbards Tales: Or the Ant, and the Nightingale* (1604) how a gentleman of the period could 'venture beyond sea, that is, in a choice paire of Noble-mens Oares, to the Bank-side, where he must sit out the breaking up of a Comedie, or the first cut of a Tragedie'.<sup>5</sup> By characterizing the Thames as the 'sea', Middleton represents the gallant's ferry ride to the theatres as an adventurous voyage. The ride is not mere transportation but an intrinsic component of the gallant's pleasure-filled excursion. Middleton's implied possessive use of 'Noble mens' grammatically positions the Thames watermen, the 'choice pair of Oares', as belonging to a gentleman who has paid for their services, a statement that underscores not only the relationship of watermen and their gentlemen clients but also the reciprocal commercial arrangement between the watermen and the theatre. The watermen relied on theatrical patrons for their living, but the theatres likewise depended on the watermen to transport their audiences to the plays.

In his play *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, Middleton turns to watermen again — not only as dynamic agents in the world of the Thames and its environs, as in Touchwood Senior's speech, but also as fictional characters in the play who help Moll and her lover Touchwood Junior rendezvous by water. Moll, who has been kept under lock and key by her father Yellowhammer so that she will marry Sir Walter Whorehound, escapes from her confinement to meet Touchwood Junior. The First and Second Watermen aid the lovers in their unsuccessful flight, the first carrying Moll from Trig Stairs<sup>6</sup> and the second Touchwood Junior from Paul's Wharf.<sup>7</sup> In a speech to Touchwood Junior that precedes Moll's Thames adventure, Touchwood Senior, echoing the lines from *Father Hubbard's Tales*, similarly captures the complex relationship between theatrical patrons and the Thames watermen:

I had been taken, brother, by eight sergeants,  
 But for the honest watermen; I am bound to them;  
 They are the most requiteful'st people living,  
 For as they get their means by gentlemen,  
 They are still the forwardest to help gentlemen.  
 You heard how one 'scaped out of the Blackfriars,  
 But a while since, from two or three varlets  
 Came into the house with all their rapiers drawn,  
 As if they'd dance the sword-dance on the stage,  
 With candles in their hands, like chandlers' ghosts,  
 Whilst the poor gentleman so pursued and bandied  
 Was by an honest pair of oars safely landed. (4.3.1–12)

Touchwood Senior twice characterizes the watermen as 'honest', showing his loyalty and indebtedness to those of this trade; yet in the same breath he reveals how they defied city authority to help him flee from eight sergeants. Touchwood Senior then relates how another 'honest pair of oars' once assisted a particular 'poor gentleman', who was being pursued by 'varlets' onto the Blackfriars stage, to escape from the theatre by water. Touchwood Senior says that the gentleman 'Was by an honest pair of oars safely landed', implying that the watermen rowed him across the river to safety.<sup>8</sup> Touchwood Senior's term 'requiteful', which in the seventeenth century meant 'making due return or repayment; giving due reward', reinforces the idea that the watermen, 'the most requiteful'st people living', would have felt inclined to repay the gentlemen, the primary theatre patrons who supplied their living.<sup>9</sup> According to Touchwood Senior, watermen are 'forwardest' to ensure the prerogatives of gentlemen entertainment seekers.

Yet, more intriguingly, Touchwood Senior's speech highlights a particular social and economic conflict occurring at this time and how it played out on the early modern stage. The tale Touchstone Senior relates places the incident about the gentleman and watermen squarely within and just outside the Blackfriars theatre, the indoor winter space of the King's Men. The allusions to the gentleman and varlets bandying on stage in a 'sword dance' and to the 'candles in their hands' emphasize practices closely associated with indoor theatres, the most notable of which was the Blackfriars.<sup>10</sup> The speech, moreover, calls attention to disorderly, perhaps even illicit, actions occurring at this particular private theatre, suggesting it was known for 'rowdy, dangerous' behavior, as Woodbridge puts it. Since a player with the Lady Elizabeth's Men at the Swan theatre on the Bank-side spoke these pointed words about another theatre almost directly across the

Thames with intrinsic ties to a rival playing company, the speech would have had a heightened metatheatrical resonance.

