The work based learning of creative artists: the case of William Shakespeare

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Abstract

This thesis applies work based learning concepts to understanding Shakespeare's professional development and the relationship between his work roles and works. The purposes of this are to enhance understanding about Shakespeare, develop the argument for work based learning as a field of studies and investigate the relevance of the approach to historical and contemporary creative practitioners. To meet these objectives the following research question was formulated: as a creative artist, practising in an evolving occupational area in a period itself fraught with social change and questions about the nature of work, social status and the performing arts, what was the relationship between Shakespeare's work roles and the production of his works. What was the nature of his work based learning? In construing Shakespeare's career in this way the thesis explores previously researched issues in original and illuminating ways.

In applying work based learning thinking to Role Theory methodology new instrumentation for collecting and analysing data has been invented; the Time Chart, Map of Role Sets and a three-dimensional analytical framework. This has been necessary to analyse work based learning holistically, acknowledging the importance of the social, historical and cultural context. Shakespeare's career is analysed against key work based learning questions providing new understanding of the work role of sharer and principal playwright.

The thesis concludes that the methodology is of value because it can mediate between individual learning and an organisational environment that is specifically contextualised. A major conclusion is that understanding Shakespeare's work based learning as exemplary, through planned and opportunistic projects, in collaboration with his professional peers and supported by socially sophisticated patronage networks were fundamental to his unique success. The considerable implications for

further research as a major means of identifying and analysing the work based learning of historical and contemporary creative artists are given.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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PRESENTATION

Quotations from Shakespeare's works have been taken from the New Arden editions and the reader is referred to the Bibliography for the full and detailed references. The spelling in citations and quotations used throughout this thesis has not been modernised nor Anglicised where the original source materials are either from primary sources or in publications other than in standard English. This is with the exception of the long 's' where modern typography has been adopted. Endnotes are contained at the end of each chapter.

ABBREVIATIONS

Wherever possible I have avoided the use of abbreviations except where this will aid the reader, and have followed standard academic practice of citing the abbreviation in brackets after the first time the full, unabbreviated, reference to the acronym is used. For ease of reference, the abbreviations used are also listed below.

CV	*Curriculum vitae*
DNB	*Dictionary of National Biography, The Concise: From earliest times to 1985.* (1992). 3 vols. Oxford. The Oxford University Press
F1	The First Folio of Shakespeare's plays, the full and correct title of which is: *MR. WILLIAM/ SHAKESPEARES/ COMEDIES,/ HISTORIES, &/ TRAGEDIES./ Published according to the True Originall Copies./* LONDON./ Printed by Isaac Jaggard, and Ed. Blount. 1623. See Hinman (1968).
NCWBLP	The National Centre for Work Based Learning Partnerships, Middlesex University
Q	Quarto. In Table 1 and Figure 2, 'Q' will normally be followed by a number, for instance Q1, Q2, to refer to the chronological numbering of Quarto editions of Shakespeare's works, where more than one Quarto is known to exist.
Revels 3	Barroll, J.L.; Leggatt, A.; Hosley, R. and Kernan, A. (1975). *The Revels history of drama in English: Volume III 1576 - 1642.* London. Methuen.

Revels 4	Edwards, P.; Bentley, G.E.; McLuskie, K. and Potter, L. (1981). *The Revels history of drama in English: Volume IV 1613 - 1660.* London. Methuen.
RSC	The Royal Shakespeare Company
<	At the earliest, referring to the date immediately next to the symbol.
>	At the latest, referring to the date immediately next to the symbol.
@	'At', referring to the place or venue location of at event or theatre performance.

Abbreviations used in Table 1, The Time Chart and Figure 2, the Map of Role Sets

Titles of Shakespeare's works are abbreviated and follow the standards used by the editors of the New Arden editions of Shakespeare. It is these abbreviations that are used in Table 1, the Time Chart and Figure 2, the Map of Role Sets. Please note that these abbreviations are italicised with the exception of in Table 1 the Time Chart, where they are in standard font for ease of clarity. For examination purposes only Table 1 and Figure 2 are presented as two separate posters as well as being contained in the CD-ROM.

All's Well	*All's Well That Ends Well*
A & C	*Antony and Cleopatra*
ASYI	*As You Like It*
ComErr	*The Comedy of Errors*
Cor	*Coriolanus*
Cym	*Cymbeline*
Ham	*Hamlet*
JC	*Julius Caesar*
1H4	*King Henry IV Part I*
2H4	*King Henry IV Part II*
H5	*King Henry V*
1H6	*King Henry VI Part I*
2H6	*King Henry VI Part II*
3H6	*King Henry VI Part III*
John	*King John*
Luc	*The Rape of Lucrece*
Lr	*King Lear*
R2	*King Richard II*
R3	*King Richard III*
H8	*King Henry VIII*
LLL	*Love's Labour's Lost*
Mac	*Macbeth*
Mea	*Measure for Measure*
MerV	*The Merchant of Venice*
Wives	*The Merry Wives of Windsor*

MND	*A Midsummer Night's Dream*
MuchAdo	*Much Ado about Nothing*
Oth	*Othello*
Per	*Pericles*
Phoenix	*The Phoenix and the Turtle*
R&J	*Romeo and Juliet*
Sonnets	*The Sonnets*
Shr	*The Taming of the Shrew*
Tp	*The Tempest*
Timon	*Timon of Athens*
TitA	*Titus Andronicus*
T&C	*Troilus and Cressida*
12N	*Twelfth Night*
2GV	*The Two Gentlemen of Verona*
2NK	*The Two Noble Kinsmen*
V & A	*Venus and Adonis*
WinT	*The Winter's Tale*

Quarto and folio editions of Shakespeare's works are signified by 'Q' and 'F'.

G1	The first Globe Playhouse, 1599 - 1613
G2	The second Globe Playhouse, 1614 - 1644
SR	The Stationers' Register

Other abbreviations used in the Map of Role Sets set out in Tables 2 and 3 on pages 153 and 155 respectively in Chapter 6. Prices are given in pounds (£), shillings (s) and pence (d). The Time Chart follows the Gregorian calendar which was operative in Europe from 1582 while the Julian remained enforced England until 1752 (see Sohmer, 1999 for the implications of this difference).

Chapter One

THE WORK BASED LEARNING APPROACH

Introduction

The development of work based learning within higher education institutions (HEIs) in the United Kingdom, and indeed internationally, has been exponential over the past decade and led to numerous publications about the diversity of good practice.[1] Such diversity has necessarily been the subject of much intelligent and useful debate, initially through conferences, forums and networks instigated by the Department for Education and Employment, whose funding of a series of university work based learning projects, 1990 - 1996, was instrumental for research and development work that has gradually created a real wealth of information.[2] Brennan and Little's (1996) detailed review of work based learning activity provides a valuable summary of the background, theory, methods and instruments available for work based learning as a new and valuable mode of higher education level learning for those in employment. Their analysis of the changing world of higher education and the economic and social imperatives for work based learning are still, in general, highly relevant today. They highlight the importance of development work for generating case study material that, over time, leads to a critical mass of such material enabling analysis and theorising about work based learning.

As with any new mode of learning that seeks to develop its own terminology and frames of reference, work based learning draws on existing theories about knowledge acquisition, development and application, and these are introduced below. However, more recently, academic attention has been able to turn to developing further work based learning into a more mature theoretical framework (Portwood and Costley, eds, 2000, in press). While it is understood that work based learning is currently under-theorised (Eraut, 1999: 1) the questions of which theories are relevant and why remains much debated. However, it has been argued that work based learning practice is most likely to

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generate types of grounded theory (Portwood, 1995). This would link with an early contention (Garnett, 1995) that work based learning is also potentially a field of studies. This is gathering momentum, witnessed for example by the enormity of contribution to the published proceedings of the University of Leeds 1999 conference (Forrester *et al*, 1999).[3]

It is the combination of work based learning as a mode of learning and its emergent status as a tentative field of studies that this thesis seeks to address in a unique and original way; not least because it is probably the first doctoral thesis to deal with this subject.[4] The subject will be approached by introducing some characteristics of the work based learning of creative artists, and specifically applying critical questions that arise from that to the case of William Shakespeare. A full rationale for this is in Chapter 2. This chapter therefore contains a summary account of the premises about the work based learning approach that underpin the development and subsequent analysis of the thesis' research question.

The above indicates a whole series of critical, even vexatious, questions about the nature of work based learning and the rationale for the subject of this thesis. Chapter 1 seeks to introduce these by structuring the chapter as follows. To contextualise the problem of William Shakespeare's work based learning, the rationale which follows this introduction will present the initial argument for this being a valid and valuable topic for doctoral level research that constitutes an original contribution to knowledge, both about Shakespeare and about work based learning. This leads to sections which will summarise the features of work based learning. The discussion will consider what is work based learning, its strengths, purposes, major characteristics and the methodological instruments by which the work based learning of groups and individuals can be understood. The discussion introduces the main research question (it is fully discussed in Chapter 2), which in turn will lead into an overview of the structure and content of the entire thesis.

A definition of work based learning is necessary at this point. Work based learning is the process by which knowledge and abilities are acquired, practised

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and developed through working; as such it is primarily but not exclusively experiential. Such learning is normally evidenced by different types of project work that demonstrate learning as a result of reflecting on and in action. Work may be paid or unpaid, but will comprise fulfilling the bundle of complex explicit and implicit responsibilities that in modern terms would be found within a job description and person specification and may be reviewed and monitored through appraisal and performance management systems. Thus work based learning contains a matrix of the planned, unplanned, incidental, formal and informal learning from doing one's job, or work role. What use one makes of that learning, why and how, is critical to the impact it will have on the future development of self and others with and for whom one works.

Rationale: the problem of Shakespeare's work based learning

A hypothesis of this thesis is that Shakespeare's work based learning was both entirely experiential, rather than as a result of formal teaching, and also exemplary. How, why and with what consequences emerges in the discussions and analyses that follow. While the argument that Shakespeare's work based learning was entirely experiential may be contentious, that it was exemplary is not when we consider the calibre of the works that he produced throughout his career. The quality of the poems and plays together with the undisputed success of the company of which Shakespeare was part from 1594 when he was thirty, the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men, is sufficient evidence for this exemplification at this stage in the thesis.[5] The company's success is discussed throughout the thesis, and relates to a particular feature in Chapter 2 which looks at the necessity of individual learning contributing to a theatre company's overall ability to succeed in creative and financial terms.

We have on the one hand a huge amount of critiques about the success and power of Shakespeare's works (Wells, ed., 1973); part of the presumed product of his work based learning. About his work roles, or professional activity on the other hand, limited information is available and much is speculation (Thomson, 1994) due to the huge gaps and silences in primary source material.[6] This

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presents the dichotomy that while we have access to enormously rich and varied materials about the works, we do not have much information about his work roles. It is the combination of works and work roles that enable us to analyse a person's work based learning, and the work based learning approach, as will be seen, provides tried and tested methods to determine what a person's work roles comprise and therefore analyse the resultant acquisition, practice and development of relevant purposeful knowledge and ability. What is meant by work products or works especially when applied to creative artists and thence to Shakespeare, is the subject of Chapter 2.

Shakespeare has therefore been chosen for the subject of this thesis because he is significant as an historical person who was a highly successful creative artist, and also because of his importance to scholarly and creative worlds alike. At the risk of being simplistic, the study of Shakespeare is fraught with ambiguity; circumstances that as will be seen below, are characteristic of work based learning. The methodologies used in this thesis, may help to expand what Eraut (1999:1) describes as the 'domain of "knowledgeable ignorance"...our knowledge of what we do not know', which is especially pertinent to research about Shakespeare. Clearly the case of William Shakespeare is open to interpretation and to know and understand more about what Shakespeare knew and could do, how he acquired that knowledge and the use he made of it, **as a practitioner**, is undoubtedly of great scholarly interest. Just as Shakespeare's output from his creative work was innovative, so by its very nature work based learning is essentially about exploring new materials, products and services for appropriate audiences. This thesis is likely to interest at least three different, but not mutually exclusive audiences:

1. Academics and scholars whose disciplines are from the performing arts, humanities and social sciences and work based learning practitioners from any discipline.
2. Practitioners / workers in the performing arts, and work based learners.
3. Professional organisations and individuals involved in all aspects of designing, delivering, regulating and funding the education, training and development of these occupational areas.

The nature and purpose of work based learning

From the perspective of the academy, work based learning programmes are designed to meet the needs of mature learners who are normally in full-time employment. Such programmes are therefore frequently characterised by high levels of customisation and delivery flexibility and will typically involve the learner in project activity within their workplace that simultaneously meets requirements of academic validity and the individual's professional development needs within the context of their organisation's objectives. Such programmes are useful and in demand because they meet the social imperatives of the academy's and government's visions of expanded access to higher education and some of the economic imperatives for lifelong learning (Portwood and Costley, eds. 2000, in press).

From the individual learner's perspective undertaking a work based learning programme while working removes some of the barriers to equality of access and by locating the programme of study firmly within the work environment provides a professionally focused and relevant qualification. From an employer's perspective there is strong empirical evidence (Armsby et al, 1999; Costley, et al, 1999) that work based learning creates new knowledge, develops new products and services that are of direct benefit to the organisation, improving performance in the workplace and making a direct contribution to what is being termed an organisation's 'intellectual capital'.[7] This links work based learning to the concept of the learning organisation (Pedler et al, 1991 and Senge, 1992 are key texts) not least because learning through work can inform the academy's own research about the curriculum of the workplace.

Although this is interesting to work based learning practitioners within higher education, it is clear that this research is about learning outside the academy and of an historical nature, and attempting to do something altogether different and original with the work based learning concept. This chapter draws on strong experience of work based learning as a mode of learning predicated by the framework for Work Based Learning **Studies** programmes run by the National Centre for Work Based Learning Partnerships (NCWBLP) at Middlesex

University (Armsby *et al*, 1999; Costley *et al*, 1999) and elsewhere.[8] This is because this model is the most mature in terms of its curriculum and research and most advanced in its conceptual understanding of work based learning as a field of studies.

The model is influenced by research and development work that identified the existence of a curriculum in the work place (Naish, 1994a) and experimented with methods and instruments by which such a curriculum could be made explicit. Its application since then has been extensively developed by NCWBLP academic staff (NCWBLP, 1999) and demonstrates that a workplace curriculum can be understood in terms of learning that is organisational, functional, occupational, sectoral and of course individually specific. For example, when one of the instruments for uncovering an individual's learning is the accreditation of experiential learning they already have from work, there follows an argument that given this is always highly individualised and contextualised it can be understood as the individual's own 'curriculum'. This is where some of the argument for work based learning's as a field of studies stems from because it is from this basis that the individual can customise and develop a programme of new learning. Of fundamental importance is to acknowledge that work based learning is always within a specific situated context that determines the cultural environment in which work based learning occurs. That cultural context will necessarily be heavily influenced by the values and ideologies inherent in the type of organisation where the learner is located and the type of work undertaken. In terms of the historical subject nature of this thesis, the methodological implications of cultural context, ideology and situated learning are introduced in Chapters 3 and 4, but discussed throughout the thesis.

Some underpinning theory and characteristics of work based learning

Major theorists about learning who have influenced the development of work based learning as a field of studies include Argyris (1992), Argyris and Schön (1978), Kolb (1984) and Schön (1987), although necessarily other work on aspects of management learning also have their place (Pedler, *et al*, 1991; Senge,

1992). Kolb's theory of experiential learning is well known and is discussed by Brennan and Little (1996: 42 - 45) and is the basis for Doncaster's (1999) application of Kolb's learning cycle in making learning explicit for students across all phases of the Work Based Learning Studies programmes. Kolb's theory sits comfortably with Schön's (1987) work on the reflective practitioner which takes many of its examples from the learning of creative artists. While the ability to critically reflect upon and analyse learning in and from action is a characteristic of work based learning, it also leads to work based learners possibly learning in reaction to experience as well as seeking deliberate learning opportunities through work. Such reflexivity may be seen as the learner's ability to learn consciously from unplanned, unsought learning opportunity, whereby what choices an individual makes about their use of new knowledge is as deliberate as that from self-directed learning opportunity.

Portwood (1995) made a series of initial propositions about the intellectual arguments for work based learning as a field of studies, which are still highly relevant, especially to the work based learning of creative artists, and indeed to the case of William Shakespeare. His views are sociologically influenced by the nature of work as a collaborative, social and purposeful activity and he defines effective work based learning occurring when '…the intelligent scepticism of the individual and the group and the focused intelligence of the expert and the team' meet (Portwood, 1995: 7). Learning from the diverse expertise found within work environments is fundamental to the organisational focus of work based learning. That meeting of minds to resolve work issues as critical incidents (itself a learning 'event'), Portwood argues, is evidence of higher education level learning and knowledge and ability acquisition and development, that leads to the production of effective outputs, or works, from that learning. Portwood advances four, intentionally paradoxical, propositions that he sees as key characteristics of work based learning:

1. it is whole but not necessarily wholesome;
2. it is ambitious but fraught with ambiguity;
3. it is dedicated application but highly opportunistic;
4. it is individual attainment but through collective effort.
Portwood (1995: 7)

Portwood uses the word 'whole' to indicate the holism or interdisciplinary nature of work based learning, but the word 'wholesome' to demonstrate that in the normality of work, one does not necessarily have control or choice over what is learnt. Therefore one of the characteristics that work based learning takes as axiomatic is that not only is not all learning sought, but it can also be undesirable; holistic learning is not necessarily harmonious. The totality of a person's work based learning will always throw up a bundle of contradictions and messiness. The social nature of work means that whatever one's ambitions, they must always be contextualised by the ambitions, plans and actions of others. Thus one of the dichotomies inherent in work based learning is the management of ambiguity and tension. Working hard of course can advance ambition, but hard work alone, especially for creative artists is insufficient, and needs to co-join with the ability to seek, respond to and use opportunity for career development. Finally, work is rarely a solitary endeavour, but involves the contributions of multiple individuals. This is interesting because it suggests some congruency with the methodological framework that is introduced in Chapter 4, and expanded with new instruments in Chapter 6.

Work based learning instruments

Reference has already been made to the well known process within work based learning of identifying and analysing the experiential knowledge and abilities an individual already holds, and there is extensive literature in the field (Lloyd-Langton, 1993). Typically as part of this process an individual will develop what are called 'Areas of Learning' that designates titles to knowledge clusters that codifies it as the person's own 'curriculum'.[9] Also of relevance are those instruments that enable interrogation of documents that typically and naturally arise within the workplace. Documents such as job descriptions, person specifications, appraisal forms, critical incidents, organisational charts and objectives and *curriculum vitae* (CV) are routinely analysed using work based learning thinking to identify the range and depth of knowledge and abilities inherent in doing one's job. The interaction between the individualistic nature of a CV and the organisational nature of job descriptions is interesting because it

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enables analysis of specific aspects of work based learning in particular work situations. That such analysis takes some account of historical method (Garnett, 1995) is discussed in Chapter 2; that it leads to identifying how knowledge creation occurs is through project work.

The key instrument that work based learners use to acquire, develop and practice new knowledge is that of the project, not least because engaging in projects is a normal workplace activity. It is not possible to be prescriptive about what projects can achieve for the individual or their work environment in precise terms, because the potential is so huge. However, projects normally involve learning processes that if well designed map onto Kolb's learning cycle as discussed above. Work projects are discussed methodologically and in terms of Shakespeare's work based learning in Chapters 6 and 7.

Influences on work based learners

Much is made throughout this thesis of the overwhelming significance of the context in which work based learning occurs in what is learnt, how, why and with what consequences. While much of this is pre-determined by macro levels of social structures, at the level of the individual it is also important, and features throughout Chapters 3 - 7. Here it may be helpful to simply note what some of those influences are for the individual.

The immediate group of colleagues with whom one works on a day-to-day basis are necessarily of great influence, as are those official and unofficial influencers who determine the operational boundaries for doing one's job. This is a broad range including employers, share-holders, funding and regulatory bodies, professional groups and trades unions. The influence of these groups may be understood by the extent to which they enable or disable the work based learner and it is important to note the negative as well as the positive influences on the work based learner. Closely allied to this, indeed often overlapping with it, are those who are on the receiving end or benefit from the individual doing their job (in modern business terminology customers). The individual work based learner

is likely to place these customers into a hierarchical relationship to one another dependent upon their status and capacity to influence what the work based learner does and how.

There are other more complex and less tangible influencing factors such as how the work based learner construes their relationship between work and home and indeed between working and learning. What motivates them and how their previous experiences of working and learning effect attitudes to present and future learning may be less conscious and implicit only.

These are necessarily general points only, and ones that have been identified in discussion with work based learners, but will be dealt with methodologically and analytically at relevant points throughout the thesis.[10]

Research question

From the initial problem about Shakespeare's work based learning outlined above linked with this summary of the nature of and approach taken by work based learning, the key research question for the thesis is summarised as follows. As a creative artist, practising in an evolving occupational area in a period itself fraught with social change and questions about the nature of work, social status and the performing arts, what was the relationship between Shakespeare's work roles and the production of his works. What was the nature of his work based learning?

Summary

The above synopsis of work based learning concepts to date is intended to focus the reader on its new application in the subject and methodology of this thesis: the question of Shakespeare's work based learning. In doing so it is acknowledged that learning at and through work is not new, framing it into the construct of an academic field of studies that is similar in rigour to other fields of

study, but often different in method, recognises the plurality of epistemologies in modern higher education. At this point it will be helpful for the reader to have an overview of the sequence of the thesis to see how the themes identified in this chapter will be developed.