In foregrounding the watermen's pivotal role in the gentleman's escape, this moment in *Chaste Maid* also implicitly speaks to the economic difficulties of Thames watermen at this time. As Richard J. Wall points out, Touchwood Senior's speech is in no way related to the plot of the play and seems to be a 'piece of rather obvious flattery to the watermen'.<sup>11</sup> The Bankside was not the centre of theatrical activity it had once been: the old Rose had been demolished, the Globe burned in 1613<sup>12</sup> and its new incarnation did not arise until 1614, and the Hope was not erected until 1614. Only the Swan remained open for business, but it housed plays very infrequently. Playing, furthermore, had expanded to theatres within London such as the Blackfriars and north of the city in Middlesex. The watermen had taken a hard financial hit as a result of these circumstances. In an attempt to remedy the watermen's financial crisis, John Taylor, the writer and Thames waterman known as 'The Water-Poet', petitioned the privy council in January 1614 on behalf of the Watermen's Company to limit playing in London and Middlesex in favour of the Bankside. He was accused of taking bribes from the players when the deal fell apart, a series of events he describes and defends in *The True Cause of the Watermen's Suit Concerning Players, and the reasons that their Playing on London side is their extreame hindrances*. Touchwood Senior's allusion to watermen would likely have recalled for the Swan audience their decline in business and their respective relationships with the two playing companies. The staging of *Chaste Maid*, usually dated ca 1613, fits with this time frame.<sup>13</sup> R.C. Bald reads the play's specific references to Lent as a response to the privy council's 1613 stricter enforcement of Lenten observation and as evidence that *Chaste Maid* was likely staged shortly after Lent in this year.<sup>14</sup> Wall maintains that it is 'plausible to suppose that [Middleton] is aiding the watermen in their petition to King James', an argument for which I am offering further evidence.<sup>15</sup> The Globe burning in June 1613 would certainly have heightened watermen's anxieties, opening the possibility of a later summer performance date for *Chaste Maid* than the one argued by Bald. Nevertheless, even if *Chaste Maid* was staged prior to the Globe's burning, the references to watermen could still recall their financial difficulties, which occurred before the Globe burned but were undoubtedly exacerbated by its destruction.<sup>16</sup>

In his pamphlet Taylor pinpoints the circumstances that led to the upsurge in their business and its subsequent decline, both of which centre around the practices of theatres. When the players began playing on the Bankside at the Globe, Rose and Swan, he writes, the numbers of watermen rose to meet the demand of

customers so that by the time of his pamphlet, 'the number of Water-men, and those that liue and are maintained by them, and by the onely labour of the Oare and the Scull, betwixt the Bridge of Windsor and Grauesend, cannot be fewer then forty thousand'.<sup>17</sup> With so many watermen and their families subsisting on theatrical business, the decline in water traffic at the time of *Chaste Maid's* production resulted in the destitution and starvation of many individuals, according to Taylor.<sup>18</sup> Their circumstances were so grave, apparently, that the company decided to take official action against playing in London and Middlesex. As Taylor writes, 'In the month of January last 1613 there was a motion made ... to petition to his Maiesty, that the Players might not haue a play-house in London or in Middlesex, within foure miles of the City on that side of the Thames'.<sup>19</sup> Taylor details the measures he took as their representative to alleviate their financial straits. He wrote several petitions to the members of the privy council, who he claims were 'compassionately affected to the necessity of [their] cause'.<sup>20</sup>