Chapter 2. Creative artists work based learning; the case of William Shakespeare. The chapter develops understanding of what is meant by a creative artist's works within the context of work based learning. While this relates specifically to the main research question it also shows, through exploring briefly the characteristics of contemporary creative artists' work based learning, how this can be applied to the case of William Shakespeare. This leads to formulating a series of important questions that attempt to synthesise known problems for the study of Shakespeare with work based learning thinking.

Chapter 3. The sixteenth and seventeenth century contexts. Because the questions raised at the end of Chapter 2 are specific to the socio-historic context in which Shakespeare's work based learning occurred, Chapter 3 discusses that context. It does so by looking at prevailing ideologies and actual events while discussing aspects of cultural theory that are considered relevant to the work based learning approach.

Chapter 4. Methodology. Role Theory has been chosen as the methodology for this thesis because as it can mediate between the individual person and their precise social contexts at the level of self, group, inter-group, organisation and overall social infrastructure, it is particularly appropriate for work based learning. Because Shakespeare's career is fraught with characteristics that are ascribed to work based learning, Role Theory is helpful in answering the key research question (as above) because it enables investigation of an historical work context exhibiting those same characteristics. The chapter notes the partiality and limitations of Role Theory and introduces the methods used to collect the empirical data - the subject of Chapter 6.

Chapter 5. Literature Review. This builds on Chapter 3 by relating the macro context described there to the micro level of the individual: William

Shakespeare. The review deliberately uses a standard work based learning instrument, a CV, as a template for structuring the chapter. This maps well onto the structure of Chapter 3. While it will show the utility of this approach it will also conclude that a CV provides a partial document which, together with the methodological limitations noted in Chapter 4, paves the way for Chapter 6.

Chapter 6. The Time Chart and Map of Role Sets: Presenting the Evidence. Following the evidence in Chapter 4 of the strengths and limitations of Role Theory to the subject of this research, this chapter presents all the empirical data collected using the new instrumentation of the Time Chart and a Map of Role Sets. This is the central chapter of the thesis and includes a full description of the additional new Role Theory terminology invented to cover the application of the theory within the context of work based learning to an historical creative artist.

Chapter 7. Analysing the data. Drawing together the entire methodological framework and empirical data, the chapter analyses the key research question by means of a new analytical framework. This is then structured by the key work based learning questions applied to Shakespeare that were identified in Chapter 2.

Chapter 8. Shakespeare's work based learning. Conclusions and implications. The chapter takes the three audience groups identified at the beginning of Chapter 1 in order to explore the conclusions to the thesis in terms of what has been learnt about Shakespeare and creative artists, theories about work based learning and the methodology used. The implications of the research for further research in these areas is discussed.

Notes

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1. Bibliographies of work based learning are to be found in Brennan and Little (1996), Lloyd-Langton (1993) and at http://www.copac.ac.uk where under the key word search 'work based learning' downloaded on 10.3.00, 128 entries were

found. Work based learning, as defined in this chapter, can be found in at least the following countries: Greece, Cyprus, The Netherlands, Hong Kong, Australia and is being developed in India and the United States of America. Interestingly the development of work based learning stems from work after the First World War in the USA to exempt service personnel from aspects of their college study. See Portwood and Naish (1994) for some of the historical aspects of work based learning.

2. Middlesex University's *Work Based Learning Bulletin* (1992 - 1996) and the Universities Association for Continuing Education (UACE) work based learning network are recent and current sources of detailed information about work based learning.

3. How new fields of study in higher education come into existence is an interesting question, and while not within the scale and scope of this thesis, it is worth noting how extensive feminist theorising, see Spender (ed.), (1983) has over time developed both Women's and Gender Studies as subjects within the academy.

4. A key word search 'work based learning' at http://www.theses.com which holds details of all theses from British universities from 1986, downloaded on 23.3.00 produced details of two doctoral thesis'. One on credit frameworks and the other on youth training schemes in Further Education.

5. The Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men will normally be referred to in this manner throughout the thesis, where comment is about their overall activities. The terminology acknowledges the continuity of their membership, which is an important feature of their success, and the change in their patron in 1603; all of which points are discussed fully throughout the thesis. Where specific reference is being made to their activities from 1594 - 1603, they will be know as the Lord Chamberlain's Men, from activities after 19 May 1603, they are known as the King's Men.

6. The notion of a work based learning 'silence' is an interesting one and is fully discussed in Chapters 6 and 7 from a methodological and analytical viewpoint. The reasons for writers being intentionally or unintentionally silent or silenced has both political and feminist connotations, and Olsen (1980) discusses the feminist perspective.

7. Readers will appreciate that this is appropriately a summary about the main premises of work based learning, on the basis that, firstly, much has been written about this and the extensive bibliography has been referred to, and secondly, this thesis is intending to extend, radically, the concept of work based learning as a field of studies through its subject and methodology. For the growing literature about intellectual capital see Edvinsson and Malone (1997) and Spek and Spijkervet (n.d).

8 . An increasing number of other institutions run work based learning programmes with models similar to that at Middlesex. For instance, the universities of Queen's in Belfast, Wolverhampton and Portsmouth. The University of Leeds work based learning project (Foster, 1996) was an especially interesting and exciting one, not least because one of its partners was The Henry Moore Foundation. See Brennan and Little (1996) for further information and examples.

9. Individual portfolios for the recognition and accreditation of work based learning are fascinating documents. There are two points to be made here; firstly, each portfolio is necessarily highly individualistic within a prescribed format meaning that one person's area of experiential learning designated 'management' will always be different from another person's. Secondly, even where, as occasionally happens, individuals might designate similar titles to their learning, the content of that learning would never be identical.

10. Given that work based learning programmes are generally not delivered in an instructional mode but in a facilitative one, this mapping of influencing factors for work based learners is of great value. Students are asked to do two things that inform this section. Firstly to analyse the individual influences they see within their own environment and discuss how they might make best use of them, and secondly through brainstorming the perceived inter and intra-personal blocks to and enablers for their learning to encourage critical reflection and reflexivity which are seen as hallmarks of metacognition.

Chapter Two

CREATIVE ARTISTS' WORK BASED LEARNING; THE CASE OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

Introduction

As has been seen in Chapter 1 the concept of work based learning as a field of studies in its own right is both new and radical, notwithstanding its relevance and attractiveness; because part of the argument is for the interdisciplinary nature of work based learning. The theories that underpin work based learning and the instruments it uses reinforce that work based learning thinking and practices occur in diverse occupational and organisational areas as well as being found in the detailed matrices of individual learning.

This chapter moves this argument on by relating work based learning thinking to specific occupational groupings, that of professional playwrights and actors, and in so doing describes how the work based learning approach may have new and special applicability in the theatre. Examples of the putative work based learning of contemporary theatre practitioners will be given to illustrate the approach. This will be followed by introducing William Shakespeare as an outstanding example of a playwright from the work based learning perspective. The thesis' research question relates specifically to this exemplar and is: as a creative artist, practising in an evolving occupational area in a period itself fraught with changes and questions about the nature of work, social status and the arts what was the relationship between Shakespeare's work roles and the production of his works? What was the nature of his work based learning? This may be extended by asking how the work role of playwright evolved over the duration of his career? How did Shakespeare's other work role activity of sharer within the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men influence how the role of playwright evolved, and

indeed *vice versa*? What was the intensity and direction of any influence, and indeed can this be identified at all?

The section entitled 'What is meant by works?' attempts to clarify and define terminology used throughout this thesis to describe Shakespeare's professional output from these work roles and his dramatic and poetic works. This discussion will leads to additional research questions that, when data is analysed using the thesis's main methodology, Role Theory (see Chapter 4), will yield a detailed picture of Shakespeare's capabilities across a broad professional portfolio. This will explore the dynamics of his interactions, and hence relationships, with individuals and theatre companies within the cultural context and social systems in which he operated.

It is argued that the interplay of Shakespeare's work roles with that of his works throughout a long and successful career is likely to enhance significantly a) our understanding of Shakespeare's career; b) the argument for work based learning as a field of studies; and c) the relevance of the approach to understanding the work based learning of creative artists. The diversity of Shakespeare's work roles is fully discussed in Chapter 5 and analysed in Chapter 7.

Some will find this approach controversial, provocative even. However, as has already been seen, and will be a recurrent theme in this thesis, part of the rationale for selecting Shakespeare as the subject for a work based learning analysis is to build an argument for the nature of learning being specific to the social and occupational contexts in which the individual is operating. By being so successful in his chosen career within a new occupational area Shakespeare's work based learning is deemed to be entirely experiential. In different forms, the work based learning approach is similar in rigour but different in method to a recent biographer of Shakespeare (Honan, 1998) to the New Historicists' work on the Renaissance (Greenblatt, 1990; Wilson and Dutton, 1992) and the field of modern literary criticism (Cox and Kastan, 1997). Above all it is congruent with the long

standing scholarly traditions of discussing knowledge, experience and above all professional practice, used by the theatre historians from Malone to Gurr (1996) and Kastan (1999).[1]

Within this chapter then a series of characteristics indicative of the work based learning of theatre practitioners will emerge which are congruent with the more generic theoretical propositions of work based learning discussed in Chapter 1, but necessarily more occupationally specific. The characteristics, while being simply articulated, will suggest complex and highly interactive learning processes that may be partially socially determined by the culture of theatre companies and the external social and cultural forces with which they must mediate for successful work performance.

> There maybe a moment in which a solitary individual puts words on a page, but it is by no means clear that this moment is the heart of the mystery and that everything else is to be stripped away and discarded. Moreover, the moment of inscription, on closer analysis, is itself a social moment.
> Greenblatt (1988: 5)

Work based learning and creative artists

Necessarily the field of work based learning has been much preoccupied with the worlds of business and of the manager and, as promoted by government, this has often been the thrust of much work based learning to date.[2] However, some small scale case study work is beginning to identify and explore the work based learning of creative artists within theatre companies and this, together with the realisation that workplace documents can be analysed using historical method, leads to harnessing the historical with the creative aspects of work based learning.[3]

The need for effective work based learning to occur within theatre companies is central to the relationship between the professional development and success of

individual practitioners and the quality of artistic performance and economic viability of theatre companies. For example, in 1905 the purpose of the Royal Shakespeare Company (RSC) was described in terms resonant with current concepts of experiential learning in organisational settings (Reeves, 1997).

> ...to train a company, every member of which would be an essential part of an homogenous whole.
> RSC programme for *The Tempest* (1993: no page numbering)

The infrastructure of British theatre is such that the majority of theatre practitioners (but especially actors, playwrights and directors) normally work in an ambiguous freelance capacity on a series of contracts of varying length but often for delivery of as little as one piece of work. In work based learning terms this means that the quality of artistic performance is likely to be in a causal relationship to the likelihood of subsequent contracts. This implies an inherent dichotomy in what the criteria might be for success, when this is influenced by the economics of the box office, critical review and audience response. Critical review may not necessarily be the same as theatre professionals' peer group approbation, which is of great importance but may of course be value-laden. This then is a highly qualitative arena, subjective even, in terms of being open to variable interpretations, where comparison of the success of a performance of, say, *Pericles* at The Other Place will be substantially different from that of *Twelfth Night* at the Lyttleton; success is predicated here by genre and popularity of the play and the type of venue.

For the actors, designers and directors, the citations of successful productions in the theatrical CV together with favourable reviews will demonstrably effect what future work they are engaged in and with whom. The alliances and collaborations of playwright, actor and director can be far reaching in the interpretation of texts (Jackson and Smallwood, (eds), 1993). Sam Mendes with Simon Russell Beale, Deborah Warner with Fiona Shaw for example; all working with Shakespeare's

scripts over many different productions. These networks of contemporary professional relationships could be described using the partnership terminology that facilitates work based learning. However, it is important to note that the effectiveness of such networks for professional practice relates to the significance of patronage networks that will be seen to be of fundamental importance for the development of Shakespeare's own work based learning.

In contemporary terminology the formation and operational effectiveness of such patronage networks is through sponsorship by government subsidy, commercial investment and corporate donation. Within the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries patronage is a fundamental feature of how the aristocracy operates, and is of such importance that it is discussed throughout the thesis as a vital theme related to the research question. This is first discussed at an introductory level in Chapter 3. Patronage is therefore considered to be a major influence on the effective work based learning of theatre practitioners.

For the theatre practitioner then their work based learning is bounded by both the internal environment of their professional practice and the external world of audiences, funding mechanisms and critics, and work based learning must mediate between these to enable professional success and continuity. At the heart of the internal environment of theatre companies' production is the rehearsal process that necessitates a type of team working that is special to the performing arts (Brook, 1987 and Mitter, 1992). However there is also slow emergence of rehearsal and performance vocabulary being used metaphorically to discuss experiential learning within management practice (Buchanan and Boddy, 1992; Corrigan, 1999; Naish, 1994 and 1995). Collaboration across specialisms is fundamental to the rehearsal process, which in turn will be fraught with consciousness that the process must lead to a successful product; a critically acclaimed performance.

As has been discussed in Chapter 1, successful collaboration within the workplace is also dependent upon individual effort and the contribution of the role of diverse theatre professionals in the rehearsal process will usually be simultaneously highly differentiated through work roles, mutually interdependent and reciprocal because rehearsals need to draw on all the available expertise. A company's technical rehearsal is an excellent example of this, and is demonstrable of the collaborative and supportive characteristics of the work based learning of theatre practitioners.

For actors work based learning is also a feature of performance, especially where a play-script is responsive to multiple nuances of interpretation. *Hamlet* or *King Lear* for example, are scripts that provide unparalleled opportunity for actors and directors to experiment with form and interpretation, while simultaneously being exceptionally physically and emotionally demanding (Brockbank (ed.), 1989; Brook, 1987; Jenkins (ed.), 1982; Muir (ed.) 1972). Sher (1986) and Cox (1992) are amongst a growing number of actors who seek to articulate both the processes of rehearsal and the responsibility for live performance in experiential terms that does present a correlation to the work based learning approach.[4] A characteristic of the work based learning of theatre professionals might be recognised as being the continuous striving for improved performance that may be met by critical acclaim and the experiential learning inherent in participating in new productions.

What is meant by works?

The use of the word 'works' to define the creative output of a creative artist is at least medieval in origin, and although the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1973) cites the far later example of Addison (1973, II: 2571) a collection of Chaucer's poetry was first published bearing the title *Works* in 1532 (Robinson, 1966). The first collection of plays produced under the title *Complete Works* was Jonson's folio of 1616 and Goldberg's (1983) analysis of the literary establishment's response to

Jonson's perceived arrogance is instructive since it focuses on the huge gap between the high status awarded to the writing and publication of poetry and the far lowlier status of 'wrighting' or crafting plays. Kiernan (1996: 18 - 20) argues that Jonson's intention was specifically to distance himself from the world of the players and align himself with the higher status world of poets and courtiers. The significance of this gap is further discussed in Chapters 3 and 5, and the issues for the Shakespearean Canon are introduced in this chapter's section on the case of William Shakespeare.

The work based learning interpretation of the word works is both more complex and subsequently more revealing; which is problematic for the terminology used in this thesis. As has been discussed above in Chapter 1, the inference is that one cannot, conceptually nor empirically, be engaged in work as a purposeful activity, without producing works which are all the products from undertaking of the tasks and responsibilities of doing one's job.

This interpretation of works encompasses both the processes and tasks of one's job that lead to products and outputs, where the form of the process will determine the type of output and *vice versa*. Rehearsal of a play-script leads to performance of that play-script that has been interpreted during rehearsal; management meetings of a team of playhouse owners may lead to a decision to move their playhouse from north to south of the river Thames as a response to external stakeholder pressure. The nature of the task will also influence the process by which it is engaged in, effecting learning from the experience. The rehearsal process is a case in point; Simon Russell Beale rehearsing the part of Ariel for the RSC's 1994 production of *The Tempest* informally, and accidentally, took on the work role of Assistant Director. This responsibility significantly influenced his interpretation of Ariel in performance but also changed the nature of his working partnership with the director, Sam Mendes (Naish, 1995). Of the same production Russell Beale also reported extending his knowledge of verse speaking through one-to-one rehearsing with and coaching from Alec McCowen

who took the part of Prospero, thus emphasising the opportunity for work based learning across more than one area of professional practice, technical and acting, in one production (Naish, 1995).

A further work based learning characteristic of the theatrical practitioner therefore may be experiential learning from fellow professionals who are role models and it would be expected that such learning would be a norm of the rehearsal process. A related characteristic will be the extent to which this learning is planned, opportunistic or accidental. Such learning may have emotional, interpersonal components and be values' influenced, and therefore difficult to understand other than experientially. Such learning is hard to articulate.

While this is informative in terms of the work based learning approach it may also lead to confusion. The confusion is an issue for any interdisciplinary research; one must recognise and be responsive to the differing uses of terminology across fields of study. The clear default of understanding and interpretation of the word 'works' within the disciplines of performing arts is of a term that is specific to the outputs of an artist or group of artists. It is instructive to remember that this therefore makes Shakespeare's works synonymous with the published Canon. As the emphasis here is on the professional outputs from all his work roles, it is clear that in this thesis Shakespeare's works needs to be understood as being far broader than the contents of the Canon.

Contemporary theatre practitioners and their work based learning

Today, theatre practitioners such as actors, playwrights and directors, primarily learn experientially, in that following initial professional training (mainly at university and/or drama school), the majority of subsequent learning will be work based, work role and indeed contract specific. This is not to ignore the existence of more formal learning opportunities for theatrical practitioners in the form of

short courses and other training, but even here this may frequently be in a work based learning format, such as a master-class. It is interesting to note that, in this respect, much of the experiential learning theory that supports work based learning (Argyris, 1992 and Kolb, 1984) has explicit links to the critical analysis of reflection on learning from experience which is firmly located in the professional *practicum* of the workplace (Schön, 1987). While Schön's examples are widely drawn (architectural practice for instance) his emphasis is that the best experiential learning examples often come from professions that are more rather than less, focused on creative processes and products, because it is the creative processes that encourage improvement to receive critical acclaim.

Analysis of a contemporary playwright's work based learning would especially focus on with and for **whom** the playwright had worked. This is because the profession operates through a hierarchical model of professional excellence and the status afforded to association with particular directors, venues, companies, sponsors, actors and designers will enhance our contemporary playwright's CV. Of course, analysis of whom one has worked with is necessarily subjective, perceptual and open to interpretation based on the values given to different theatre genres and the criteria afforded to the different genres for their success. When Trevor Nunn moved from the RSC to produce a musical, *Cats*, in the West End, arguably his reputation within the world of subsidised theatre suffered, even and especially when it was subsequently apparent that this was a financially and creatively successful career shift. Such mobility though has clear attractions for theatre practitioners to transfer their knowledge and abilities to other modes of creative work.

Other examples of this is where playwrights writing for live performance also undertake commissions for televisual or film scripts. The exposure this gives to the playwright's other work is necessarily greatly enhanced, while also enabling the playwright to experiment with innovative dramatic form that gives a new status. In turn, increased status may attract additional sponsorship, encourage the

involvement of higher status performers for live productions and give an impetus for future development. Dennis Potter's television version of *Brimstone and Treacle* worked its theme of demonic metaphor with less intensity than on stage but in such a way as to influence his mixing of musical and pop cultures with pure dramatic script in later work like *Pennies from Heaven*.[5] David Hare's adaptation of his stage play *Plenty* for film also achieved a shift of focus from the depressive self-centredness of the character Susan Traherne to the culture of disillusionment in late 1940s Britain, that arguably subsumed the political critique inherent in Hare's work to a blander cinematic narrative. Sam Mendes' recent Oscar award is already leading to considerable sponsorship for his theatre work from Speilberg (*The Guardian*, 1 April 2000).

This two-way influencing process is echoed in Shakespeare's writing for such radically different venues as the Globe and Blackfriars playhouses. Such experimentation with new forms in different and/or similar contexts is likely to lead to the acquisition of new work based learning capabilities.

Playwrights' work based learning will usually be influenced by the genre within which they work and by their normal freelance status. However a feature of the subsidised theatre is that playwrights can develop affiliation to particular companies and venues; Ayckbourn to the Scarborough theatre or David Hare to the Royal National Theatre for example. The often long standing partnerships between directors and designers or actors is also characteristic of theatrical professionals implicit self determination for work opportunity. Self determinism, epitomised by such alliances, is a feature of work based learning that foregrounds the interpersonal nature of experiential learning, which is likely to be facilitated by the complementary working and learning styles of the partnership members.

Of particular interest here is acknowledging that a playwright's work based learning will be especially intense when they direct a production of their own script. Pinter and Hare are contemporary examples of playwrights who enjoy

working in this way, and its method was fundamental to the Berliner Ensemble under Brecht's direction (Willett, 1977) in ways that could have affinity for understanding how Shakespeare might have worked with Richard Burbage and other members of the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men. Contemporary playwrights' involvement in direction and production is likely to increase the likelihood of the playwright revising a script as a direct result of the rehearsal process.

While it might be unusual for playwrights to perform in their own plays there are examples of this happening. Ayckbourn in the earlier phases of his career with Stephen Joseph, or Harold Pinter occasionally taking a cameo role (Hitchcock's cinematic use of this device is essentially a personal trademark for comic and promotional effect). Indeed there is a long standing tradition going back to Shakespeare of actors making the transition from acting to writing combined with theatre company management and ownership. In contemporary terms this often incorporates work on both the stage and the screen, and provides opportunities to develop multiple work roles within the profession. Kenneth Branagh for example, who following some extraordinary lucky opportunities, is now able to incorporate managerial and entrepreneurial work roles in his portfolio, as well as creative ones. Such was also the case in Shakespeare's career. Experimentation is clearly a characteristic of the work based learning of theatre practitioners, especially when enabled by collaboration with professionals with other areas of theatre expertise and supported by a company infrastructure. Such experimentation may lead to acquisition of new skills and even to transitions within work roles.

The case of William Shakespeare

The connections between an artist's experiential learning from all their work roles and their creative output is therefore a relatively unexplored one and may be epitomised by the special case of William Shakespeare. If we accept at this stage

in the thesis that Shakespeare's work based learning might be exemplary, we have on the one hand extensive knowledge of his works when defined solely to his dramatic and poetic output; although this is clearly open to interpretation. On the other hand, of the work and work roles there continues to be much speculation. However, there is a dichotomy in this, since by considering Shakespeare's works in the sense defined above there is the potential to access enormously rich and varied source materials which can be used to interrogate the evolution of Shakespeare's work based learning that might reduce speculation (Schoenbaum, 1975; Thomson, 1992).

While the argument that the century to 1642 saw enormous change and growth in the occupational role of the player (Bradbrook, 1962) and professional dramatist (Bentley, 1971) is well known, it would be engaging with new thinking to approach this from a work based learning perspective. The Guild, craft and apprenticeship tradition for practising artists became a diminishing model and, as Inigo Jones argued (Gordon, 1949; Harris *et al*, 1973), the concept of the artist as gentleman gained primacy. This was especially so where the status of the work and the works of practitioners were acknowledged by those of high social status (monarchs, patrons, connoisseurs), and was relevant to contemporary thinking about the purposes of creative artists in the fullness of their socio-political context.[6]

The social context in which Shakespeare's work based learning occurred is of fundamental importance and is the subject of Chapter 3. In this section elements of it are introduced to allow for later discussion (in Chapter 5) of Shakespeare's areas of work based learning in their full biographical context, itself fraught with a series of major problems (Chambers, 1930 and 1946). These elements and problems are expressed as an initial series of questions; questions that continue to challenge scholars writing about Shakespeare's career, and therefore relate to the specific research question of this thesis. Each question features an aspect of work based learning thinking and / or instrument for analysing it, as discussed in

Chapter 1 and is key to the collection and analysis of data in Chapters 6 and 7, where they are re-formulated in the light of the research and application of the methodology.

1. Career motivation. Why did Shakespeare become a member of an embryonic profession, that at the time of his joining had a low and often disreputable social status, frequently at odds with the legislative framework and civic governance of England?[7]

2. Work based learning as luck, choice or opportunity? By what means did Shakespeare first become an actor, and with what companies and under what circumstances did he shift his career to writing of play-scripts?

3. The holistic nature of work based learning. To what extent were these decisions made by Shakespeare and were they choices, lucky chances or force of circumstances?

4. Work based learning as continuing professional development and the nature of portfolio careers. Why did Shakespeare write poetry for an, apparently, limited period of his career only? Under what circumstances did he shift to writing plays?[8] To what extent is the impact of the plague years of 1592 - 4 and 1596 - 7 on standard work practices relevant for this question?

5. What is the role of planning within work based learning? To what extent did Shakespeare plan his career? Why did he not enter his father's profession of glove-making, or go to university?

6. Work based learning and the significance of mentoring, role models and patronage. Was the Earl of Southampton Shakespeare's patron, or

dedicatee only? What are the implications of this for understanding the *Sonnets* and any autobiographical stances within them?

7.　The social and cultural context for work based learning is always vital. Shakespeare's work based learning was clearly partially culturally influenced. How did his own creative innovations with the dramatic form in turn influence the development of the emergent theatrical profession, including the work role of professional playwright?

8.　Work based learning and work role innovation. Shakespeare apparently initiated the role of principal playwright within his multiple roles for the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men from 1594; a deviation from the previous freelance practice. Why? How did this affect his other work roles, and what are the consequences of this innovation for the emergence of the profession?

9.　Role models. Who was Shakespeare's patron/protector at Court in the 1590s and 1600s and what was the nature and extent of this relationship?[9]

10.　Work based learning and the nature of collaboration and staff development. Why did Shakespeare, apparently, write most the play-scripts which are ascribed to him in sole authorship, when collaborative writing was the professional norm, and arguably cost and resource effective?[10] Shakespeare, it will be argued, wrote collaboratively primarily to advance his own work based learning in the early years of his career, and, later, that of others; notably John Fletcher.

11.　Team work based learning. How did Shakespeare, the Burbages and other members of the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men work together, creatively and managerially? To what extent does this signify role innovation (see Chapter 4) and emergent professionalism?

12. The nature of multiple work roles within work based learning. How and why did Shakespeare acquire work roles other than that of playwright? How did this portfolio develop and how did Shakespeare manage it? What does this signify for sixteenth and seventeenth century patronage networks?

13. What was the relationship between Shakespeare's work roles in London where they appear to be primarily theatrical and in Stratford-upon-Avon where they appear to be primarily property related?[11] If a link is the nature of sixteenth and seventeenth century entrepreneurialism as a manifestation of early characteristics of work, then how does this help to understand the multiple work roles held by Shakespeare?

The questions are unlikely to seem unusual to either Shakespearean or work based learning scholars, both of whom tackle similar issues, and it is worth repeating the fact that Shakespeare's career is fraught with contradictions; answers to which have been sought from historical, theatrical and biographical perspectives. Contradictions and ambiguity however are given states within work based learning, as has been seen in Chapter 1, and instruments (such as the CV and job description) can mediate with contradiction. To use elements of the language of systemic thinking, Shakespeare's work based learning, as purposeful activity, is clearly open to interpretation because it is full of 'messy problems' (Checkland and Scholes, 1991: 8).

Such questions also confront some of the challenges imposed by the nature of the Shakespearean Canon. As has been seen above, the nature of work based learning for theatre professionals is conceived of as being far broader than the boundaries of writing plays and poems, and it will be this understanding that is used throughout this thesis. However, the Canon of Shakespeare's published plays and poetry is clearly part of this more inclusive usage. It is important to note that the complex and specialist question of Shakespeare's authorship is not

within the scale and scope of this thesis, but within the thesis' context is taken to include all the play-scripts published in the First Folio (F1) in 1623 together with *Pericles*, *King Henry VIII* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*.[12] Poetry formally assigned to Shakespeare's authorship is the *Sonnets*, *Rape of Lucrece*, *Venus and Adonis*, *The Passionate Pilgrim*, *The Phoenix and the Turtle*, and *A Lover's Complaint*.[13] However, an important feature of this thesis will be consideration of Shakespeare's collaborative writing activities from the work based learning perspective, especially where this may impact on his acquisition of learning in early stages of his career, and his subsequent transmission of his learning to others later in his career. This is discussed in Chapter 7.

Summary

This chapter has introduced William Shakespeare as a specific case worthy of analysis within the context of the work based learning of theatre practitioners. In preparing for the discussion of problems inherent in exploring Shakespeare's work based learning by considering contemporary conditions, a series of characteristics of the work based learning of playwrights and actors are suggested. These are summarised as follows:

1.   The existence, type, status and operation of patronage/sponsorship systems will critically influence playwrights' processes of and outputs from work based learning; absence of such sponsorship/patronage in its broadest sense is likely to make occupational progression extremely difficult.

2.   Actors and playwrights are highly motivated by new opportunities for creative development, that are met by the experiential learning inherent in participating in and initiating new productions and projects and

acknowledged by critical acclaim. Arguably they seek new learning experiences.

3. Experiential learning is a norm of the rehearsal process, and the rehearsal process is an ideal environment for collaborative, experimental, reciprocal, planned and accidental work based learning to occur.

4. Collaboration is a pre-requisite for theatre production, as is the solitary endeavour of actors and playwrights in preparation for that collaboration.

5. The rehearsal process provides opportunities for learning from role models in the theatre practitioner's own occupational field and from those in other related fields; this will be enhanced when mutual understanding of the functions that differentiate theatre work roles is in place at individual and group level.

6. Experimentation with new forms, genres and venues is likely to lead to new skills relevant to the theatre practitioner and may expose the practitioner to new and additional professional opportunities that may change their perceived and actual status.

While such characteristics might lend themselves to verification using Role Theory as discussed in Chapter 4, by stating them in a chapter that also asks a series of complex but also predictable questions about an historical figure, a central aspect of this thesis is made explicit. By identifying features of current thinking about the work based learning of theatre practitioners and embryonic questions about the acquisition and development of Shakespeare's work based learning an argument for Role Theory as the appropriate methodology for these questions will be made in subsequent chapters. These questions will be analysed to comment on the three points made at the beginning of this chapter, namely that investigation of Shakespeare's professional career using the work based learning

approach will significantly enhance a) our understanding of Shakespeare; b) the argument for work based learning as a field of studies; and c) the relevance of the work based learning approach to historical and contemporary creative artists.

The chapter has also discussed the nature of work based learning thinking about an artist's works, indicating a more complex and social series of activities and processes than solitary composition of play-scripts. Together with the questions asked pertaining to Shakespeare this leads to acknowledging that Shakespeare's work roles (along with those of his occupational contemporaries) need to be understood within the social, cultural and historical context of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries; the subject of the following chapter.

Notes

1. Edmond Malone (1741 - 1812) is generally agreed (Schoenbaum, 1970) to be at the forefront of the group of eighteenth century scholars, including George Steevens and Edward Capell, whose attention to detail and use of primary sources heralded modern approaches to Shakespearean studies. While his editions of Shakespeare (1790 and 1821) were meticulous for the period Malone's main concern was always for the identification and analysis of new material that would inform understanding of Shakespeare's work. Malone's work based learning would, in its own right, provide a fascinating subject for research.

2. Employment Department funding of research and development projects with higher education has been crucial in enabling the establishment of work based learning methods and good practice. See Brennan and Little (1996).

3. See Garnett (1995) and Naish (1994, 1994a and 1995).

4. While publications such as *Shakespeare Survey* (see for example, Wells, ed., 1999), have always included accounts of performance it is with the more recent series, *Players of Shakespeare* (see for example Brockbank, ed., 1989), that actors' own personal voices have been given primacy and hence validity.

5. There was good reason for this, as the BBC banned a screening of *Brimstone and Treacle* for ten years after its first stage production due to censorship that it was considered unsuitable for public viewing. It is important to note that the themes of many plays that purposely shock on stage may never be shown for the very different television audience.

6. The problem of understanding what it meant to be a gentleman or member of the gentry is complex in the Shakespearean period, not least because of shifting usage of the term in application to professional workers as well as those with the right to bear coats of arms. Some of the early research (Stone, 1967) is now considered controversial. For a recent account of this problem and a full bibliography, see Heal and Holmes (1994). Shakespeare of course also engages in this debate through the argument between the Poet and the Painter in *Timon of Athens*.

7. This type of question throws into relief the alleged deer poaching episode (see Honan, 1998 and Schoenbaum, 1970 and 1975 for discussions on the mythology and factual basis of the material). If Shakespeare was seeking escape from Stratford-upon-Avon into anonymity, then the life of a player in the provinces, on the road and London might well have been an extraordinarily attractive solution.

8. Most Shakespeare scholars discuss this important issue. See especially Barroll (1991) and Thomson (1992). Kiernan (1996) uses aspects of this question to suggest that Shakespeare consciously developed his own theory of drama.

9. One of the hypotheses of this research is that Shakespeare, either solely, or as principal playwright of the Lord Chamberlain's Men, was in a patronage relationship with an influential courtier both at Elizabeth's and at James' Court. This is discussed at various points throughout the thesis, especially in Chapters 5 and 7. A strong contender is the third Earl of Pembroke (Barroll, 1991).

10. Chapter 5 discusses elements of Shakespeare's collaborative writing at the outset of his career and Chapter 7 at the end of his career.

11. There are at least two major exceptions to this, one is Shakespeare's purchase of the Blackfriars Gatehouse in 1613, and the second is consideration of

his authorship of occasional verse and patronage networks in the Midlands that included other writers such as Michael Drayton and Fulke Greville.

12. Authorship of plays not included in the First Folio (F1) is a vexed question to which an extensive bibliography may be attached. Hope (1994) and Masten (1997) are scholars who have recently tackled the issues of Shakespeare's collaborative writing as well as revisions of his own texts.

13. Authorship of occasional verse is a particularly controversial aspect of the study of what comprises Shakespeare's Canon. Honigmann's (1986) discussion of *The Phoenix and the Turtle* is a good example of a theoretical approach that could be applied to other unattributed works.

Chapter Three

THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURY CONTEXT

Introduction

This chapter describes the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century in England, the period and place in which Shakespeare's work based learning is located. This enables that learning to be fully contextualised historically and culturally within the prevailing social structures and practices of the period. This is both important and difficult. Important because, in order to appreciate Shakespeare's own work based learning, it is vital that we have in-depth understanding of the social structures and how such structures interact with the playing companies and their individual members. Shakespeare's professional activities as a member of the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men and other companies provides the professional environments in which he worked artistically and managerially and to separate these activities from their social context is to misunderstand the holistic significance of work based learning. The work based learning of individuals never takes place in isolation from external influences. It has been seen in Chapters 1 and 2, that the individual's work based learning has to be socially contexualised and as the subject of investigation is usually living, the analysis of a significant historical figure requires a different approach. The subject is also a difficult one because we are dealing with a period of time from approximately 1579 when Shakespeare would have completed his schooling to his death in 1616 at the age of fifty-two, a span of thirty-seven years. In work based learning terms this is a long period of time, and it will be important to trace and understand the nature of historical, social and cultural change during the period in order to situate the nature and extent of Shakespeare's work based learning formatively within that period, necessarily noting that social and political change is subject to ideological fluctuations. For instance the political context for foreign affairs and religious policy at home and abroad provides insights as to what was of importance to people living at the time (Harrison, 1933).

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Here, this period is called Shakespearean rather than some of the historical epithets such as Early Modern, English Renaissance other regnal or dynastic titles, to denote the special nature of a work based learning epoch of a particular person that has cultural resonance which enhance our understanding of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[1] The Shakespearean period is complex, and an approach is called for that tackles this complexity; this is essentially using aspects of cultural analysis. Dollimore's (1984) quote from Thompson's *The Poverty of Theory* (page 239) reminds us of the importance of understanding history as a dynamic and organic process:

> History is not a unilinear development; on the contrary at any historical moment "there will be found contradictions and liaisons, dominant and subordinate elements, declining or ascending energies. [That] moment is both a result of prior processes and an index towards the direction of its future flow".
> Dollimore (1984: 7)

In other words one might expect that the transitions and changes within the social and cultural environment might be perceived as having a correlation with the social and cultural experiences of persons living at the time of such transitions and changes, and influence their subsequent learning. Such is the case with William Shakespeare, where for instance the legislative changes in respect of playing companies changed so significantly in the period as to be intertwined with how these external forces influenced Shakespeare's work based learning. Greenblatt (1980) outlines the inherent dilemma of this complexity in terms of the individual's location within some of these changes:

> If we say there is a new stress on the executive power of the will, we must say that there is the most sustained and relentless assault upon the will; if we say / that there is a new social mobility, we must say that there is a new assertion of power by both family and state to determine all movement within the society; if we say that there is a heightened awareness of the existence of alternative modes of social, theological, and psychological organization, we must say that there is a new dedication to the imposition of control upon those modes and ultimately to the destruction of alternatives.
> Greenblatt (1980: 1 - 2)

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Greenblatt uses these dichotomies to lead into his theme of the self-consciousness of the individual during the period. Here it is used to highlight that the Shakespearean period must be understood in terms of its changing, and often fluctuating, ideologies and values that align with Dollimore's (1984) analysis:

> To explore any period's conception of chaos is to discover not the primordial state of things, but fears and anxieties very specific to that period. To put it another way, that order and chaos comprise a binary opposition is obvious enough; to take up this relation historically is to render the obvious both revealing and interesting. ...Thus the Jacobean obsession with disintegration may reveal, directly or indirectly, some of the real forces making for social instability and change (just as does Bacon's anxiety over defection); further, time and again what is involved is a disintegration of ideological formations which reveals the phenomenon of secular power relations. To this extent it was an obsession which could be used subversively as well as conservatively. (1984: 93)

This chapter therefore draws on aspects of the historically contextualised cultural analysis of Raymond Williams, especially *The Long Revolution* (1965) and *Marxism and Literature* (1977).[2] Here he sets out his concepts of residual, dominant and emergent cultural elements that, he argues, co-exist at any one historical moment, emphasising that analysis of society using these concepts is a helpful means of dealing with cultural complexity. This chapter shows that these concepts are still relevant today and, complemented by Dollimore's (1984) and Dollimore and Sinfield's (1985) later critiques, provides a modern framework for the historical data discussed here. Williams' concept provides a frame of reference for articulating change and relating this change to the level of the individual, that can interact effectively with the thesis' methodology (see Chapter 7).

Analysis of residual, dominant and emergent cultural elements may be even more effective if considered systemically. By this is meant discussion of those institutions of a society that enable it to function, namely the systems for government, religion, class structures, professionalism and so on; a society's infrastructure. The means by which such systems and practices operated during the Shakespearean period will effect

Shakespeare's work based learning This is because his work put him into direct and indirect contact with key stakeholders (the Master of the Revels for instance) responsible for managing such systems. In this respect systemic implies vertical and horizontal access throughout the matrices of a society.

> The adjective 'systemic' implies that we have a clear concept of what we mean by the notion of 'system'. There *is* such a notion, and systems thinking is simply consciously organised thought which makes use of that concept. Checkland and Scholes (1990: 18)

This chapter is therefore structured as follows. Williams' approach is discussed and enlarged upon by the critiques by Dollimore and Sinfield. Then follows sections on the major political and social institutions and structures in place during the Shakespearean period that, contextually linked with historical events, will make understanding and analysis of Shakespeare's work based learning clearer. These sections are: the State, monarchy and the court; government and legislation; legal systems; religion: home and foreign policy; work; patronage and publishing; theatre and drama. All of these effect Shakespeare's work based learning and the discussion of them attempts to articulate the shifts of emphasis within the period in terms of their dominant, residual or emergent status. Where it is relevant to do so within these headings, biographical data will supplement social and historical data, to ensure that not only are events and processes discussed, but also the actions of those persons who feature in work relationships to Shakespeare. The discussion forms the main body of the chapter and what will emerge from the discussion is a picture of the ideological continua operating during the Shakespearean period. This ideological picture, and its dichotomies, will therefore form the summary to the chapter and lead to its applicability to the methodology of this thesis.

Residual, dominant and emergent culture

> We need to distinguish three levels of culture, even in its most general definition. There is the lived culture of a particular time and place, only fully accessible to those living in that time and place. There is the recorded culture, of every kind, from art to the most everyday facts: the culture of a period. There is also, as the factor connecting lived culture and period cultures, the culture of the selected tradition.
> Williams (1961: 66)

Williams reminds us of the irrecoverability of the 'lived culture' for persons living after that cultural period. An example of this is to be found in Thomas Heywood's statement that he had 'an entire hand or at least a main finger' in upwards of 220 plays during his lifetime (Halliday, 1964: 226), and our perception of the inaccessibility of the lived culture becomes more acute, for we must question Heywood's recorded culture against our use of a selective tradition, and in so doing conclude that Heywood's statement not only cannot easily be refuted but is likely to be reasonable.[3] This is not historical speculation, but to suggest that the work based learning processes will be a means to get closer to the lived culture as defined by Williams.

Williams goes on to consider culture in terms of its ideological basis and he distinguishes three common versions of the concept, the third of which is most relevant here:

> ...the general process of the production of meanings and ideas.
> Williams (1977: 55)

It is this application of ideology to culture that leads to his discussion of the concepts of residual, dominant and emergent cultures (Williams, 1977: 121 - 127), since it is Williams' view that works across the arts provide valuable evidence of residual, dominant and emergent trends because they frequently articulate the transformational processes active at any given moment. Williams is especially good at looking at the arts in terms of creative processes and the products that result from such processes as

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the public manifestations of inter- and intra-personal processes (Storr, 1989). That work based learning has a product / output orientation has already been discussed in Chapters 1 and 2.

Williams considers that dominant culture is epochal and therefore descriptive of the prevailing hegemony, and this means that the language of residual, dominant and emergent culture often seems overly hierarchical, or status influenced. That this is not Williams' intention can be seen by his discussion of the residual and dominant elements where in using the term residual, he is careful to differentiate it from a concept of an 'archaic' culture in such a way as to highlight the complexity of a deceptively simple framework:

> The residual, by definition, has been effectively formed in the past, but it is still active in the cultural process, not only and often not at all as an element of the past, but as an effective element of the present. ...Thus organized religion is predominantly residual, ...Again, the idea of rural community is predominantly residual, but is in some limited aspects alternative or oppositional to urban industrial capitalism,
> Williams (1977: 122)

Within the Shakespearean period, Spenser's use of language is a good example of a purposeful use of residual vocabulary, but operative within the dominant form of political allegory that mainly reflects the *status quo* of Elizabeth's Protestant opposition to the Catholic Mary, Queen of Scots.[4] Whereas Shakespeare's early tragedies are clearly emergent, drawing on the work of Kyd and Marlowe who in turn were influenced by elements of the Morality plays of previous generations, the later tragedies arguably demonstrate the transformation of their form from emergent to the more overt complexity of a secular dominant culture.[5]

> By emergent I mean, first, that new meanings and values, new practices, new relationships and kinds of relationship are continually being created. But it is exceptionally difficult to distinguish between those which are really elements of some new phase of the dominant culture...and those which are substantially alternative or oppositional to it; emergent in the strict sense, rather than merely novel.
> Williams (1977: 123)

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The growing status of the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men and the rise of the professional playwrights will be argued as being clearly emergent in the sense used by Williams and articulated by theatre historians including Barroll (1991), Gurr (1996) and Kernan (1995) based on the documentary evidence.