Considering its location perched on the south bank of the Thames, the Swan and its playing company would have had a vested interest in not only nurturing a mutually productive relationship with the watermen but also limiting playing north of the Thames. Like Touchwood Senior, who feels 'bound' to the watermen for the services they provide, the Swan players at this time, the Lady Elizabeth's Men, may have felt kinship and loyalty to the Thames ferrymen. Because their patrons relied on the watermen's services, it would have been, at the very least, theatrically and perhaps even financially beneficial to create a buzz by compassionately alluding to watermen in their plays. Lady Elizabeth's company, according to C.W. Wallace, comprised some of the best actors in London, many of whom later joined the King's Men. In 1613 its actors included Nathan Field, Joseph Taylor, William Eccleston, Emanuel Read, Thomas Basse, Robert Benfield, and William Barkstead.<sup>21</sup> Because he lived on the Bankside and worked on the Thames, John Taylor likely knew these men, some of them perhaps intimately. Taylor alluded to Barkstead and Field, for instance, in two different works, *Taylor's Feast* and *Wit and Mirth*.<sup>22</sup> More pointedly, an incident that occurred at the newly built Hope in October 1614 indicates Taylor's friendly relationship with these players. Taylor had challenged the entertainer William Fennor to a contest of wit to be staged at the Hope, an event that he publicized extensively. But when the appointed day, 7 October 1614, arrived, Fennor did not appear and the large audience that had gathered grew impatient. As Bernard Capp, Taylor's biographer, explains, 'They hurled abuse and then stones, and demanded their money back; one man even clambered on to the stage and began tearing down the hangings. Taylor tried to pacify them by performing his sketches, but eventually

the professional actors based at the Hope had to rescue him with an act from a play in their repertoire'.<sup>23</sup> The players who came to Taylor's rescue were probably the Lady Elizabeth's Men, who performed in Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* on that very stage just a few weeks later.<sup>24</sup> Jonson's play even makes an allusion to the ill-fated wit contest; Cokes declares, 'One Taylor would go near to beat all this company, with a hand bound behind him'.<sup>25</sup> If the Lady Elizabeth's Men in fact came to Taylor's rescue in 1614, they likely were not only aware of but sympathetic to the watermen's difficulty in the preceding year, when their economic crisis had reached its peak.

The Lady Elizabeth's Men had a further connection to the watermen in that they were under contract with Philip Henslowe and his business partner, a waterman named Jacob Meade. Notwithstanding the fact that Meade likely had professional sympathies, Henslowe himself had a history of working with the watermen to ensure playing continued at the Rose. Three undated documents in the Henslowe-Alleyn papers, assumed to be from 1590, concern the Rose playhouse, the Company of Watermen, and a restraint on playing.<sup>26</sup> In one of these documents, a letter to the privy council from 'the righte honorable the Lord Straunge his servantes and Plaiers', the company, through an appeal to the watermen's plight, asks the council to recall the restraint and permit their use of the Rose: 'And for that the vse of our plaiehowse on the Banckside, by reason of the passage to and frome the same by water, is a greate releif to the poore watermen theare. And our dismission thence nowe in the longe vacation, is to those poore men a greate hindraunce, and in manner an vndoieinge, as they generallie complaine'.<sup>27</sup> A second document addressed to the Lord Admiral, signed by seventeen members of the Company of Watermen, mentions Henslowe and the restraint against playing at the Rose: 'We your said poore watermen have had muche helpe and reliefe for vs oure poore wives and Children by meanes of the resorte of suche people as come vnto the said playe howse, It maye therefore please your good Lordship ... to give leave vnto the said Phillipp Henslo to have playenge in his said howse'.<sup>28</sup> Though the documents have not been proven to refer to the same event, the players' and watermen's mutual allusions confirm their commercial alliance and, importantly, Henslowe's central role therein. Carol Chillington Rutter even argues that Henslowe seems to have organized the watermen's petition himself on the grounds that some of the signatories were his neighbours and tenants. According to Rutter, 'The Watermen's Petition ... is the sort of permanently useful appeal Henslowe might have held in reserve to issue — in compassion's name — whenever his playhouse was threatened'.<sup>29</sup> If such was the case in the early 1590s, then this precedent lends more credence to a later alliance of a Henslowe company/venue with the

watermen, articulated more subtly in the Lady Elizabeth's Men's performance of *Chaste Maid* at the Swan in 1613.