The significance of these cultural elements is their co-existence, and therefore it is their interaction that determines the extent and nature of change or continuity. Historically, one might look for patterns of continuity and similarity, but this is neither always desirable or possible with the framework that Williams outlines, not least because he provides a complex concept for discussing dissimilarity and multi-layered cultural change. The putative involvement of the Lord Chamberlain's Men in the 1601 Essex Rebellion is a good example of this layering that is discussed below in Chapter 6. Not only does the event witness a clash between different types of figures in the dominant culture, one (Essex) challenging his subordinate status to the other hegemonic figure (Elizabeth), but also the apparent appearance of a subversive element from an emergent, but marginal, culture (the theatre) through the commissioning of a performance of Shakespeare's *King Richard II* with its provocative deposition scene.

The sense of the hierarchical operation of residual, dominant and emergent cultural elements appears to be essentially that of the ruling order of a society and that Williams does not intend this is reinforced by the later critique of Dollimore (1984) who considered the marginal, repressed and sub-ordinate elements of a society, in his cultural analysis of early seventeenth century drama. Where Williams discusses, with his customary ease and elegance, the conceptual framework for his cultural analysis, Dollimore illustrates its application to Jacobean tragedy within the prevailing dimensions of ideology and power. He especially looks at these cultural elements in terms of the development of the form and content of the drama in sensitive and subtle means that help articulate examples:

> ...it is wrong to represent the (emergent) Marlovian atheist repudiating (dominant) religious orthodoxy from a position of independence and modernity. Sometimes the subversiveness of Jacobean tragedy does work in terms of outright rejection. Generally, however, this procedure as apart from anything else, thwarted by the censorship...[and] certain Jacobean tragedies disclose the very process of historical transition which brings them into being.
> Dollimore (1984: 8)

Dollimore stresses that emergent culture often appears through the sub-culture, where a characteristic of that sub-culture may well be its marginal, repressed or sub-ordinate status. He is especially interested in how the ideological frameworks of residual, dominant, and emergent cultures work at the level of individual creativity; and this will be seen to be especially pertinent to Shakespeare. Like Greenblatt (1980) he sees this as part of the growing self-consciousness of the period, but focused not to the nature of self but to a more metaphysical debate about the ideologies of appearance and reality, chaos and stability within the natural and human-made world. In relating this back to the drama, his approach is mainly through contemporary literary and philosophical theory, which although helpful fails to distinguish that the application of literary theory to dramatic writing implies a cultural homogeneity that is not there (Blayney, 1997). However, where Dollimore is especially effective in cultural (and work based learning) terms is where he, rightly, differentiates between those who are intellectual radicals and political radicals. This is important and it will be argued (in Chapter 7) that Shakespeare was clearly the former and not the latter.

> ...it is not necessary to see the radicalism of the drama as constituting an absolute break with dominant cultural forms; rather, it emerges, at least initially, from potential contradictions *within* those forms. But by being (for example) intensified and/or transposed, these same contradictions become challenges to those forms.
> Dollimore (1984: 168)

As may be seen from the above discussion it is vital that we cast Shakespeare's work based learning into this social and historical context. This applies of course to Shakespeare **with** his contemporaries, precisely because one of the arguments for the

success of creative activities in the 1590s is because of, not despite, the rate and complexity of change that is such an effective stimulant to creative innovation.

> The belief in artistic creation as the medium of a superior reality seems most likely to be held in a period of transition from a primarily religious to a primarily humanist culture, for it embodies elements of both ways of thinking: that there is a reality beyond ordinary human vision, and yet that man has supreme creative powers. But, in such a transition, the latter claim will be made on general grounds, thus tending to challenge the artist's singularity.
> Williams (1961: 28)

Accepting that Shakespeare made radical innovations in form and language by introducing new types of dramatic works to new public stages, it may be helpful to locate this within the period's reception of those works against Williams' framework of residual, dominant and emergent cultural elements. Such a categorisation notes the nuances of acceptance, popularity or resistance from an audience to new works in subtle, but annalistic ways. For instance the immense popularity on stage and, unusually, in print, of plays as different as *King Richard II* and *Pericles* differs from the apparently silent reception given to *All's Well That Ends Well* and the few references to performances of *Hamlet* in terms of cultural responsiveness.[6] Both silence and clamour will reveal much in terms of cultural trends and creativity.

The State, monarchy, and the court

The influence of the monarchy and the court on Shakespeare's work based learning is important for several reasons; Shakespeare's plays were performed at the courts of both Elizabeth and James more frequently than of any other known playwright (Kernan, 1995) under the auspices of the Master of the Office of the Revels (Dutton, 1991; Barroll *et al*, 1975 (hereinafter referred to as Revels 3, 1975); and Starkey (ed.), 1987). The Court is also of vital importance because it was populated by leading aristocracy and courtiers, many of whom patronised players, playing

companies and poets and will be shown to be important to Shakespeare and the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men. At the beginning of the Shakespearean period and at key times throughout it, the status and development of playing companies, players and playwrights was frequently within the control of these groups of people and it is therefore apposite to depict this court.[7]

Elizabeth I's longevity, regnal status as an unmarried, female monarch exercising undiminishing political, economic and intellectual acuity provides historians with a focus with which to compare her reign and its achievements with that of her successor and cousin James VI of Scotland. That there was a major transition in 1603 is undisputed, that it went so smoothly was largely down to the planning, preparation and continuity provided by members of Elizabeth's Privy Council; who were also senior courtiers at the end of and beginning of both reigns.[8]

Understanding the relationship of monarch to State and the court will make it easier, later in this thesis, to discuss court members who influenced Shakespeare's work based learning, and by contextualising them within both a household and governmental structure will show how they networked with one another (Wright, 1987). Describing this is made easier by visualising the monarch at court being essentially within a formal and high status domestic setting that is integrated with significant aspects of government. The monarch is the sole executor of rule during the Shakespearean period and neither James or Elizabeth were legally required to work directly with Parliament or the Privy Council. Both monarchs regularly consulted the Privy Council, but did not always follow their advice; and the latter's prime role was often that of issuing proclamations in the monarch's name. The monarch's role within and relationship to the Privy Council is an interesting one; while Elizabeth rarely attended meetings, towards the end of her reign they were meeting daily to discuss policy and strategy and to transact the administration required by the Queen. Elizabeth's Privy Council was occupied exclusively by persons who were also senior courtiers, some of whom were part of her own Boleyn kinship networks whereby the holding of an office of governance was frequently indistinguishable from a personal

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relationship with the Queen, and consequently resulted in faction as Elizabeth sought to maintain increasingly artificial boundaries amongst these roles.[9] Arguably, she did so successfully until Essex's behaviour prompted the crises of 1600 - 1. From the start of the reign Burghley was both the Queen's personal secretary and the Secretary of State to the Privy Council, while Leicester's role as favourite and Master of the Horse diminished over the years as he actively sought (and achieved, but only at Elizabeth's sanction) significant political power, especially in the Netherlands, and was the icon for patronage in the period. In the later years of Elizabeth's reign, Robert Cecil and the Earl of Essex (Leicester's step-son) became the next generation leaders of these factions. The political consequences of the continuity of these factions were exposed negatively in the 1601 Essex Rebellion, and positively in Cecil's part in ensuring the smooth accession of James I.

James shifted the pattern of governance from the Privy Council to the office of Bedchamber for two main reasons. Firstly his succession immediately returned the court to one occupied by a family (not seen since Henry VIII's household with Katharine Parr 1543 -7) which necessitated separate households for Queen Anna, Henry Prince of Wales and the other royal children, and secondly his own preferences for working through favourites following the French model, which eventually brought about Cecil's enforced retirement.[10] Levy Peck (1989 and 1991) is responsible for much of the scholarly interest in Anna's cultural role at the court of James I, and it is arguable that it was her broader activities, and those of Prince Henry, that were the prime focus of the period that Strong (1979) calls the 'lost Renaissance' rather than James' interests in political theory and literary patronage (Goldberg 1983).[11] James' decisiveness about matters of foreign policy was however notably different to that of Elizabeth and Starkey's (1987) analysis of their respective management styles being respectively of distance and intimacy is an insightful modern perception that helps differentiate sixteenth and seventeenth century monarchs' relationships with the legislature. These are shifts in the style of the dominant culture as epitomised by the monarch and manifested, in terms of Shakespeare's work based learning, by the creation of the King's Men. The Stuarts' less parsimonious attitude towards Court

entertainment (Barroll, 1991 and Kernan, 1995), was, however, manifested not in the drama but the Court Masque (Orgel and Strong, 1973).

Kernan (1995) argues that Shakespeare's membership of the King's Men designated him as the King's playwright, and he relates the court context to play content. While it is of course interesting to look at *Macbeth* as complimentary to James' Stuart ancestry, or to note that the characters of Cornwall and Albany in *King Lear* hold titles the same as Princes Henry and Charles, it seems an unsubtle argument to suggest that Shakespeare had a direct personal patronage link to James I and consciously composed plays to mirror Court life.

> ...the various sceptical perspectives current in this period should be borne in mind not just as the prerogative of the individual playwright but also as possible audience positions, different from each other yet similar in being distrustfully distanced from establishment ideology.
> Dollimore (1984: 86)

Barroll (1991) provides the initial argument that Kernan is counteracting, by demonstrating the hierarchical nature of the Court and its servants, the King's Men. Lindley's (1996) analysis of the case of Frances Howard, not only shows the obsessive insular self-consciousness of the Court and its members, but also indicates its dangers. While it is argued that Shakespeare had an influential courtier as a patron/protector it is unlikely that this eased anything other than formal links to the Court through preferment as players to the Master of the Revels, who was in turn responsible to the Lord Chamberlain. Dutton's (1991) analysis of the function of the Revels Office is of an establishment figure. The fact that this role was so influential in bringing the drama to Court for the monarch's entertainment is to miss the point that the emphasis is on entertainment in new forms that happened to delight rather than explicitly encourage its development. Dutton reminds his readers that the Lord Chamberlain's patronage of a company of players, together with the stage-management functions of the Office of the Master of the Revels, became a more economic option for Elizabeth than maintaining her own company.

Government and legislation

During the Shakespearean period, the function of the Commons and Lords was radically different to contemporary understanding, and while they operated along similar lines, with responsibility for drafting and passing legislation, it was rare in Elizabeth's reign that this was on the Commons' own initiative or outside of English internal administrative matters. Elizabeth and James retained supreme, non-negotiable control over all matters of state, religious and foreign policy and the broader home and overseas political agendas. Indeed, the House of Commons only met for thirteen sessions during Elizabeth's reign (Randall, 1994: 77) and then for only a few months at a time, while the membership of the Lords (similar to current composition) necessarily had political authority and factional power outside of that Chamber, at Court, within the judicial systems, in regional governance and within the Church.[12]

Within the City of London, governance was the responsibility of the City Council which comprised an elected body of alderman representing the Guilds, from amongst whom a Mayor was annually elected. Much has been written about the puritanical ethos of the City of London Council that does so from a negative perspective, citing their 'kill-joy' practices.[13] Barroll (1991) provides a healthy corrective to this that demonstrates the social responsibility of the Council in taking serious measures to try and prevent civic unrest (see also Boulton, 1987 and Pearl, 1961) and spreading of plague while maintaining statutory practices for religious worship. Measures that necessarily resulted in Privy Council closures of the playhouses when weekly plague deaths reached particular levels and attempts to keep the playhouses closed on Sundays. Puritanism is extremely complex during this period, and it is important to note that being called a puritan originated as a term of abuse (Warren, 1993), and was open to a variety of definitions in the Shakespearean period. For the purposes of this thesis, it is the social outlook of those members of the community who felt that the Elizabethan Settlement had not moved far enough towards a Calvinist Protestantism that, coupled with those community members' civic responsibilities, is the focus for understanding Shakespeare's work based learning as a theatre practitioner in London.

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Part of the effect of the civic impositions of these restraints is the extent to which performances took place outside London. While this is discussed further in Chapters 5 and 6 it is important to note here that the balance between playing in and out of the capital is likely to be evenly matched.

This was not a static situation as Hill's analysis (1964) of the rise of secular power and religious diversity outside of the ruling and aristocratic hegemonies from towards the end of James' reign shows. But in the Shakespearean period the outline above prevails, reinforcing the dominance of puritan civic control within the City of London held in tension with the separateness of the Court when in residence at Whitehall, Hampton Court or Greenwich.

Legal systems

The close but often ambiguous relationship between those members of the Court who also held roles in the government that is so strong a feature of the Shakespearean period, is also to be found in the central and local judiciary systems. This is exemplified by the role of Lord Chancellor, the premier legal position in England that, from 1587 was occupied by Christopher Hatton, a favourite of Elizabeth, a member of Parliament and a member of the Privy Council (Palmer and Palmer 1981: 109). That Hatton was also Chancellor of Oxford University and an active patron of literature and music (he supported Spenser, Churchyard and Byrd) is indicative of the multiplicity of governmental, judicial and patronage responsibilities held by members of the Court and nobility.

The overall judiciary systems were based on those in place since Magna Carta, but revised by Wolsey to make closer links between the common law systems and the monarch's prerogative courts (Gardiner and Wenborn (eds), 1995; Starkey (ed.), 1987). Thus there was a system in place that could put into conflict the speedier justice-based functioning of the Courts of Star Chamber, Requests with the

Westminster based Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas whose systems were based on common law rooted in legal precedent. At the level of local judicial systems, Justices of the Peace were appointed on the basis of land ownership and status. While these unpaid roles gave additional authority and status the statute-heavy and litigious nature of the Shakespearean period also meant they were considered onerous (Heal and Holmes, 1994: 167).

The litigious nature of the period may of course be closely related to the fact that so many of the sons of the gentry and nobility received legal training irrespective of whether or not they were intending a career at law. Indeed Heal and Holmes (1994: 270 - 273) discuss a range of evidence showing that the gentry considered a legal training almost a pre-requisite for proper estate management, since court actions to resolve fiscal, debt and probate cases were a regular feature of the period.

The Inns of Court themselves, comprising Middle Temple, Inner Temple, Gray's Inn and Lincoln's Inn, were therefore attractive as both an addition and alternative to studying at the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge, and were seen as 'schools of civility and chivalry, as well as law' (Heal and Holmes, 1994: 273). In this respect the Inns of Court are significant for the development of theatre companies during the Shakespearean period, as there are extant records of performances at the Inns by students and by professional companies, that suggest it was a regular, popular and extensive feature of the Inns' calendar. Halliday (1964: 185, 243, 300) cites the records for a performance of *The Comedy of Errors* at Gray's Inn in December 1594 and *Twelfth Night* at Middle Temple on 2 February 1602.

How Shakespeare acquired his often in-depth legal knowledge is not known, although the available material suggests that such knowledge was readily to be acquired when sought for. His own participation in litigation provides valuable source material for his experiential learning and his depiction of the weight of the legal professions in practice (Portia for instance) is normally at odds with the cynicism with which he depicts the local judiciary.

Religion: home and foreign policy

Hill (1994) and Thomas (1971) stress the overwhelming importance of trying to understand how fundamental both the biblical and religious cultures were to the Shakespearean period.[14] From Williams'(1977) perspective this might be seen to be an irrecoverable, albeit heavily recorded, culture, in ways that cannot be overestimated. Regardless of Shakespeare's own religious affiliations (see Chapter 5) the influence of the Church, state religion and England's relationship with Protestant and Catholic Europe will have effected his work based learning throughout his career. Below is a summary of home and foreign policy in respect of religion during the Shakespearean period, which especially attempts to chart the ideological fluctuations and tensions, as well as specific events and responses to them.

The 1559 Elizabethan religious settlement (the Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy) was essentially a political action of perceptive conservatism, and remained dominant throughout Elizabeth's reign. However, establishment response to the transgressions of marginal groups fluctuated and was entirely politically dependent. Drawing on the least extreme Protestant convictions of her half-brother, Edward VI, and by maintaining both an intellectual interest in limited religious debate that professed modernity and providing a focus for an organised state religion that permitted minor personal transgressions both left and right of centre, Elizabeth was able to control a potentially dangerous situation. Her suppression of the 1569 Northern Rebellion is an excellent example of this and her excommunication by Pope Pius V in 1570 helped to secure and contain this situation.

> Protestants had questioned the authority of tradition while Catholics rejected
> the Protestants' exclusive emphasis on biblical authority; by each eroding the
> ideological basis of the other's position they were also undermining their own,
> since Protestants needed tradition and Catholics needed biblical authority.
> Dollimore (1984: 14)

The massacre of Parisian Protestants on St Bartholomew's Eve in 1572 and the Netherlands' declaration of independence from Spanish rule in 1581 produced some limited polite action from Elizabeth but Leicester was not despatched to the Netherlands until 1584. While the death of Sir Philip Sidney in 1586 at Zutphen provided a new focus for anti-Catholic sentiment, it was not until the execution of Mary Queen of Scots in 1587 that Elizabeth's home religious policy became complicated by European reaction (essentially Spanish, with some French response for the wife of a former French monarch).[15] While the political and constitutional historians discuss the Spanish Armada as a battle that was an English success (Mackenny, 1993; Mattingley, 1989), it is vital to remember that it was neither an isolated event nor politically conclusive, and that for Shakespeare and his contemporaries England was deemed to be at war with Spain from 1588 until the signing of the Spanish Peace Treaty at the Somerset House Conference (in which Shakespeare probably took part) in 1604.

The cultural significance of this island isolation is two-fold; firstly England continued to be an attractive settling ground for Protestant immigrants from Catholic Europe (the Florio family for instance). Secondly the influence in England of Europe's own cultural developments from the Catholic sectors (mainly Spanish and Italian) were necessarily more limited than they a) might otherwise have been and b) they were in previous reigns, especially under Henry VIII and Mary I.[16] In Scotland, James VI's pluralistic links with France and Denmark ensured the continued two-way flow of cultural influence with Catholic Europe, despite the Kirk's constant interventions to the contrary (Wormald, 1981).

Throughout the 1580s and 1590s there is therefore a highly ambivalent tolerance to deviancy from the Elizabethan Settlement and John Shakespeare, Christopher Marlowe and Sir Walter Raleigh are examples of how recusancy was treated by the State, especially at the point at which it was either public and/or involving those of high social status. The accession of James I initially defused some of this ambivalence by the (not entirely popular) Somerset House and Hampton Court Conferences of

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1604, and the apparent Catholicism of Queen Anna. However the Privy Council's and judiciary's responses to the Gunpowder Plot of the following year was far from ambivalent (Fraser, 1996) and, although focused on a few key individuals (and their conspiratorial links with the Jesuits), had profound repercussions, arguably influencing the shape of British constitutional law to date.[17] Emerging during the early years of James' reign is the debate about preferred modes of religious worship that builds the tension between the Anglicans and the Puritans. It is worth noting here that the savage punishment meted out on William Prynne in 1634 was symbolic of the effect of such confusion between religious affiliation and censorship endemic within the hegemonic tensions following the Shakespearean period (Orgel and Strong, 1973: I 63-5, 70).

Work

Chapters 1 and 2 have discussed the nature of work based learning and work in the creative arts, and here it needs to be noted that the concept of work in terms of occupation of a single paid job is not known in the Shakespearean period. Stone (1967) writes about aristocratic income generated from land ownership, while, at the other end of the spectrum of social class, Boulton (1987) discusses changing practices in the apprenticeship and Guild models of working. In-between, that there is an emergent professionalism is clear, how this emerged and with what occupations it may be associated, other than the traditional professions of law, medical or religious practice, or even education is barely found in the Shakespearean period (Simon, 1966). Larson (1977) presents the sociological argument for this paucity:

> Specialisation of function and the creation of special bodies of practical or theoretical knowledge are a function of the accumulation of resources. ...therefore, as soon as we consider class societies, the development of specialised roles and functions is broadly determined by the structure of inequality from which it is inseparable: dependent upon the unequal distribution of wealth, power, and knowledge, the institutionalisation of specialized functions itself contributes to the unequal distribution of competence and reward.
> Larson (1977: 2)

This view is entirely congruent with Berger and Luckmann's (1966) interpretation of organisational development through specialisation of function and division of labour. Culturally then, the occupations of playwright, player and playhouse sharer are clearly both emergent and marginal while being integrated with the changing nature of the residual apprenticeship model and other new occupational roles, such as publishing (Blayney, 1997). Over time this developed into sophisticated professional opportunities of linked occupations. Boulton's (1987: 71) citation of the phenomenon of multiple work roles as the norm for individuals in seventeenth century Southwark tells us much more about individual economic behaviour that is helpful to our understanding of Shakespeare, for example, than can be determined by Baldwin's (1927) or Bentley's (1971) more specific analysis. The articulation of the new occupational groupings within the playhouses is rarely contemporaneously explicit, which suggests it may have been unconscious or assumed.

Shakespeare's own economic behaviour and acquisition of a Coat of Arms in 1596 (Schoenbaum, 1975) indicates that his work roles and income sources were inextricably linked with the desire for upward social status and recognition, and to think of this solely in terms of his theatrical activities is to think in modern terms rather than in those of the Shakespearean period's own ideologies.

Patronage and publishing

Patronage has two different meanings in the Shakespearean period. Firstly, in the form of gifts of preferment of posts, some actually salaried, or linked to gathering rents or taxes on duty. Burghley's lucrative holding of the Office of Master of the Queen's Wards or Elizabeth's preferment of Essex to the Monopoly of Sweet Wines import taxes are good examples of this type of patronage (Hurstfield, 1973). Secondly, the term patronage is used to denote the systems and protocols of patronage by courtiers, aristocracy and the wealthy of artists across the full range of the visual, literary and performing arts. Practices in both meanings of patronage are

normative for the period and value laden. While it is the second meaning of patronage that is of concern here, preferment processes and their factional relationships to power and control, especially amongst Privy Council members, means that the patronage of artists must be perceived as being within the dominant hegemonic as well as cultural ideologies of the period.

Shakespeare's patronage by the Earl of Southampton through the dedication of *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece* is entirely normative in this respect, as is the dedicatory material in the *Sonnets*, irrespective of to whom they refer. However, this is patronage within poetry and literature, altogether different from patronage of the players, where there is less evidence of individual players or playwrights having identifiable patrons in the model discussed. Scholarly work in the field seems to give limited attention to any direct involvement that the Lord Chamberlain and Lord Admiral had in the patronage of their respective companies, which is totally different from the cultural norm that supported Samuel Daniel or Ben Jonson in their published works (Goldberg, 1983).[18] Gurr's article (1993) is very different and important to the debate about the differences in the **practice** of patronage of poetry and publications and patronage of dramatic activity and performance. His argument that Hunsdon and Howard handpicked their respective companies (see Chapter 5) is important and further research will doubtless reveal more in this area.

The totally different legal requirements for and systems of licensing plays for performance (the responsibility of the Master of the Revels) and for publishing and printing of texts (the responsibility of the Stationers' Company to the Archbishop of Canterbury) must signify the very different cultural attitudes to plays in performance or as texts. It is therefore the Master of the Revels who is censor to the written, but not published, play-script (Dutton, 1991) prior to performance of that play-script (Revels 3, 1975), while the individual publisher must prove his proposed publication does not replicate texts already in the public domain (Blayney, 1997).

It is important to remember that it is not until the year of Shakespeare's death, 1616, that Ben Jonson chose to publish his own *Works*, and Blayney's (1997) outstanding analysis of the printing and publishing houses in London shows that the period 1583 - 1623 saw the printing of only 309 plays, an annual average of 7.72%. In reality annual figures were substantially lower, with the exception of the periods December 1593 - May 1595 and May 1600 - October 1601, when twenty-seven plays were published in both periods (Blayney, 1997: 384 - 5). The reasons for this are clearly associated with the closure of playhouses during the significant long-term outbreaks of plague, but Blayney notes that Stationers Registers' entries show that most plays published during these periods were bought, registered, printed and published **after** the playhouses re-opened. This could be interpreted as a marketing strategy by theatre companies to promote their re-opening by stimulating audience awareness that they were back in business.

Blayney's work must change scholarly thinking, since he provides incontrovertible evidence of theatre companies' disinterest (avoidance even) in publishing the play-scripts they owned unless exceptional circumstances prevailed. That these circumstances were primarily economic is substantiated by his evidence that under normal playing conditions (outside of plague periods) it was not lucrative for publishers to issue editions of play-scripts unless they were considered likely to be popular as reading matter. In terms of Shakespeare's work based learning this highlights the unresolved paucity of our understanding of the radically different cultural attitudes to the publication of plays as text as opposed to the publication of poetry. It also raises interesting questions about ownership of his play-scripts, where as a playwright he did not own the play-scripts, but as a sharer he jointly owned the scripts with other sharers in the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men.

The practice of patronage in the Shakespearean period draws on residual cultural practice. Patronage involves a reciprocity of relationship as can be seen in Daniel's dual role as resident tutor to the Pembrokes at Wilton and in receipt of substantial support for his works that included his patron's preferment of him to posts at court

(Rees, 1964). In considering patronage of theatre companies a different dimension is encountered as a residual practice has to re-align itself within the emergent form of playwrighting and its growing popularity. This is further re-aligned when the patronage of theatre companies is reconfigured as the newer technology of publishing, rapidly becoming a dominant mode of communication that encompasses access to potentially subversive usage through pamphleteering (Watt, 1991).

Theatre and drama

Having discussed the social structures and institutions that influenced the development of drama and theatre, it is now possible to summarise that development.[19] How this development relates to biographical issues in the study of Shakespeare is considered in Chapter 5.

The years 1574 or 1576 are often used as an *antedate* for Shakespearean theatre history because it was in the former year that the Earl of Leicester's Men under James Burbage's leadership received a licence from the Queen, and the latter year when he built the Theatre in Shoreditch, the first purpose built playhouse in England. By naming the playhouse so, Burbage emphasised its adherence to Classical Greek architecture, at least fifty years before Inigo Jones' Virtruvian experiments at the Banqueting House, Whitehall and the Queen's House at Greenwich (Harris *et al*, 1973; Orgel and Strong, 1973). Earlier developments are also important; for example the attempt by John Brayne in 1567, to convert the Red Lion Inn in Stepney into a purpose built performance space and the 1572 legislation against rogues and vagabonds that prompted Burbage's request to the Earl of Leicester to provide the group of travelling players with his livery and name to ensure that they were working legally.[20] Leicester's innovation, while having some historical precedent, is likely to have been the key influence for Elizabeth's establishment of her own named company, the Queen's Men in 1583, since Leicester's Men performed frequently at Court up to 1583. It is surely not accidental that the Queen's Men were selected by Sir Francis

Walsingham, linked (through the marriage of his daughter first to Sir Philip Sidney and secondly to the Earl of Essex) to the Earl of Leicester's extensive familial and patronage networks, and a serious and radical Privy Council ally to Leicester. As Controller of Intelligence Walsingham was responsible for recruiting theatre personnel to his spy network, presumably on the basis that their marginal social status enabled them to be both more mobile and acceptable in diverse nation and international situations.[21]

The developments of 1574 and 1583 are indicative of patterns of patronage of the drama that go back at least to the thirteenth century (Wickham, 1959) and are entirely congruent with the dominant, even residual cultural trends. The building of the Theatre is not to be understood in this way because, within the free enterprise culture of the period, its impact was, immediately, causal in ways that were innovative and unforeseeable. Within two decades of 1576 the Curtain, also in Shoreditch, and the Rose and the Swan playhouses on Bankside became operative, each managed by men for whom the activity was primarily designed to be a profit making venture. Philip Henslowe and Francis Langley are not known to have prior theatrical aspirations (Ingram, 1978), in itself indicative that theatre management was perceived as lucrative. Henslowe's partnering with the actor Edward Alleyn from at least 1592 (when Alleyn married Joan Woodward, Henslowe's step-daughter), but probably earlier, at the Rose established that playhouse, its associated companies, players and playwrights as the only main rival to the Burbage dynasty over an astonishingly long period of approximately fifty years.

While it is clear that the Burbages' move from Shoreditch to Bankside in 1599 was both provocative (the Globe was built, partially from Theatre joists, only a hundred yards or so from the Rose) and a move made out of necessity, it has attracted rather more academic attention than James Burbage's abortive attempt to move into the Blackfriars precinct in 1596. Quite why Burbage bought the Blackfriars Upper Frater in 1596, at a cost of £600, is uncertain; although clearly he would have been planning what to do with the Theatre following the expiry of the ground lease in April 1597.[22]

After over twenty years of apparently successful business activity was he trying to foresee the best way to take his enterprise forward by creating an indoor playing space in London that would have replicated the safer indoor halls of the Court and aristocracy? If this was the case it provides further evidence of Burbage's radical vision for an embryonic theatre profession that attempted to mirror conventional Court practice in the urban marketplace. Burbage perhaps chose not to foresee the opposition from residents of the Liberty of Blackfriars, or else, more likely, was confident that the Lord Chamberlain (Lord Brooke, NOT a Carey family member), himself a Blackfriars resident, would support this initiative by his company of players. That he did not, again informs our understanding of the patronage system of playing companies and their members, but reinforces that the patronage system was the means by which companies would be suitably prepared to perform at Court, rather than elsewhere. Burbage clearly underestimated this situation and the subsequent ferocity of opposition that followed and overestimated his ability to deal with it, meaning that occupation of the Blackfriars by Burbages had to be forestalled until 1608.

James Burbage died in February 1597 and his sons, Richard and Cuthbert, inherited the Blackfriars.[23] The decision to move to Bankside was thus unlikely to have been made in James' lifetime, and was probably an enforced decision by Richard and Cuthbert in face of major opposition to the Blackfriars project. If the building of the Globe was a second choice for Richard and Cuthbert Burbage in 1599, the reverse was true in 1613, when sharers in the Kings's Men contributed £1400 to rebuild the playhouse by the following year after the fire. That £1400 was to be had must demonstrate the financial acumen of the Burbages and the economic success of the playhouse, as well as determine the need of the second Globe to generate income for the sharers.

Shakespeare's professional peers were, at the outset of his playwrighting career, predominantly those who wrote across genres and who were university educated; for instance Marlowe, Kyd and Greene. Shakespeare's professional contemporaries (for instance Munday, Jonson and Dekker) all manifest a significant characteristic that

differentiates them from Shakespeare; namely that in all of their dramatic writing they did not align themselves to one single playing company during the period, whereas all the extant evidence shows that from the establishment of the Lord Chamberlain's Men in 1594 Shakespeare did not write plays for any other company. Further, from a work based learning perspective, we might see his collaborations with Wilkins and Fletcher from 1608 (Masten, 1997) as being part of a conscious staff development strategy within the King's Men (see Chapter 7). The work patterns of playwrights such as Dekker, Jonson and Heywood, while being more eclectic, represent the norm for the period that includes civic and royal commissions and lead, notably, to the development in England of the Court Masque.[24]

Summary

This chapter has described the social and historical context of the Shakespearean period in order to understand the environment in which Shakespeare's work based learning will have been acquired, developed and practised. By naming this period Shakespearean this social context is clearly defined, but by discussing it within the conceptual framework of Williams' work on residual, dominant and emergent culture, work based learning is equally clearly being situated within the formative development of the structures, systems and processes of the social infrastructure.

What this chapter therefore articulates is the ideological fluctuations of power, religion and subsequent cultural development brought about by historical events and State and individual response. That the ideologies of power and religion are within a hierarchical hegemonic tradition may be obvious, that this hierarchical structure permeates the society horizontally and vertically to enable significant individual choice and initiative has also been discussed. That such a spirit of cultural innovation and change was feasible within apparently fixed structures is attributable to the powerful and dynamic operation of patronage and the networks of reciprocal relationships that this enabled. For those emerging professionals in the theatre this meant direct access

to those persons of power and influence that could approve, support or sanction their creative activities and development. In terms of understanding and subsequently analysing Shakespeare's work based learning this is of paramount importance and cannot be overestimated. Chapter 4 below therefore argues for the appropriateness of Role Theory as the methodology for this thesis. Chapter 5 then locates this within the literature about William Shakespeare.

In summary then, it is possible to depict the cultural and ideological continua of the Shakespearean period thus. The depiction here is a simple summary of highly complex material that leads directly into the use of the Time Chart (Table 1) discussed in Chapter 6.

- Elizabethan Settlement < - > recusancy < - > Puritanism and Anglicanism
- absolute power of monarch/patriarchy < - > embryonic individualism/groups
- rigid social structure < - > patronage < - > artistic innovation
- anti-European < - > pro-colonialism
- aristocracy < - > increased urban/civic migration < - > emerging middle class professionalism
- outdoor playhouses < - > radical dramatic forms < - > indoor theatres.

Notes

1. Historians and literary critics such as Cox and Kastan (1997); Dollimore and Sinfield (1984); Hope (1994); Loades (1992) and Starkey (1984) present sound arguments for not defining historical activity by dynastic or regnal titles on the grounds that it is a Whiggish interpretation of history that thereby limits the parameters of analysis to the solely political and/or constitutional. From a theatre history perspective, epithets such as Early Modern or Renaissance further

complicates rather than clarifies the cultural boundaries and issues being debated.

2. Williams is the critic who took main responsibility for introducing the term Cultural Materialism into the contemporary study of the arts and the humanities. This is a huge field, discussed extensively by Dollimore and Sinfield (1985) and its approach has also proved attractive for the New Historicists who are discussed in Chapter 5.

3. There seems little reason to doubt Heywood's statement. Henslowe's Diary records numerous payments to Heywood and the titles of more of his plays than remain extant, many of which were written collaboratively. Bentley (1971) considers his contribution to the period to be underrated, while his ability to survive and prosper in his many areas of dramatic and literary endeavour are to be commended. Heywood's *Apology for Actors* published in 1612 is one professional's retrospective account of the significant growth of that occupational area.

4. Much of the *Faerie Queene* was written while Spenser was Secretary to the Lord Deputy in Dublin, Lord Grey, and influenced by Anglo-Irish politics that focused on critical issues of containing and controlling subversion to the English throne and the Protestant Elizabethan Settlement; opposition to which was manifested in Spenser's figure of Duessa/Mary Queen of Scots (Smith and de Selincourt, 1970; Warren, 1993).

5. Performances of *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Dr Faustus* were hugely popular in the lifetimes of their authors and beyond (Barroll *et al*, 1975, hereinafter referred to as Revels 3, 1975) and updated popular figures such as the Vice from the Morality Plays (Bevington, 1962 and Rossiter, 1950). While characters such as Iago and Claudius may incorporate elements from this residual tradition the psychological realism with which they are depicted is entirely synonymous with the self-consciousness of the 1600s (Dollimore 1984: 179) and quite difference from the characterisation in an early tragedy such as *Titus Andronicus*.

6. *King Richard II*, *Pericles* and *Hamlet* were all published in Shakespeare's lifetime; in 1597, 1609 and both in 1603 and 1604 respectively. While this may indicate popularity it is not necessarily matched with extant recordings of multiple

performances; an interesting example of Williams' recorded culture, apparently at dissonance with a lived culture.

7. As will be discussed in Chapter 5 below the role of the Lord Chamberlain and Lord Admiral in giving their names and patronage to playing companies in 1594 was fundamental to Shakespeare's development as the principal playwright for the former company. The functions of the Office of the Master of the Revels are discussed in Dutton (1991) and documents from the Office transcribed in Feuillerat (1908).

8. This interpretation of Elizabeth and James' courts is drawn from various sources. There is no full-length modern and analytical political biography of either monarch. Neale's *Queen Elizabeth I* (1934) is factually useful but analytically outdated, while Johnson's *Elizabeth: a study in power and intellect* (1974) fails to explore the social ambience of the court that is so well supplied, for both monarch's, in Starkey's (1987, ed.) court history. Houston (1995), Randall (1994) and Warren (1993) offer concise summaries of historiography to date that, together with Goldberg (1983) and Levy Peck (1989 and 1991), are healthy reminders that such modern full-length biographies are long overdue. The location of the Court is not a geographical specificity. The court is wherever the monarch happens to be in residence at any one time. The London palaces were Hampton Court, Whitehall and Greenwich.

9. Warnicke's (1989) outstanding biography of Anne Boleyn is important in its stress on Elizabeth's mother's long term influence on Tudor cultural, political and religious development. The Carey family (Lords Hunsdon, later Lord Chamberlain) were descended from Mary Boleyn's marriage to William Carey after her affair with Henry VIII, and Elizabeth's female cousins were reliable long-term members of her Privy Chamber (Wright, 1987).

10. Levy Peck (1989) reminds her readers that James' wife's name was Anna of Denmark, not the anglicised Anne; and it is by the former name that she is addressed in contemporary documents. Katharine Parr's contributions to political and cultural life and her influence on Elizabeth's upbringing are variously discussed in Loades (1992); Perry (1990), and Williams, (1971) and her portrait (previously thought to be that of Lady Jane Grey) is in the National Portrait Gallery catalogue number 4451.

11. Henry Prince of Wales is a fascinating and attractive figure who, like his predecessor Edward VI, was developing a strong and independent voice from that of his father before his sudden death in 1612 at the age of 18. His interests included Medieval revivalism and serious artistic patronage of artists such as Peake, Geerhaerts and Oliver (Strong, 1969 and 1977). James' publications included *Basilikon Doron* (1603) propounding his theories of kingship, written for Prince Henry. His patronage portfolio included Ben Jonson and Thomas Dekker in respect of their involvement in creating civic pageants in honour of James' personal political skills in a very different style to pageants of Elizabeth's reign that tended to emphasise her allegorically (Anglo, 1992 and Strong, 1977).

12. Randall (1994) points out the limited governmental interventions of the House of Commons during the period. He helpfully discusses the historiography of the parliament, which includes an analysis of Neale's (1949) research and subsequent revisions of his hypothesis.

13. Heinemann (1980) and Revels 3 (1975) are perceptive on the social responsibility of the City of London Council, noting that while they may have held strong views against the performance of plays, their support for civic spectacle was consistently strong. See also Goldberg (1983).

14. In addition to the works cited, this section draws on the useful summaries of Randall (1994) and Warren (1993). The subject is complex and diversely treated and it should be noted that the intention here is to give a brief overview rather than an in depth analysis which would not be appropriate to the scale and scope of this thesis.

15. Sir Philip Sidney was given the equivalent of a state funeral in 1586 and his death was followed by widespread mourning. His family undertook to spread a cult of the young literary and military hero that is still extant (Duncan-Jones, 1973). Culturally, Sidney links into the patronage networks of Leicester and the Pembrokes, through Mary Sidney's, Philip's sister, marriage to the 2nd Earl of Pembroke (and therefore mother to the 3rd and 4th Earl, to whom the First Folio is dedicated).

16. Auerbach (1954) discusses artistic mobility in Europe and England during the reigns of the Tudor monarchs. While Holbein's visits to Henry VIII's court have been well documented and analysed (Hearn, 1995), less well analysed has been the brief periods of cultural exchange that arose out of Mary I's marriage to Philip II of Spain (Loades, 1989) and included visits by Antonio Mor (Strong, 1969a; 11). Leicester's patronage of the Italian Mannerist, Zuccaro and his visit to England in 1575 (Strong, 1969a: 2, 163 - 166) is an important example of artistic mobility in Elizabeth I's reign.

17. This may be epitomised by the invitation to William of Orange to become joint monarch with Mary daughter of the Catholic James II in 1686 (Zee, van der, 1973) and extant constitutional law in respect of members of the royal family married to Roman Catholics.

18. Comparison of Shakespeare's, Daniel's and Jonson's work based learning in terms of their patronage would be most instructive and probably highlight significant differences between the professional development of a playwright (Shakespeare) and of a writer (Daniel) who also held posts of preferment in the Pembroke household, with whom both Jonson and Shakespeare development other patronage links.

19. It is very important to note that this section is necessarily a synopsis of a vast area that is thoroughly covered by scholars noted throughout this thesis. The key texts are fully discussed in Chapter 5, and draw extensively on Chambers (1923), Gurr (1970, 1987, 1993 and 1996) and Revels 3 (1975).

20. The key documents are quoted and fully discussed in Gurr (1970 and 1996) and also in Halliday (1964). MacLean (1993) analyses the Dudley Household Accounts for information about Leicester's patronage of the drama and playing companies in the 1550s and 1560s both in England and in the Netherlands. There is no modern political biography of Leicester, and one that gave attention to the inter-action between patronage and political achievement would be timely.

21. Halliday (1964: 328 - 329) refers to Munday's spying activities in Italy, gathering evidence against Edmund Campion, 1578 - 1581. That Munday's anti-Catholic activities should then lead to him co-writing *The Book of Sir Thomas More* suggests that his views were anti-papal rather than resolutely anti-Catholic. Marlowe was

probably also a Walsingham recruit, and his controversial death may be linked to his spying activities as well as his outspoken atheism (Palmer and Palmer, 1981: 159 - 160; Steane, 1969).

22. Revels 3 (1975: 197 - 226) has a detailed analysis, with models, of the Blackfriars precinct, what Burbage acquired in 1596, what preliminary renovations he may have carried out, and what subsequent work was done in 1608 when Richard and Cuthbert took eventual possession.

23. For biographical information on all the Burbages, and indeed other players mentioned here, Chambers (1923, II: 295 - 350) gives the documentary sources, and Chambers, Gurr (1996) and Halliday (1964) all quote extensively from original material.

24. The literature in the field of the Court Masque is immense, probably not least because of its interdisciplinary nature that relates the performance and visual arts to history and politics. Gordon's (1949) analysis of the intellectual setting is still sound although to be read alongside more modern critiques such as Orgel and Strong (1973).

Chapter Four

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter introduces, describes and critiques the methodology used as the main means of identifying Shakespeare's work based learning. Role Theory has been chosen as the most suitable methodology, and a rationale for this choice is given below. It will be clear from preceding chapters, that the methodological framework must be capable of relating Role Theory to the questions asked at the end of Chapter 2. The social, historical and cultural context described above in Chapter 3 necessarily has a profound influence on the work based learning application of the methodology. Role Theory is the dominant methodology in this research but needs to be contextualised by the significant prevailing ideologies of the Shakespearean period. These are discussed above in Chapter 3 and analysed below in Chapters 6 and 7.

Even at this initial stage two methodological issues are apparent, and indicate that the application of Role Theory within the context of work based learning thinking will yield new understanding about the efficacy of Role Theory itself beyond that given to it within its usual boundaries of Social Sciences' thinking.