In contrast to the Lady Elizabeth's Men, those involved with the Blackfriars theatre would not have needed the services of watermen to the same extent due to this theatre's location within the city walls and its wealthier clientele's reliance upon luxurious coaches to transport them to plays there. If the Lady Elizabeth's Men were somewhat understanding of the plight of Taylor and his company in 1613 and 1614, relations between the watermen and King's Men were fraught. When Taylor entered the suit to stop playing in London and Middlesex on behalf of his company, the King's company entered their own counter-petition to the privy council. According to Taylor, 'His Maiestes Players did exhibit a petition against vs, in which they said, that our suit was vnreasonable, and that we might as iustly remoue the Exchange, the walkes in Pauls, or Moorefields to the Bank-side for our profits, as to confine them'.<sup>30</sup> The counter-petition's wording suggests the absurdity with which the King's Men viewed the watermen's suit. The King's Men, at least according to Taylor's *True Cause*, not only had no intention of being 'confined', but also explicitly asserted their legitimacy by aligning themselves with civic and religious institutions such as St Paul's Cathedral and the Royal Exchange. Taylor interestingly makes a similar rhetorical move in the pamphlet. He relates how he reminded the lords of the privy council of the service watermen offered to their country during Queen Elizabeth's reign, 'how it pleased God (in that great deliuerance in the yeere 1588) to make Watermen good seruiceable instruments, with their losse of liues and limbs to defend their Prince and Country'.<sup>31</sup> He uses the words of Francis Bacon, one of the commissioners of the suit, to legitimize the watermen's trade and undercut that of the players as mere 'pasttime'. He writes, 'Sir Francis Bacon very worthily said that so farre forth as the Publik weale was to regarded before pastimes, or a serviceable decaying multitude before a handful of particular men, or profit before pleasure, so far was our suite to be preferred before theirs'.<sup>32</sup> Despite the persuasive rhetoric of the parties involved, the commission dissolved because of a happenstance, the death of Commissioner Walter Cope, and the Watermen's Company never heard any further word regarding their petition. But some men of his company alleged that Taylor had taken bribes from the players to drop the suit and that 'to that purpose [he] had a supper with them at the Cardinalls Hat on the Banke-side'.<sup>33</sup>

These accusations make evident Taylor's unique position as a waterman and poet, with connections in both worlds. The assumption that Taylor took bribes to drop the suit, his impetus for writing *True Cause*, suggests that he was intimate with at least some of these players or at least was perceived to have been,

though the watermen and King's Men were at odds on this particular issue. The Lady Elizabeth's Men and their financier Henslowe, however, would have had cause to both sympathize with and support the watermen's suit to limit playing north of the Thames; furthermore, it would have been theatrically and financially beneficial to refer explicitly to disorderly behavior at the rival Blackfriars theatre across the river and draw attention implicitly to the King's Men's opposition to the watermen. It seems more than mere coincidence that *Chaste Maid* and *Bartholomew Fair*, both performed by the Lady Elizabeth's Men, specifically dramatize watermen at a time when these workers underwent such financial hardship. Within its particular cultural moment, then, Touchwood Senior's story of the 'honest' watermen in *Chaste Maid* has a deeper significance, shedding light on both the reciprocal relationship between the watermen and players and the competing interests of two London playing companies. It reveals that the early modern theatre not only responded to cultural events occurring outside of the playhouse but also intervened in these debates, shaping the attitudes, industry, and policies of its neighbourhood.