> Deeply embedded in the 'culture' or ideology of anthropologists is the belief that one of their major tasks, if not their primary one, is to uncover the covert behaviour patterns or 'blueprints for behaviour' of the society they study.
> Gross, Mason and McEachen (1966: 23)

The first issue is that the interdisciplinary nature of this research is likely to establish a new understanding about the utility of Role Theory, especially its application to research about occupational learning across an entire career. Role Theory may be currently perceived as somewhat old-fashioned, whereas its application to work based

thinking is clearly a modern construct. Secondly, but of equal interest, Role Theory has most usually been used under conditions of empirical contemporaneous research and this research is firmly located within an historical setting. These two issues lead to the interesting consideration of what happens when the entire career of a major historical figure is subjected to work based learning research through the holistic application of Role Theory; both approaches are innovative and likely to illuminate the methodology and the subject, William Shakespeare. As has been referred to above, especially in Chapter 2, this is likely to make an original contribution to knowledge about the relationship between an artist's work roles and their works.

This chapter is therefore structured as follows. A rationale for the choice of Role Theory is given. Given that the word 'role' has multiple meanings, and especially since one sphere of those meanings is located in the profession of acting and the other sphere of meanings is located in sociological concepts and that both of these spheres are used in this thesis, a note on use of this vocabulary is necessary. The note on language defines how the word 'role' is used throughout the thesis, so as not to confuse the reader as to which meaning is intended at any given point. The chapter moves then to discuss the nature of Role Theory, its conceptual framework, characteristics and strengths. Some illustrations are given to show how these features can be applied to an analysis of Shakespeare's work based learning and how and why they lead to the development of other major methodological tools. The discussion therefore reveals some of the limitations of Role Theory when dealing with the totality of the work based learning of an historical creative artist. In turn this introduces the methodological innovations for this research which link the strengths of Role Theory with the strengths of work based learning thinking to provide and apply a full and innovative methodological apparatus for the collection and analysis of data in this thesis.

Rationale

The concept of social role is fundamental to sociological thinking (Worsley, 1970: 211), because it seeks to understand individuals within social structures, and Role Theory especially seeks to provide a means whereby that inherent complexity and multiplicity of interactions between the diverse functions held by individuals can be described and analysed. Dahrendorf (1968: 25) coined the term 'homo sociologicus' to refer to persons 'as the bearers of socially determined roles' and provides a helpful definition of social roles for a sociologist:

> To a sociologist the individual is his social roles, but these roles, for their part, are the vexatious fact of society. In solving its problems, sociology necessarily takes social roles as its elements for analysis; its subject matter is the structure of social roles.
> Dahrendorf (1968: 25)

Role Theory therefore considers its subject matter from the perspective of socially structured roles and the analysis, interpretation and evolution of their incumbents' patterns of activity. Such activity may also be analysed in terms of the behaviour of occupants within their social roles. Patterns of activity engaged in by occupants of socially determined roles will be firmly located within the prevailing social structures and systems active at given points of time and place.

> ...man as the bearer of social roles is not primarily a description of reality, but a scientific construct. Yet however much scientific activity may resemble a game, it would be wrong to regard it as irrelevant to the reality of experience. … People's regular behaviour towards other people gains sociological meaning only insofar as it may be understood as behaviour with respect to predetermined patterns that are assigned to the incumbent of a social position irrespective of his individual identify.
> Dahrendorf (1968: 25, 62)

The validity of such a stance is important as it enables the historical data of this research to be considered using what is normally viewed as a contemporaneously based methodology. Chronologically then, the research will analyse Shakespeare's work based learning formatively rather than summatively; taken thematically the stance will be focused on his work roles and development of works.

> ...the making of art is never itself in the past tense. It is always a formative process, with a specific present.
> Williams (1977: 129)

> History is not a unilinear development; on the contrary, at any historical moment there will be found contradictions and liaisons, dominant and subordinate elements declining or ascending energies. [That] moment is both a result of prior processes and an index towards the direction of its future flow.
> Dollimore (1984: 7) quoting Thompson, E.P., *The Poverty of Theory* (1978: 239)

> If historiography were merely a testing ground for the more rigorous social sciences, there would be no need to worry about it. But it is clearly more than a testing ground. The historian's purposes, artistic and pragmatic alike, demand more immediate access to the actors of past dramas than sociology can offer.
> Dahrendorf (1968: 82)

Given that, in the main, the research is not taking a retrospective view from post-1616, but a formative view on Shakespeare's work based learning, this creates a modern and rational approach to historical material that is itself subject to speculation from time to time (Utley, 1997).

Work role analysis is therefore concerned with many of the features of Role Theory that have occupied the writings of such people as Biddle and Thomas (1966), Jackson (1972) and Merton (1968). While Goffman's work (1959 and 1974) remains innovative, fascinating and accessible its use of the theatrical metaphorical framework for discussing experiential activity hinders precision here because its main focus is behavioural, rather than sociological. To put this simply, sociologists (such as Worsley, 1970) take a societal and structural perspective of role, whereas social psychologists' (such as Goffman, 1959) interests are generally more focused on the

behavioural implications of socially determined roles for the individual. Given that work based learning thinking is interested in how, why and with what consequences learning takes place through world of work which is clearly a social environment as discussed in Chapter 1, this methodology seems especially appropriate.

> It is these patterns [of roles within the social structure] and not (as with...many social psychologists) the behaviour itself, that we have called social roles. Dahrendorf (1968: 62)

The features of Role Theory that are paramount for the present research are those characteristics that enable understanding and analysis of a work role holder's patterns of activity **in relation to** other work role holders whether those other role holders occupy the same and/or different work roles from the original work role holder in question. These features include role position or status, role performance, role norms, expectations and sanctions. The functions of groups of which the work role holder is a member, has been a member, is influenced by (Sprott, 1958, is a classic text) or aspire to be a member of is also significant. Analysis of such groups, their membership, values, goals, diverse activities and modes of joining and leaving, provides a valid method of answering the thesis' research question; namely the relationship between Shakespeare's work roles and the creation of his works. The concept of the Role Set (Merton, 1968, a critical and dynamic aspect of Role Theory that is discussed and illustrated below) provides a methodological framework that acknowledges the complexity of culturally structured social roles and enables the questions asked at the end of Chapter 2 to be analysed.

However, as traditionally defined and used by the theorists referred to in this chapter, Role Theory also has its limitations when conjoined with the work based learning approach, and these are discussed at the end of this chapter.

A note on language

> All the world's a stage,
> And all the men and women merely players.
> They all have their exits and entrances,
> And one man in this time plays many parts,
> His acts being seven ages.
> *As You Like It* (II vii 139 - 143)

There is a paradox inherent in the above lines, which have been cited by role analysts to demonstrate Shakespeare's own understanding of socially determined roles and that therefore this legitimises the complicated (and criticised) use of the theatrical metaphor to describe and analyse a major body of critical theory. The quote is important however as a reminder that the concept of *'Totus mundus agit historionem'* (all the world's a stage) originates in Classical philosophical thinking and was, of course, the motto taken by the Lord Chamberlain's Men for the Globe Playhouse in 1599.[1]

> The theatrical analogy from which Role Theory has been developed is an attractive one. ...However, as with all analogies, unless the differences, as well as the similarities, with social phenomena are clearly and carefully outlined, the concepts which are developed will be misleading ones.
> Coulson in Jackson (ed.), (1972: 115)

Much is made in the literature on Role Theory of its use of theatrical and dramatic metaphors (Goffman (1959) is especially insightful from a social psychology perspective) and potentially gives a dilemma of precision in this thesis, when the subject of the research is essentially within the occupational field of theatre and dramaturgy and therefore using similar vocabulary to that of the methodology, albeit with different meaning. Although, interestingly, the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (1973, II: 1842) conflates the theatrical with its figurative sociological meaning, the word 'role' differs depending whether a methodological or theatrical meaning is intended. For example:

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Richard Burbage as a member of the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men occupies a variety of socially determined work roles that include actor, company sharer, Groom of the Chamber and painter. As will be seen below these socially determined work roles are best described by his occupancy of certain role positions and membership of various Role Sets.

In his work role as an actor, Burbage frequently took the lead parts in plays written by the company's principal playwright, William Shakespeare. In this socially determined role of actor he played the rôles, or characters of Hamlet, Othello, King Lear and Romeo.

Shakespeare has given the character Hamlet socially determined roles that he has acquired or achieved such as student, courtier, lover, friend and later conspirator and murderer. He also holds roles that are ascribed to him; son, nephew, step-son and putative heir to the throne of Denmark The main role that defines his action and character within the play, the rôle of Prince of Denmark, is both an achieved and an ascribed role.[2]

Throughout this thesis it is going to be clearer which meaning of the word 'role' is intended if the word is always qualified by an additional descriptive word to locate it. Typically this will use methodological vocabulary, such as role position, and work based learning vocabulary, such as work role.

Shakespeare as an occupier of social roles

In analysing Shakespeare's work based learning the socially determined roles occupied by him will be those in connection with his professional rather than personal life. This is entirely appropriate but cannot and should not ignore the question of how the specific occupational environment for Shakespeare's work based learning came about in the first place. Role Theory differentiates between 'achieved roles' and roles that

are 'ascribed', which are more usually familial roles. How and why Shakespeare achieved particular work roles is important in understanding the development of his early professional career, when transitions from social roles that are predominantly familial to ones that are predominantly occupational took place. Such transitions typically lead to another feature of Role Theory, which is the capacity for and management of conflict, tension and ambiguity between ascribed roles ones with those that are achieved, not least because of an individual's aspiration to achieve particular work roles.

Understanding Shakespeare's early career from a work based learning application of Role Theory may provide us with insights to professional development in the sixteenth century. As discussed in Chapters 3 and 5, we see an emergent social structure of creative practitioners developing a new and highly innovative series of occupational groupings (players, playwrights, playhouse builders, owners and sharers) that challenge some of the standards of the day, where occupation was still predicated by the residual apprenticeship and Guilds' model (see Bentley, 1971, for a discussion of this emergent professionalism). This suggests that Shakespeare and other members of the Lord Chamberlain's Men were what we would term 'role innovators'. Role Theory therefore may enable the identification of some of the previous work based learning environments that made this role innovation both logical and possible.

Shakespeare's career was apparently almost entirely focused around London from at least 1594 and the influences that he was open to and groups he aspired to membership of were a complex mixture of occupational and elite status groups formally and informally attached to the Court, its ruling factions as well as the working groups in the City of London. However, as Grooms of the Chamber, the King's Men also had the more mundane work role of servants, and their attendance at the 1604 Somerset House Conference illustrates aspects of this dichotomy between high and low status work activity. Events in which Shakespeare and the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men took part in this capacity must be seen within the cultural context, where high ranking courtiers also held functionary work roles at important State events.

Role Theory is only helpful in understanding this when it is historically contextualised, especially to the hierarchical application of patronage.

By applying Role Theory to Shakespeare as an exemplar of an embryonic and innovative professional, a list of shifting and evolving work roles readily emerges from what is already known about Shakespeare's career. It is not accidental that these work roles are presented sequentially to eventually yield information about how Shakespeare moved between them, on from them to other work roles, or managed multiple work roles consecutively. Chronologically, these included: player, playwright, sonneteer and published poet, Groom of the Chamber, playhouse builder, playhouse investor and playhouse sharer. His work roles might also include teacher, writer of occasional, even commissioned verse, mentor of aspiring playwrights and land / property owner. In order to be effective in performing these work roles, he would have to interact with other occupants of the same work roles as well as occupants of different work roles that might be supportive, enabling, challenging, competitive or oppositional to him. These would have included: patrons, Lord Chamberlain, Master of the Revels, Courtiers, the Monarch, printers and publishers, booksellers, city regulators and so forth. It is these interactions that constitute a work role holder's activity *vis à vis* various role positions and Role Sets, and therefore it is here that the work based learning application of Role Theory is helpful since the vocabulary of work roles is synonymous with the vocabulary of role positions.

In the following sections the features of Role Theory that will enable interrogation of this complexity are discussed in more detail.

Role Position and Status

A role position is the location in the social structure, which provides the rationale and environment for a name to be given to the set of rights, obligations and duties that enable a role occupant to carry out the functions associated with that role. Role

position is the same as the job title or work role, job description and person specification within the organisation that is the social institution under investigation. An academic occupies a work role within a higher education institution, but how the individual functions within that role position of lecturer or professor will be determined by a range of formally prescribed duties and interactions within the systems and structures that comprise the higher education sector at the macro and micro level. That is the work role of academic will normally conform to national frameworks as well as their manifestation at a local level of operation.

Berger and Luckmann (1966) are especially insightful in demonstrating this link between the individual's work role or role position, the organisational setting and prevailing hegemony. This is most important in analysing the evolution of the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men company and its emergent institutionalisation:

> Roles appear as soon as a common stock of knowledge containing reciprocal typifications of conduct is in process of formation, a process that, as we have seen, is endemic to social interaction proper. The question as to which roles become institutionalised is identical with the question as to which areas of conduct are affected by institutionalisation, and maybe answered the same way. All institutionalised conduct involves roles. Thus roles share in the controlling character of institutionalisation.
> Berger and Luckmann (1966: 92)

The explicit and implicit expectations that create the parameters for functioning in a work role or role position, role performance, and accompanying sanctions for performance transgression, are discussed below. From a work based learning perspective, a role position's implied, actual or potential expectations for performance are analogous to the explicit objectives specified in a organisational job description. Buchanan and Boddy (1992) utilise the theatrical metaphor of role performance extensively to explore individual behaviour and interactions within organisational settings. Role position then is a formal, official naming device that places the occupant of a work role in a, usually, pre-determined locale in a given, and understood, social structure:

> A position, as Linton's term 'status' implies is something static; it is a place in the structure, recognised by members of the society and accorded by them to one or more individuals. A role, on the other hand, is something dynamic; it refers to the behaviour of the occupants of a position - not to all their behaviour as persons, but what they do as occupants of the position.
> Gross *et al*, (1966: 33) quoting Newcomb (1950) *Social Psychology*. New York. The Dryden Press, p280.

Whereas Linton differentiates between the term 'status' to refer to the place of the individual and 'role' to refer to the action of the individual when performing their social role in the context of its socially determined expectations, the terms role position or work role will be used throughout this research. As discussed above, this use of terminology will also help to differentiate it from its theatrical meaning, when the word rôle will be used.

> By status Linton (1936) meant a position in a social system occupied by designated individuals; by role, the behavioural enacting of the patterned expectations attributed to that position. Status and role, in these terms, are concepts serving to connect the culturally defined expectations with the patterned behaviour and relationships which comprise social structure.
> Merton: (1968: 422)

The concept of role position assumes interaction with other occupants of the same role position as well as occupants of other role positions. Such interaction of function gives meaning to the role positions of self and others within the specific social structures by which the role positions are made meaningful.

> Since every position is a part of an inclusive systems of positions, no one position has any meaning apart from the other positions to which it is related.
> Newcomb (1950: 277) quoted in Gross, *et al* (1966: 50)

This is not to suggest that interaction with the role positions of others is either continuous or constant, and Merton (1968) discusses the necessity of 'insulation from observability' by others in relation to role performance and the extent to which norms

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and expectations are met or are not met. This terminology also suggests a behavioural interpretation and its meaning is that occupancy and demonstration of conformity to the expectations of a particular role position brings with it a certain prescribed amount of privileged autonomy **permitting** unsupervised functioning within that role position. This is important in reducing potential for role conflict due to intensive contact while maximising opportunity amongst work role holders working together for consensus through the lack of mutual observation of performance. Shakespeare's work based learning in theatre companies must have necessitated a substantial amount of group collaboration.

> The interaction with each member (individual or groups) of the Role Set is variously limited and intertwined; it is not equally sustained throughout the range of relationships entailed by the social status.
> Merton (1968: 428)

Storr's (1989) psychiatric analysis of creativity, collaboration and solitude suggests that artists have a **capacity** to be alone that is quite distinct from loneliness that is relevant here. Shakespeare probably had this capacity and was permitted to function in this way by his peers because they understood this was a need for the effective performance of the work role or role position of principal playwright.

Dahrendorf's examples of the many role positions held by his fictitious Herr Schmidt (1968: 32*ff*) illustrates these points effectively and provide the bridge between this and the important concept of Role Sets (Dahrendorf uses the term 'position field'), discussed below. Thus, one of Herr Schmidt's role positions, that of teacher, must interact with other occupants of the teacher role position as well as with other role positions such as parents, pupils, governors, each of which will also have 'position fields' that will have similarity and difference with Herr Schmidt's own various position fields. It is important to note that the concept of role position always presupposes that any individual is occupant of multiple role positions, which necessitate management by self and others. The effectiveness, or otherwise, of such

role management will influence how extensive and / or significant a part role ambiguity and role conflict play.

The term role position when understood as a work role helps to determine the nature of the frameworks, functions or duties required of it and to determine its hierarchical status. It will be seen when Role Sets are discussed that the power associated with a single work role position will necessarily vary depending on the context in which that role position is being performed, and be radically different whether the occupant is interacting with occupants of similar or different role positions. Working with one's peers, while implying equal status does not necessarily infer that this is a comfortable and static role position, and perceived status will frequently be situationally effected by the extant referent and expert values systems of the group.

> Although the social role associated with a given position cannot tell us how a person in this position will actually behave, we do know, **if we are familiar with the society that defines this role, what is expected of one who is assigned it.** [my emphasis] Social roles, then, are bundles of expectations directed at the incumbents in a given society.
> Dahrendorf (1968: 36)

Role positions are either ascribed or achieved. The former refers to those role positions over which the occupant has had no choice in acquiring, the latter where elements of choice are present. Hamlet's discomfort with the nephew turned step-son role is a good example of how role ambiguity and conflict might arise as he questions the implications of these changes to his work role performance as Prince of Denmark. The cultural determination of ascribed role positions also applies to certain hereditary titles which merge the concept of role position with status; monarch, witchdoctor, vestal virgin are examples of these. Work roles are therefore normally achieved role positions and the present research is concerned with how Shakespeare's work based learning aided such work role acquisition. Such work role acquisition, especially ones highly desired, may be at odds with the familial responsibilities of certain ascribed roles, especially where these have expectations of high observability.

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The achievement of particular work roles necessarily involves the individual being capable of meeting that role position's pre-requisites. Merton (1968) uses the terms 'position sequencing' and 'anticipatory socialisation' to refer to the fact that within any one cultural framework the feasibility of acquiring specific role positions will be situated along a continuum of opportunism on the one hand to officially determined qualifications, with maybe non-negotiable pre-requisites on the other hand. The most frequently cited example of anticipatory socialisation is the formal educational systems of any one culture that will always limit and de-limit opportunity of future work role acquisition. In work based learning terms it is clear that Shakespeare must have met the pre-requisites of the work role position of principal playwright of the Lord Chamberlain's Men from learning achieved in prior work roles. The Role Sets will suggest the sequence in which these pre-requisites were acquired.

Anticipatory socialisation describes the process whereby an occupant of an existing role position, let us say that of young teacher with theatrical aspirations, takes on a series of additional, and progressively demanding work roles. Each of these both limits and de-limits the opportunities of achieving each subsequent role position, say that of playwright, that he aspires to. As the role position occupant takes on new and additional roles he will do so on the basis that he meets the pre-requisites and/or conditions for joining and retaining membership of the new role position. There is, therefore, a causal relationship between prior work based learning and consequent work role acquisition, or put more simply, there is a natural methodological correlation between Role Theory and work based learning thinking.

The analogy of how an individual's CV interacts with a job description might be helpful here. We are, of course, looking at the social structures that have determined or are in the process of determining what the pre-requisites for the role position of 'playwright' might be and what expectations may already exist or require social determination for the occupant of that position to become so located.

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The sequencing of work roles would therefore normally be aspirational, both in terms of role positions that an individual might reasonably expect to acquire and of role positions that the incumbent might admire but never reasonably expect to hold. This is similar to the way work based learning thinking looks at the nature and operation of work role ambition, as discussed in Chapter 1. Such aspiration or ambition is influenced by the individual's role models or reference groups in terms of the perceived and actual status (power, affectional, economic) associated with those clusters of role positions. Whereas membership of some role positions can be acquired through specific achievements, membership of role positions that make up a reference group may frequently be on invitation only. Depending on how an individual's work role positions have evolved, the individual may find themselves as member of a rich variety of Role Sets that operate peripherally to some of their reference groups.

This structure is especially pertinent to William Shakespeare, especially if, following Gurr (1993), Shakespeare was **chosen** to be a member of the newly-formed Lord Chamberlain's Men in 1594. That is his previous work based learning was such that he met the pre-requisites for a Role Set he aspired to be a member of, which is not an example of pre-determinism, but of the work based learning application of Role Theory in action.

> ...rapid social change provides continually new statuses which, precisely
> because they are new, cannot be filled by ascription.
> Biddle and Thomas (eds), (1966: 73)

Role Sets

The fact that an individual occupies multiple role positions, and therefore will interact with the holders of other multiple role positions that are both the same as and different from those of the first stated incumbent leads logically to the concept of the Role Set

and thus to the heart of the aspect of Role Theory most useful in understanding the relationship between Shakespeare's work roles and works. Each role position occupied by any individual, such as that of playwright, will have its own distinctive Role Sets, those of other playwrights, and others with whom the playwright in question interacts in order to be effective as a playwright:

> ...the concept of role provides one of the best available means for studying the elements of co-operation.
> Banton (1965: 2)

Merton discussed the term Role Set in his important *Social Structure and Social Theory* (1968) where he drew on the reference group theory of the social psychologist, Stouffer (1949), in *The American Soldier*. While all American soldiers would be members of the same Role Set, Dahrendorf's Herr Schmidt is a member of many 'position fields' or Role Sets when, in his work role of a teacher he is interacting with pupils in the classroom (one work role position interacting with many holders of another role position) or in a meeting comprising parents, governors and head teacher, where he may also have to deal with his other role positions, such as employee or parent of pupils. An example of an occupant of many role positions in relation to occupants of other diverse role positions.

> Role Set theory begins with the concept that each social status involves not a single associated role, but an array of roles.
> Merton (1968: 42)

Merton is clear that the Role Set differs from what is described as the multiplicity of role positions held by an individual, as it is concerned with the complexes of role position held by others which are associated with the role performance of any role positions of the individual. In work based learning terms a Role Set might be construed as the multiple teams of individuals with whom co-operation is essential and

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frequently reciprocal in order to do one's job. This leads Merton to articulate what is at the heart of Role Theory:

> The notion of the Role Set at once leads to the inference that social structures confront men with the task of articulating the components of the countless Role Sets - that is, the functional task of managing somehow to organise these so that an appreciable degree of social regularity obtains, sufficient to enable most people, most of the time to go about their business without becoming paralyzed by extreme conflicts with their Role Sets. ...The concept of Role Sets raises the problem of identifying the social mechanisms - that is the social processes having designated consequences for designated parts of the social structure - which articulate the expectations of those in the Role Set sufficiently to reduce conflicts for the occupant of a status.
> Merton (1968: 42 - 43)

It is the articulation of these components and the mechanism for their operation that will identify Shakespeare's Role Sets. This is done through the identification of other Role Set members and the work role positions they hold within the various Role Sets. Merton is primarily concerned with what these mechanisms are and how they come into being. Gross *et al* (1966) additionally are concerned with the variety of expectations and sanctions associated with role positions (they do not use the concept of Role Set) and the extent to which expectations and sanctions may be mandatory, preferential or permissive. However, by considering a group of occupants of one role position only, their work illustrates one of the limitations of Role Theory, namely that despite theorising to the contrary, in application it seeks to oversimplify a holistic socially structured reality.

One of the major reasons for the complexity of Role Set activity is well set out by Merton:

> ...the other members of a Role Set are apt to hold different social positions differing from that of the status-occupant in question. To the extent that members of a Role Set are differently located in the social structure, they are

apt to have interests and sentiments, values and moral expectations, differing from those of the status-occupant himself.
Merton (1968: 44)

An example of a Role Set readily identified from existing knowledge would therefore be the sharers of the Lord Chamberlain's Men at the point of their formation in 1594. The membership would comprise Richard Burbage, William Shakespeare, Thomas Pope, William Kempe, John Heminges, George Bryan and Augustine Phillips, and of course in addition to holding the work role position of sharers, each member of this Role Set also holds other work role positions within the company; notably that of actors. By describing these people as occupants of that Set, its membership is seen as part of the social structure and systems for theatre companies of the time, noting the previous Role Sets to which its members belonged. Analysis of these work roles in terms of anticipatory socialisation enhances the ability to analyse specific Role Episodes, or in work based learning terms, critical incidents. This needs to be done from the perspectives of the multiple role positions held by Shakespeare and the members of the Role Sets of which he was a member. Chapter 6 discusses the means used to depict Role Sets and its attendant instruments, in depth.

Figure 1 shows this Role Set, and its subsequent iterations. Its members are Shakespeare's primary group of professional 'significant others':

> The significant others in the individual's life are the principal agents for the maintenance of his subjective reality.
> Berger and Luckmann (1966: 170)

The function of the significant other will always be more influential than those others who are on the periphery of the individual's Role Sets; not least because it is reasonable to assume some degree of affectional relationship with significant others that is based on commonality of values and goals. Significant others are most likely to act as critical friends, giving feedback on work role performance to one another, in order to improve performance. Such feedback gives confidence and thus makes the

FIGURE 1
APPLYING ROLE THEORY: SOME ROLE SETS' EXAMPLES

Sources: Chambers (1923), Gurr (1996) and Halliday (1964)

Name in Red - William Shakespeare
Names in Green -indicative multiple role holders ('Principal Actors')
○ denotes indicative significant others
Names in Yellow - single role holders

Circle 1 (left): Lord Chamberlain's Men Sharers June 1594
WS, RB, AP, WK, RC, TP, JH, GB

Groom of the Chamber in 1603 (Elizabeth 1's funeral) and 1611-13

Circle 2 (center): 1604 King's Men Sharers
WS, AP, LF to 1608?, JL, SC, W Sly Induction *Shr*, AC, RA, RC, HC, JH, RB

Quarto of *Much Ado* (1600) he played Verges

Circle 3 (right): 1605 King's Men Sharers
WS, RC, LF, SG, W Sly, JL, AC, RA, NT, HC, JH, RB

Circle 4 (bottom right): 1605 Augustine Phillips' Will made 4.5 proved 13.5
WS, ChrB, RG witness only, RA, HC, RC, LF, W Sly, J Sand, SG, AC, NT, JH, RB

WS: William Shakespeare
AC: Alexander Cook
AP: Augustine Phillips
ChrB: Christopher Beeston
GB: George Bryan
HC: Henry Condell
JH: John Heminges
JL: John Lowin
J Sand: John Sand
NT: Nicholas Tooley
RA: Robert Armin
RB: Richard Burbage
RC: Richard Cowley
RG: Robert Gough
SC: Samuel Cross
SG: Samuel Gilburne
TP: Thomas Pope
WK: William Kempe
W Sly: William Sly
LF: Laurence Fletcher

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creative artist more adventurous in the performance of their work role. As seen in Chapters 1 and 2, peer group approbation and feedback are characteristics of the work based learning of creative artists, which presents a good example of the work based learning application of Role Theory. Role Set membership indicates a reciprocity of responsibility to other members of that Role Set, but may also mean that role conflict may be more acute when based on different role positions' interpretation of what that responsibility entails, because it may be value laden. A non-Role Set member holding a significant other role would normally be an occupier of a role position of perceived or actual high status, often that confers authority and autonomy over certain elements of the Role Set's activities. Such influence would typically be of either a mandatory or affectional nature. Berger and Luckmann use a theatrical metaphor, that of 'chorus' member, to describe this peripheral but powerful role.

> The relation between the significant others and the 'chorus' in reality maintenance is a dialectical one; that is, they interact with each other as well as with the subjective reality they seek to confirm. ...Reality maintenance and reality confirmation thus involve the totality of the individual's social situation, though the significant others occupy a privileged position in these processes. Berger and Luckmann (1966: 171)

In Shakespeare's work role position as playwright working with Richard Burbage in his work role position as leading actor, reference would also need to be made to the significant other, triadic, relationship of which Burbage was a member, namely that with his father the playhouse owner, James and including Richard's brother, Cuthbert. Up until James' death in 1597 this would have been the over-riding influence in any decisions taken by occupants of other role positions within the matrix of Role Sets occupied by the Lord Chamberlain's Men. The fact that this is an ascribed role relationship of course imbues it with both power and ambiguity in the triad, and potential for conflict within the Role Set to which it is peripheral. The change of decision to abandon the Blackfriars project after James's death and build the Globe in 1599 is an example of this reciprocity of influence in action.

Let us turn to a Role Episode, to illustrate how Role Theory may illuminate existing knowledge. Role Episodes function as critical incidents from which work based learning may be determined. The commissioning of a performance of *King Richard II* on the eve of the Essex Rebellion in 1601 by some of the Rebellion's perpetrators, tells us about the work role responsibilities of Augustine Phillips in action. Analysis of this Role Episode indicates that Phillips a) in interaction with the commissioning rebels and b) during his subsequent interrogation was occupying a work role position as external 'gatekeeper', or in modern terms communications expert, for the company. Historically, Phillips is a shadowy, ever present, figure in the period 1590 - 1605 (Chambers, 1923, II: 333 - 4), featuring in key documents both pre and post establishment of the Lord Chamberlain's Men in 1594. Because his work role positions have previously been ambiguous, questions have been asked as to how he came to leave such a substantial will and why the bulk of bequests were to his fellow sharers. The Role Episode sheds light on this important figure, as it reveals Phillips' authority and ability to get the company out of a 'hot spot'; dealing expertly and protectively with authoritarian and hegemonic systems and structures surrounding the Role Sets of which he was a member, possibly leading to greater peer group approbation and making better sense of his bequests. Interestingly, external gate-keeping is also a noted characteristic of the so-called learning organisation (Pedler *et al*, 1991).

This incident is especially rich in Role Set principles, one of which relates to Merton's use of the term 'pluralistic ignorance' (1968: 430) whereby Role Set members assume either that the role expectations of the individual are different from other Role Set members or that the role expectations are not different; a sociological mechanism to reduce the potential for conflict. Thus it may be hypothesised that some members of the Lord Chamberlain's Men had political, economic or affectional affiliations that supported the performance of *King Richard II* as commissioned by Essex's supporters, while for other members this action resulted in both role ambiguity and potential conflict. The nature of patronage in the Shakespearean period is also key to this.

Role expectations and sanctions; conflict and ambiguity

> An expectation will be defined as an evaluative standard applied to an incumbent of a position.
> Gross *et al* (1966: 58)

While this may be clear enough, when the complexities of Role Sets and their membership are taken into account, the plurality of expectations of role performance, how they are arrived at (pre-determined by the social structure, or derived by the Role Set members), operated, observed, monitored and evaluated is important. Expectation of role performance will vary within the Role Set depending upon the work role positions, and the status of Role Set's members. Gross *et al* (1966) suggest that two features to be considered in understanding the enforcement of role expectations are the **direction** of the expectation, and its **intensity**; who directs influence over whom and with what actual or perceived level of power? The extent to which sanctions for not meeting expectations are mandatory (and if so within the control of the Role Set or elsewhere in the social structure), preferential or permissive (Gross *et al*, 1966: 58 - 64), will also feature. For example, how did an expectation that Shakespeare wrote two to three plays a year for the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men up to *circa* 1607 change to, presumably, an agreed expectation that only one to two plays would be written and produced thereafter? Henslowe imposed severe monetary sanctions on his playwrights for non-conformance of contractual obligations, but we cannot assume similar sanctions were inherent in the Lord Chamberlain's Men's organisation.[3]

The norm for sanctions against non-conformity of role expectations and role performance is that they are negative and positive sanctions are usually both more difficult to identify and to operate. One area where this emerges is the permissiveness surrounding the interaction between work expectations and domestic responsibility; Shakespeare must have been allowed, contractually, to return to Stratford-upon-Avon

periodically to visit his family and attend to domestic business. When the King's Men attended the Court for regular seasonal performances this was a positive sanction from a reference group (the King and Office of the Revels) rather than a variation on role expectation. Over time, 1604 - 1625, this activity represents an evolution from positive sanction to standard expectation. This is an important distinction in the dynamic, not static nature of the work based learning application of Role Theory that is not clear from the literature in either field.

Role Sets: transitions and changes of membership

Reference is now made to what Merton describes as 'abridging the Role Set: disruption of role relationships' (1968: 433). Mention has already been made of factors that influence the creation of Role Sets and achievement of role positions to and within them; Merton also considers what happens to Role Sets when membership changes.

> Certain relationships are broken off, leaving a consensus of role expectations among those that remain. ...It can be effectively utilised only in those circumstances where it is still possible for the status-occupant to perform his other roles, without the support of those with whom he has discontinued relations. ...this requires that the remaining relationships in the Role Set are not substantially damaged by this device. ...the Role Set is not so much a matter of personal choice as a matter of the social structure in which the status is embedded. ...Typically, the individual goes, and the social structure remains. Merton (1968: 433)

The strength and longevity of the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men is tribute to this pattern, and is pertinent chronologically, as critical incidents such as the death of Phillips or Kempe's resignation show. The colour coding of the Map of Role Sets (Figure 2) discussed in Chapter 6 illustrates this longevity well and is an outstanding example of Merton's point. Also significant is to consider the apparent **lack** of impact made to the King's Men by Shakespeare's retirement, in comparison to the national

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and functional dirge that followed Richard Burbage's death in 1619, and the consequent decision to publish the First Folio in 1623.[4] What we witness in the period 1608 - 1611 is role position succession as Shakespeare hands over to Fletcher, through what must have been a structured programme of 'staff development' that is better elucidated through work based learning thinking rather than Role Theory on its own (see Chapter 7).

Preliminary application of Role Theory and its limitations

In applying Role Theory to the nature of Shakespeare's work based learning it is clear that he occupied a sequence of overlapping work role positions throughout his career and to date the research has identified membership of some of his Role Sets. This initial testing of the methodology illustrated at Figure 1 begins to map the scale and scope for this approach. The surface appearance of this testing indicates a huge quantity of in-depth qualitative data and taken with the important work based learning questions identified at the end of Chapter 2, leads the following methodological observations to be made.

The work role position of greatest historical and dramatic significance for William Shakespeare appears to be that of playwright. But from a Role Theory and work based learning perspective it raises two unusual precedents. Namely that as an occupant of this position Shakespeare was rarely, if at all, a member of a Role Set that included other occupants of the playwright work role position, except in early parts of his career; he also held multiple work roles concurrently. While the latter is usual for the period, writing collaboratively was the norm and this relative non-participation on Shakespeare's part requires explanation. This leads to questioning the nature of Shakespeare's work role as a creative writer collaborating with occupants of other work role positions, especially Richard Burbage, who must be seen as his key significant other. Bentley (1971) and Hope (1994) explore the nature of

collaboration and its impact on theatre company organisation and specific texts respectively, but from a work based learning perspective, Shakespeare's propensity for single authorship does not represent the norm.

From data in Figure 1 the Role Sets of which Shakespeare was a member are Role Sets for which there were minimal socially pre-determined expectations of work role performance. The evolution of the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men from 1594 across these Role Sets clearly represents 'role innovation' and growing institutionalisation:

> ...for some situations in which the individual finds himself, he finds little, if any normative guidance...and therefore is forced to make his own decisions. ...Another crucial point, too often neglected by many sociologists, is that the norms may require an individual to innovate. ...The individual may innovate because he faces external situations for which he has not been 'programmed'. Bradbury, M.; Heading, B.; and Hollis, M. 'The man and the mask: a discussion of role-theory', in Jackson (ed.), (1972: 51 - 52)

Theatre history is well aware of the innovatory nature of the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men organisation, but the work based learning perspective is a new application. This makes the application of Role Theory dually difficult as the analysis is working with an emergent institutional culture rather than a dominant one.

It would be usual from the work based learning perspective to think of Role Set membership progressively and with a future orientation. However, analysis should also be carried out retrospectively to include Shakespeare's anticipatory socialisation that enabled him to be an eligible member of the Lord Chamberlain's Men in 1594. This looks promising and pre-1594 Role Sets may lead to better understanding of Shakespeare's work based learning during the so-called 'lost years'. Where Shakespeare clearly held some work roles over a considerable period, he also held other work roles for limited periods only, and this is a clear example of where the work based learning approach can deal with an inherent limitation of Role Theory.

While Role Theory and Role Sets identify the work role positions of individuals and the activities associated with those bundles of work roles, they cannot directly probe what the individual knows or understands. While knowing what work role positions an individual holds might imply what their work based learning might be, Role Theory cannot make that explicit, although it might enable certain patterns to emerge through the use of Role Sets. Work based learning instruments can, and this is where role performance is crucial in relation to learning, because in identifying what the outputs are from a work role position, the works, one can begin to analyse what individuals know and understand in order to produce such works. It is this product or work role performance orientation, together with the processes that enable performance to come into being, that is key to the work based learning application of Role Theory. Of course such performance in itself creates an iterative situation, as performance reinforces but also challenges and therefore develops work roles of all the members of a Role Set. This thinking is not to be found in Role Theory literature, but is fundamental to the emergent grounded theorising about the field of work based learning.

Therefore it is necessary to expand the methodology to do justice to the holistic analysis that is required for Shakespeare's work based learning, across his entire career. Role Theory, while useful at the micro level of Role Sets and Role Episodes is not adequate for the fullness of information required here, especially to chart career development. This is primarily because Role Theory tends to deal only with an immediate contemporaneous present. The new methodological instruments seek to bridge this gap. A relational database has therefore been invented, the Time Chart (Table 1), that charts 'time lines' of social, historical, biographical, economic and dramatic data relevant to the research subject across the period 1579 - 1623. Additionally all the Role Sets have been placed into a Map (Figure 2). The theoretical, methodological and empirical nature of and full rationale for the Time Chart and the Map of Role Sets and their content is the subject of Chapter 6.

Role Sets and Episodes can be identified from the Time Chart, to demonstrate the application and efficacy of this methodology, and contribute to the analysis of the relationship of Shakespeare's work based learning and works. This will enable the data it contains to be used in answering the questions stated at the end of Chapter 2.

All the above needs to be contextualised with the socio-economic context of the period, noting the changing patterns in the social structure using the concepts of residual, dominant and emergent cultures and ideologies. From this a further hypothesis is likely to emerge that there is a relationship between the micro formation of successive role positions and Role Sets that categorise Shakespeare's work roles and works within the macro patterns of social change.

Summary

This chapter has discussed the methodological framework for this thesis, Role Theory, noting its characteristics and strengths, together with some illustrations of its application to the questions considered in Chapters 2 and social context discussed in Chapter 3. Analysis of that social structure reveals the embryonic and emergent occupations of playwrighting and playhouse ownership during the period, that together with the strengths of work based learning, identifies the limitations of Role Theory as previously understood. This has been resolved by expanding the use of Role Theory to include brand new applications of work based learning thinking that relate to an entire career. This methodological innovation is the subject of Chapter 6. The following chapter, Chapter 5, contains the literature review, that in addition to looking critically at relevant literature, helps to prepare for the rationale behind and content of Chapter 6.

Notes

1. The motto was a commonplace, and Latham (1975) refers the reader to Baldwin, (1944) *William Shakespeare's Small Latine and Less Greeke* Urbana and Tilley,

(1950) *A Dictionary of Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Ann Arbor. The English derivation is first to be found in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* of 1159, of which there had been a new edition in 1595. Dahrendorf (1968: 26 - 32) follows a similar pattern of thought from a sociological perspective.

2. This format is a standard one for researchers writing from an multidisciplinary perspective, and is particularly drawn from recent discussions in the supervision of a BPhil thesis, Burns, B. (1999), 'Means, motive and opportunity; the student as detective', Middlesex University. Supervisory team, Kenneth Taylor and Jenny Naish.

3. Henslowe ran the operational side of activities at the Rose Playhouse on Bankside, and his Diary is a rich source of information about playhouse management during the period. His financial entrepreneurship has become notorious and a favourite quote from the Diary is 'Should these fellowes come out of my debt I should have no rule over them'. (Halliday, 1964: 221) Whereas Henslowe, with his son-in-law Edward Alleyn, ran the Rose as sole owners, necessitating detailed contracts with players and playwrights, the Globe was run by the sharers of the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men on a joint stock basis.

4. See Halliday (1964: 221) and Chambers (1923, II: 308 - 310) for the range of published elegies and anecdotal reportage that survives lamenting Burbage's death from the view of his professional activity.

Chapter Five

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter discusses the literature related to Shakespeare's work based learning and
the relationship of his work roles to the production of his works. The literature search
found no literature explicitly focused on this concept, which is not surprising as part of
the purpose of this thesis is to establish the ground for further research in this new
area. The closest aligned field to the work based learning of creative artists appears to
be work that considers professional development; however this is rarely applied to
historical figures in the arts.[1] Scholars writing on Shakespeare's professionalism are
less rare and often take a broad biographical stance (Thomson, 1992) or look
specifically at Shakespeare's compositional processes and dramatic techniques **within**
the works (Kermode, 2000 and Revels 3, 1975). Bentley's (1971) survey of
professional dramatists in the period is still relevant and is discussed below. The
differences and allegiances between biography and work based learning have been
mentioned in Chapter 1 and feature critically in Chapter 7. Given that the conjunction
of Shakespeare's life, production of his works and diversity of work roles is a new
construct, a different approach to a doctoral literature review from that of the more
usual thematic and epistemological one is called for. This is outlined in the following
paragraphs and subsequently discussed in the Multidisciplinary perspectives section
which follows. This chapter necessarily builds on Chapter 3 which considered the
literature and period from a perspective of the social structures; this chapter does so at
the individual level of application to William Shakespeare.

As has been seen in Chapters 1 and 2 the work based learning approach is argued to
be a field of studies that relates learning to practice in the workplace. Precisely which
areas of learning form an individual's work based learning will be predicated by the

subject under study, the cultural context of that subject and the nature of the workplace. In exploring the forms and content of learning an individual has from their work roles, formatively and summatively, it is appropriate to use a standard work based learning instrument, namely the *curriculum vitae* (CV) as discussed in Chapter 1. By using the framework of a CV as a template for this literature review, the review becomes an enabling mechanism for later analysis of Shakespeare's learning from his work roles. This framework can be fully integrated with the research methodology used to collect and analyse data, discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. A CV is also a synopsis of an artist's professional portfolio which therefore draws on the relevance of the work based learning questions asked about Shakespeare at the end of Chapter 2.

In work based learning terms a CV may be presented and analysed to yield information about what learning occurred from experience over time in specific contexts. A CV tells us the status of the individual's experiential learning, most usually at, through and within their various work roles. It is both a formative and a summative document. The individual's formal study and qualifications acquired may be interrogated from the perspective of role aspiration and acquisition and to establish the situated application of any theoretical knowledge. The CV's most frequent use is, of course, for a current or prospective employer to assess whether the information provided may be judged to match the abilities, knowledge and potential required for a new or different work role. This is documented by a job description, meaning that a individual's CV should have a direct correlation with an organisational need for specific work to be done. Moreover, the individualistic nature of a CV means that a person's work based learning cannot be fully understood without relating it to the organisational context represented by a job description. While this paragraph may somewhat labour the point, as a metaphor for exploring Shakespeare's work based learning from the literature it should be clear.