## Notes

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- 1 All references to the play are from Linda Woodbridge (ed.), *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (eds), *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works* (Oxford, 2007).
- 2 See Woodbridge (ed.), *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, 946 n6.
- 3 See Andrew Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London* (Cambridge, 1987), 34.
- 4 See Bernard Capp, *The World of John Taylor the Water-Poet, 1578–1653* (Oxford, 1994), 9.
- 5 Thomas Middleton, *Father Hubburds Tales: Or the Ant, and the Nightingale* (London, 1604; STC: 17874.7), D1r.
- 6 Trig Stairs is a landing place on the north bank of the Thames about a quarter-mile east of Puddle Wharf. It is at the bottom of Trig Lane, which runs from Upper Thames Street to the river (Fran C. Chalfant, *Ben Jonson's London: A Jacobean Place-name Dictionary* [Athens, 1978], 185).
- 7 A landing between Puddle Wharf and Trig Stairs, according to Richard Dutton's notes to the play (Richard Dutton [ed.], *Thomas Middleton: Women Beware Women and Other Plays* [Oxford, 1999], 343 n26). Both Trig Stairs and Paul's Wharf, as well as many other locations, can be plotted on *The Map of Early Modern London*, <https://mapoflondon.uvic.ca>.



- 8 Presumably, they would have left from the nearest dock (Blackfriars, just south of the theatre on the Thames) and taken the most direct route across to land at Paris Garden stairs (the closest dock to the Swan theatre, located in the Paris Garden liberty on the Bankside).
- 9 *OED*, s.v. 'requisiteful, *adj.*'
- 10 In her analysis of the actors and audience at the Blackfriars, Tiffany Stern emphasizes the close association of indoor theatres with candlelight, describing the Blackfriars as 'bathed in strong artificial light'. She also notes that the Blackfriars plays, which were performed on a 'small, crushed stage in the midst of spectators who took boxes around or stools on the stage itself', typically had 'internal events' such as masques, songs, and dances (see Tiffany Stern, 'Taking Part: Actors and Audience on the Stage at Blackfriars', Paul Menzer [ed.], *Inside Shakespeare: Essays on the Blackfriars Stage* [Selinsgrove PA, 2006], 44–7). Dutton explains that these lines refer to a 'real event, not a show, and the swordsmen would need candles to find their way' (*Thomas Middleton*, 343 n6).
- 11 Wall notes that this reading is 'stengthened by the appearance of the watermen later on in the same scene, where they are made to appear as paragons of sensitive, sentimental feelings'. See Richard J. Wall, 'A Critical Edition of Thomas Middleton's *A Chast Mayd in Cheap-Side*', PhD thesis (University of Michigan, 1958), 8.
- 12 Roslyn Knutson explains that the fire occurred on 29 June 1613 during a performance of *Henry VIII* because of a 'bit of tamping, which was fired during the production from a piece of ordnance and which flew to the roof and lit the thatching' (*The Repertory of Shakespeare's Company, 1594–1613* [Fayetteville AR, 1991], 163).
- 13 The title page of the 1630 Quarto notes that the play was acted by the Lady Elizabeth's Men at the Swan. Charles Barber clarifies that this limits the play's dating to 1611–4 since that company was not formed until 1611; Charles Barber, 'Introduction', *Thomas Middleton: A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* [Berkeley, 1969], 1–8. C.W. Wallace offers a further explanation that Jacob Mead and Philip Henslowe, who had taken on the Swan lease after 1611, used this theatre for the Lady Elizabeth's company exclusively until 1613; see Charles William Wallace, 'The Swan Theatre and the Earl of Pembroke's Servants', *Englische Studien* 43 (1911), 340–95, 391.
- 14 R.C. Bald, 'The Chronology of Middleton's Plays', *Modern Language Review* 32.1 (1937), 33–43, 39–40, <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3715139>.
- 15 See Wall, 'Critical Edition', 8.
- 16 Wall argues, 'It may be assumed ... that the agitation by the watermen started before the formal suit was actually drawn up, and that they solicited help from the players and playwrights to present them as flatteringly as possible to the public' ('Critical

- Edition', 9). But, more to the point, it seems likely that the watermen solicited *certain* players friendly to their plight, such as the Lady Elizabeth's Men.
- 17 John Taylor, *The True Cause of the Water-Mens Suit concerning Players, and the reasons that their Playing on London side is their extreame hindrances*, in *All the Workes of John Taylor The Water-Poet* (London, 1630; stc 23725), 172.
  - 18 In his pamphlet Taylor gives an indication of the magnitude of the watermen's financial difficulty: '[T]he Players have all ... left their usuall residency on the Bankeside, and doe play in Middlesex farre remote from the Thames, so that every day in the weeke they doe draw unto them three or foure thousand people, that were used to spend their monies by water' (Taylor, *True Cause*, 172).
  - 19 Ibid, 171. This would have likely been 1614 (1613 in old-style dating), but the watermen must have been having difficulties at least throughout 1613, which culminated in the motion.
  - 20 Ibid.
  - 21 Wallace, 'The Swan Theatre', 392.
  - 22 See *Taylor's Feast: Contayning Twenty-seaven Dishes of meate* (London, 1638; stc 23798), B1v–B3r, and *Wit and Mirth, Chargeably collected out of Tavernes, Ordinaries, Innes, Bowling Greenes, and Allies, Alehouses, Tobacco shops, Highwayes, and Water-passages* (London, 1629; stc 23814), B1v, B7v, for these specific allusions.
  - 23 Capp, *World of John Taylor*, 15.
  - 24 Ibid, 41. Wallace clarifies that the Lady Elizabeth's Men played at the Swan until the Hope was built, after which their company, 'the Prince's, and Rossiter's company were shifted and shuffled between the two theatres in a way not yet untangled, until the members, growing tired of their treatment, lodged a lengthy protest against Henslowe and Meade in 1615, resulting in a reorganization of affairs by Edward Alleyn shortly after Henslowe's death at the opening of the year 1616, with only one company, the Prince's, at the Hope' ('The Swan Theatre', 391).
  - 25 Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, Arthur F. Kinney (ed.), *Renaissance Drama: An Anthology of Plays and Entertainments* (Malden MA, 1999), 481–555, 5.3.81–3. *Bartholomew Fair* also, perhaps more than coincidentally, stages a waterman. Jonson depicts a bawdy Thames adventure in the form of a puppet show that reinvents Christopher Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* with the Thames as Hero and Leander's Hellespont and the sculler Old Cole as the lovers' pander.
  - 26 Lawrence Manley and Sally-Beth MacLean explain that these documents have traditionally been dated 1592 or 1593. Alan H. Nelson's discovery, however, that two of the seventeen signatories for the Company of Watermen were buried in St Saviour's parish in 1591 makes this date untenable. According to Manley and MacLean, therefore, 'the three documents, assuming they are connected, cannot be dated later than

July or August 1590'. See Manley and MacLean, *Lord Strange's Men and Their Plays* (New Haven, 2014), 51.

- 27 Ibid, 50.
- 28 Ibid, 51. The third document of this group, which mentions 'the Lorde Straunge his servauntes' and 'poore watermen', seems to be a warrant from the privy council to the justices of Surrey to lift the restraint against the Rose (Manley and MacLean, *Lord Strange's Men*, 51).
- 29 Carol Chillington Rutter (ed.), *Documents of the Rose Playhouse* (Manchester, 1999), 63. As Rutter explains, the watermen opposed Henslowe's building of the Fortune north of the city in 1600 likely for similar economic reasons as the ones mentioned in Taylor's 1614 pamphlet (64).
- 30 Taylor, *True Cause*, 172.
- 31 Ibid, 171.
- 32 Ibid, 172.
- 33 Ibid, 173. Taylor, in fact, writes the pamphlet to 'justify' his course of action in the suit to the men of his company: 'I doubt not but with truth to stop the mouthes of Ignorance and Mallice that haue and doe daily scandalize mee, (and withall I know I shall purchase a generall thankes from all honest men of my Company) so I am assured to gaine the hatred of some that loue mee well' (*True Cause*, 171).