It is important at this juncture to stress that the use of the CV structure is to provide an instrument for analysis rather than an interpretation in its own right. The use of specific modern terminology is value laden and often an inappropriate construct when

juxtaposed to sixteenth century ideologies and thus should be used with extreme caution. However, since one of the key objectives of this research is to illuminate Shakespeare's professional development by means of work based learning modes of thinking then any discomfort at a false juxtaposition should be challenged by the relevance of taking this approach. The research argues that this provides a valid modern perspective on old problems.

A full CV is, potentially, a dynamic instrument that can yield an immense amount of **patterned** information, that may be corroborated by Role Theory. Information that for instance may tell us about key learning points of the individual's career, transitions, cumulative learning, new learning, relationships of one career phase to others, relationship of one's own work roles to roles of generic and specific significant others, what concurrent work based learning activities existed, continuity and discontinuity, choices and obstacles and so forth. The learning that an individual has acquired from their work is clearly a formative achievement, where the application of planning and anticipatory socialisation may be seen in terms of role acquisition, achievement and development. This literature review therefore takes as subheadings those that might be found in a CV as a means to commence identifying and analysing Shakespeare's work based learning and professional development. These headings are: education; the 'lost years' to represent training and apprenticeship; patrons; employment (including commissions); authorship, collaboration, staff development, publications; income and travel. Each category covers substantial areas, some time defined, others over the entire career, and intentionally activity that can be understood against those headings covered in Chapter 3. These categories are the basis for the later identification of the time-lines in the chronological Time Chart (Table 1) which holds the substantive data collected for analysis.

The Time Chart (see Chapter 4 above and Chapter 6 below for a full and detailed discussion) is necessarily a formative piece of data collection that may be subject to diverse analysis. This research argues that, given a CV may be similarly analysed, the CV subheadings lead directly into how the content for the Time Chart has been

determined. These CV subheadings are also informed by the critical work based learning questions identified at the end of Chapter 2, and the combination of these features lead to the analytical framework used in Chapter 7.

This chapter is therefore structured as follows. The multidisciplinary perspectives of the study of Shakespeare's work based learning are discussed below. The CV framework follows with the categories listed above discussed individually and an attempt will be made to place the relevant literature in context to make an initial assessment about what it will contribute holistically to this research. The discussion of all the categories will thus form the core of this chapter. The chapter will end with a summary of the material covered and its overall significance within this research. The summary will also indicate the weakness of the CV structure, particularly its partiality and limitations.

Sources

The fields of studies in Shakespeare and Shakespearean England are well served by the publication of primary sources in secondary literature and as such this is where primary sources have been consulted. For example Chambers (1923, II) contains a valuable Dictionary of Actors, Gurr (1987) transcribes audience responses to plays and therefore a 'who went to what' reference and Revels 3 (1975) charts known performances at Court 1576 - 1642. Halliday's *Companion* (1964) while invaluable is poorly referenced at the level of individual entry and Schoenbaum (1975) reproduces primary source documents together with transcriptions. Where it has been appropriate to consult facsimiles of early editions of Shakespeare's works this has been through Hinman's (1968) facsimile edition of the First Folio and facsimiles of quartos are referred to at the point of commentary.

Research has not involved a search for new primary sources, since it was not within the scale and scope of this thesis. It is of course always possible that new primary

sources relating to the fields of studies in Shakespeare may emerge. This is demonstrably the case with the Toronto based research team working under the banner Records of Early English Drama (REED) which is collating and publishing a diverse range of valuable material from the archival records held in borough, city and household accounts county by county. Those already released are having a profound effect on our understanding of the frequency and patterning of actors' companies travelling arrangements which forces a de-centralising of London and / or Court as preferred normal performance venues (Somerset, 1994). The work of the REED group and further extensive work in household accounts will, over time, yield valuable new primary sources.

In order to draw on appropriate literature from the immense field covered by studies of Shakespeare, to support, inform and develop this research the key texts selected may appear relatively few. Such key texts are necessarily drawn from across a range of disciplines. It must be noted that any literature review related to Shakespeare, cannot be inclusive, but rather be highly selective and focused. It must relate that literature to the evidence found in the primary sources. Such is the case here and additional focused discussion of literature will be found throughout the thesis to support the arguments of this research. Insofar as much of the literature associated with the study of Shakespeare is assumptive and interpretative, literature selection has been made on the grounds of its pertinence to a consideration of Shakespeare within a specific series of social structures and systems (as indicated by the CV subheadings, and those in Chapter 3) predicated by the work based learning questions in Chapter 2.

The approach presented may be an unusual one, but it is argued that structurally it is appropriate in terms of the newness of the subject area, the research methodology being used and the analytical model that connects the methodology, literature review strategy and data analysis framework discussed in the Chapters 6 and 7.

Multidisciplinary perspectives

Now follows a brief account of the contribution subject areas and disciplines make to the literature, which is also discussed thematically under the CV categories to distinguish what specific issues the literature raises for that category.

The field of Theatre Studies is paramount and is led by two scholars, E.K. Chambers and Andrew Gurr. Chambers' monumental works during 1923 - 46 are still sources of reference for biographical, theatrical and dramatic history in the Shakespearean period. Because Chambers meticulously researched facts from primary and secondary sources his works are not overly interpretative. However, Honigman (1985) and Gurr (1996) are in agreement that he constantly exercised an innate caution that meant when he did declare an opinion he primarily went for that of Shakespeare being a late starter rather than an early developer to cover the problems inherent in the 'lost years' and the organisational confusion of the theatre companies during the crucial 1590 - 1594 period. Notwithstanding this caution, it is in Chambers that we find the first major twentieth century contribution to Shakespearean theatre studies that is based on documentary evidence and is holistic.

Gurr, drawing on Bentley (1971), Chambers (1923) and Wickham (1959) as well as his contributions to the Shakespeare Globe on Bankside has, over the past twenty-five years, produced a series of texts and articles that as near as possible, provide a complete reference library. His work on the playing companies of the period (1996) gives the most up to date analysis of all the data currently available, that coupled with his earlier research on audiences of the period (1987), realigns previous research to show a more diverse audience at the public and private playhouses. His research has been used extensively as sources for the Time Chart and determined its boundaries. Of precise significance here is his very important article on patronage of the playing companies during the confusion of 1592 - 4 in *Shakespeare Quarterly* (1993). This is discussed in the Patronage section below.

Theatre Studies has been much influenced over the past decade by the archaeological work carried out on the Rose and Globe Playhouses sites on Bankside and has given additional impetus to research (Mulryne and Shrewing, eds, 1997). These developments have generated literature enhancing Orrell's fundamental research (1983) on the axis orientation of the Globe which provided key insights on what an audience saw in spatial and environmental terms. Theo Crosby's architectural research into the design of Shakespeare's Globe has made major contributions.[2] Sohmer's (1999) research further locates this in contemporary geographical, calendrical and theological debates. Ronayne (Mulryne and Shewring, eds., 1997) has long specialised in the popular cultural iconography of the period, which should be cross referenced to high status iconography discussed in Strong's works (especially 1973 with Stephen Orgel). Work at Shakespeare's Globe on Bankside is necessarily spawning a whole new area for theatre studies investigations for the Shakespearean period through detailed studies in carpentry, nutrition, health, physiology, reception theory and of course theatre practice. Now that Shakespeare's Globe is operating as a producing venue there is considerable scope for longitudinal research, especially of an empirical and experimental nature (Kiernan, 1999). Such development becomes a vital ingredient for future research in the work based learning of artists and theatre companies.

In terms of professionalism within the theatre Bentley's innovative research (1971) is still highly relevant. He clearly distinguishes those writers, writing professionally for the newly formed companies and impresarios such as Henslowe and the Burbages as an emergent new professional grouping (see Chapter 3 for a discussion of the broader issues of this for the Shakespearean period). His discussion and analysis of the status and roles of those writing for professional and monetary gain reinforces the revolutionary nature of the theatre developments in the 1580s and 1590s. He reminds us that it is only when we get to 1635 that an extant contract (Richard Brome's) determines a work role for a professional playwright.

Perhaps more importantly, however, Bentley identifies only twenty-two playwrights who were producing plays for named playing companies at specified playhouses and being paid for them.[3] Only ten of these were especially prolific: Heywood, Dekker, Shakespeare, Fletcher, Shirley, Massinger, Middleton, Chettle, William Rowley and Richard Brome. Some of these people are Shakespeare's professional peers and therefore occupants of the Role Set of playwrights (see Chapter 6). It is very important to note that a) the majority of these playwrights were under contract to Henslowe and b) the majority, with the notable exception of Shakespeare, most frequently wrote in collaboration with others. This is discussed more fully in the Authorship section below, and is a key issue for Shakespeare's work based learning. That is, Bentley specifies (to use the vocabulary of this research) who were the first occupiers of an innovative role position and defines what this involves as a putative work role description. Brome's contract has been discussed elsewhere (Edwards *et al*, 1981: 38 – 39, hereinafter referred to as Revels 4) but any relevance it may have to the 1590s playwrights, is necessarily of tentative use, given the phenomenal rate of theatre company development from the 1590s to 1635.

The burgeoning literature in the field of New Historicism has been drawn upon with interest and caution, not least due to the area's own multidisciplinarity. This research has empathy with some of New Historicism's conceptual starting points, especially the high validity it affords to subjectivity and a centripetal approach. This is aided by New Historicism's typical approach of analysing fiction through contemporary non-fiction, as Greenblatt's (1988) revolutionary interpretation of atheism, witchcraft and colonialism and *King Henry IV Part I* demonstrated to significant effect for the development of New Historicist theory. Greenblatt's concept and analyses of the 'circulation of social energy' could well embrace the way Role Episodes occur within the framework of Role Sets.

> ...we can ask how collective beliefs and experiences were shaped, moved from one medium to another, concentrated in manageable aesthetic form, offered for consumption. ...For the circulation of social energy by and through the stage was not part of a single coherent, totalizing system. Rather it was

> partial, fragmentary, conflictual; elements were crossed, torn apart, recombined, set against each other; particular social practices were magnified by the stage, others diminished, exalted, evacuated.
> Greenblatt (1988: 5, 19)

This approach is important for aspects of the approach in this thesis. However, New Historicism's avid attention to the detailed nuances of assumed behaviour in the subjects of its analyses and its often anecdotal nature distracts from appreciation of the broader societal structures of this research. 'Self-fashioning', to use Greenblatt's terminology, foregrounds the subjectivity of the subject in a not dissimilar way to Goffman's (1959) hypotheses of the presentation of self.

> ...in the sixteenth century there appears to be an increased self-consciousness about the fashioning of human identity as a manipulative, artful process.
> ...fashioning may suggest the achievement of a less tangible shape: a distinctive personality, a characteristic address to the world, a consistent mode of perceiving and behaving.
> Greenblatt (1980: 2)

Indeed New Historicism's focus on published texts as literature and the person as a feeling individual acknowledges its weighting towards literary criticism and the interiority of texts in relationships to other texts that perhaps also emphasises American conceptual interests into the nature and value of the autonomous self. Montrose's (1996) definitions of 'the historicity of texts' and 'the textuality of histories' provides discussion of the interconnectiveness of this mode of analysis to social and cultural debate because of its 'social and material embedding of all modes of writing' (p6) that put it within the fields of interpretative literary criticism and literary theory. As Greenblatt has stated:

> Self-fashioning is always, though not exclusively, in language.
> 1980: 9

The social structures of the Shakespearean period with their hierarchical and hegemonic systems and, arguably, emerging professionalism do not easily lend themselves to an analysis of the individual as subject in the sense inferred by New Historicism; hence the use of Role Theory as the methodology for collecting and analysing data for this thesis. The emergent concept of the sociable individual is discussed in terms of class, religious and political affiliations and the increasing differentiation between rural and urban society by, for example, Heal and Holmes (1994) and Hill (1994).

The formative development of Shakespeare's work based learning aligns itself well to the cultural theories expounded by Williams (1977) and developed by Dollimore and Sinfield (1985) and Dollimore (1984). This has been discussed above in Chapter 3, and is developed further in Chapter 7. This argument creates a vital connection with the arguments provided by Honigmann (1985) and Gurr (1996) in the Theatre Studies field. By acknowledging such cultural forces as formative **and** summative at any given historical moment, and then mapping these forces by Role Theory, the data in the chronological Time Chart can be effectively analysed (see Chapter 7).

> Explicitness about one's own perspective and methodology becomes
> unavoidable in materialist criticism and around this issue: as textual, historical,
> sociological and theoretical analysis are drawn together, the politics of practice
> emerge.
> Dollimore and Sinfield (1985: 13)

The place of History and historiography literature is at once both complex and supportive, and Carr's (1961) thinking on the nature of history is helpful in contextualising History's contribution to the work based learning approach.

> What the historian is called on to investigate is what lies behind the act; and to
> this the conscious thought or motive of the individual actor may be quite
> irrelevant.
> Carr (1961: 52)

By its very nature, work based learning is usually dealing with the historical present, immediate past and professional development of living people and one of the central arguments of this research is that work based learning methods (often drawing on and adapted from the methods of historians) can be applied to a more distant historical past to consider the learning of significant creative workers.

> The belief that the past is (or ought to be) one coherent sequence of events with a 'single subject or theme' and characters whose psychology is common to a human nature that transcends historical time seems parochial.
> Knutson (1992: 145)

Historians such as Lindley (1993), Starkey (ed.), (1987) and Wright and Cuddy (in Starkey) provide data about the Courts of Elizabeth I and James I that provokes interesting analyses of the management styles and cultures of the Court world that is important in considering the transition for Shakespeare's company from the Lord Chamberlain's to the King's Men in 1603 (see Chapters 3 and 7).

> The balance of power swung away [at James's accession in 1603], increasingly, from the Privy chamber and a bureaucratic-minister towards the Bedchamber and the royal favourite; the 'bureaucratic' agencies of the Secretaryship and the Exchequer retreated before the revived administrative activity of the inner household; and finally, and above all, the Bedchamber became a key issue in James's management of his dual inheritance of Scotland and England.
> Cuddy (1987: 173)

Wright and Cuddy (in Starkey, (ed.), 1987) also separately discuss the household frameworks for the two monarchs that may illuminate the nebulous role of Grooms of the Chamber occupied by the sharers in the King's Men, in a way that requires cross-referencing with the Office of the Revels and section on Shakespeare's work roles and employment below. No specific literature in this area, has been identified, as the majority of material considers the role of Groom of the Chamber either in respect of its royal household responsibilities or in respect of its theatrical responsibilities, rather

than considering the role of Groom of the Chamber as containing a diversity of functions dependant upon the role occupant.

It is not surprising that the literature review has found few relevant texts from literary theory and the immense bibliography of dramatic and literary criticism is not drawn upon where it only deals with the interior nature and interpretation of texts. It is noteworthy that the distinctions between the, often, non-commercial writing of poetry and the strictly commercial writing of play-scripts is clearly differentiated in sixteenth century practice and ideology in modes that are quite dissimilar to modern practices as the profession of writer has evolved. Briggs (1997, 2nd edition) and Miller (1959) discuss the theoretical works of Sidney and Daniel on the arts of poesy in terms of both 'gentlemanly' (not for commercial purposes) writing and the pecuniary motivations of other writers of prose, poetry and drama, including, of course, Daniel himself. Daniel's significance is discussed in Chapter 3, 6 and 7. The works of scholars such as Eagleton (1983 and 1986), Hilton (1987; and ed., 1993) and Parker and Hartman (1985) have also been consulted on the parallel worlds of modern literary theories and literary criticism.

Dramatic criticism is of great use when it is contextualised by Theatre Studies modes of thinking; namely where it operates at the transition/transmission point of dramatic script from page to stage. Recent work in Cox and Kastan (eds, 1997), Kastan (ed., 1999) and Kastan and Stallybrass (eds, 1991) is of great importance, because it is looking at the Shakespearean period contextually, and the many essays in these publications consider printing house practice and the repertoire for instance in the light of new detailed research. Scholars looking at staging practices and acting styles with reference to specified plays include Gurr (1970), Leacroft (1984), Revels 3 (1975), Revels 4 (1981), Southern (1962) and Wickham (1959). A major question arising from staging and dramatic criticism relates to the working methods of the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men, especially amongst actors and between actors and sharers. The critical work relationship is between the lead actor, Richard Burbage, and the leading playwright, William Shakespeare, both of whom were also, unequal,

sharers in the company. This clearly falls into the category of unrecorded culture. The gap in the extant literature therefore appears to be the working processes involved in running the Globe where its senior personnel (the sharers) held multiple work roles within the organisational structure and elsewhere. This is analysed in Chapter 7. The term play-script is used throughout this thesis as it is more congruent with known sixteenth century practice than the word 'text', since, in the main, the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men did not apparently choose to create published texts of Shakespeare's play-scripts. Moreover, the term play-script is a dynamic and interactive word that immediately implies something organic for actors to work with. From a work based learning perspective it deals with actorly process, as has already been discussed in Chapter 2.

The CV Framework. Education: >1580

One of the tacit agreements amongst scholars is that Shakespeare was educated at Stratford-upon-Avon Grammar School (Halliday, 1964: 149). This assumption is based upon the provision of grammar school education free to the children of those holding local authority positions. As son of the Bailiff of the town, William Shakespeare presumably qualified for free education. There are no school rolls extant to prove this, but in terms of Shakespeare's future work roles, the details of consecutive school masters during the 1570s are, and provide leads into the 'lost years' problems, which are discussed below. Simon (1966) discusses the conceptual and practical approaches to education, the curriculum and its social structures during the period. Hill (1993) provides a full and detailed analysis of the Geneva and Bishops' Bibles which would have formed Shakespeare's official spiritual education. Hill reminds us that Shakespeare and his contemporaries were steeped in the language and narratives of the Bible in ways that are irrecoverable today. This is clearly in line with Williams' (1970) view of the difficulty in ever fully recovering the lived culture of a period. Such cultural experiential learning emanating from a single text and its

permutation into the whole fabric of society must continuously inform the ideologies of the Shakespearean period.

> The Bible then was central to all arts, sciences and literature. The radical separatist Robert Browne put it perhaps a trifle strongly when in 1590 he told his kinsman Lord Burghley that 'the Word of God doth expressly set down all necessary rules of the arts and all learning'. But many would have agreed with him.
> Hill (1993: 31)

The nature of Shakespeare's spiritual education and his subsequent religious beliefs and affiliations is well dealt with by Schoenbaum (1970 and 1975), who documents the paucity of direct evidence supporting Shakespeare's recusancy or conformity. This is to be expected; conformity to the Elizabethan Settlement of 1559 would hardly generate documentation, and recusants (both right and left of centre) would normally have been careful to avoid detection. One of the main questions in terms of Shakespeare's spiritual education, is the authenticity, or otherwise, of the document known as John Shakespeare's Last Will and Testament. Schoenbaum's (1970: 41 - 47) account of the status of this document is most helpful. It was found in the rafters of New Place in April 1757, and was a booklet of six leaves containing a Catholic profession of faith in fourteen articles. Malone saw the booklet, transcribed and published it in his 'Historical Account of the Engish Stage', 1790 edition of *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare* (Schoenbaum, 1970: 41). It has subsequently disappeared. Schoenbaum's research however, clearly identifies it as Carlo Borromeo's (died 1585) *The Testament of the Soule* (earliest extant English version is 1638), as a template text that could be personalised to a individual. This is the case with the lost Stratford-upon-Avon document, which was personalised to John Shakespeare. If, following Schoenbaum, the document is authentic it would be incontrovertible evidence that Shakespeare was brought up as Roman Catholic, which is Honigmann's (1985) argument. Shakespeare's early religious affiliations will necessarily have a bearing on subsequent work based learning activities, particularly those he worked with and in what location. This needs to be cross referenced with

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the Lost years section below and with Role Episodes that involved high levels of Catholic and theatre personnel, namely Essex's Rebellion of 1601 and the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 (Fraser, 1996), the latter also having a Role Set relationship to Stratford-upon-Avon based Role Sets. This is seen in the Map of Role Sets (Figure 2).

No records have been found of Shakespeare at either of the universities nor at any of the Inns of Court. Similarly no records have been found of any apprenticeship activity for Shakespeare, possibly because he was married at eighteen. This important point is cross referenced with the Lost years section below.

> To take a general view of the social scene is to recognise that at a time when commerce was expanding, professions were taking shape. ...education was becoming the key to advancement in most fields. It has been suggested in an earlier chapter that the emergence of different social groupings in the later middle ages owed much to the education indirectly acquired by engaging in new concerns.
> Simon (1966: 294)

Bullough (1973) shows that Shakespeare could read Latin, Italian, some Greek and French, had knowledge of law, maritime practice, Europe, teaching, philosophy, history, art and was exceptionally widely read. He cites the enormous depth and diversity of Shakespeare's literary and narrative sources for his plays that indicates a voracious quest for information sources that would aid his professional development. The literature therefore endorses a work based learning perspective that Shakespeare's attention to detail in his reading of source material was exceptional and is substantiated by Storr's (1988 and 1994) work on the psychiatry of compositional processes for creative workers, that acknowledges the capacity for focused and solitary work concurrent to the creative, and often extroverted environment of the theatre.

If one takes an instructional perspective of Shakespeare's work based learning this research must question who his teachers were (Florio, in Italian, for instance. see

Yates, 1937 - 1938), that in turn will relate to the Role Sets of which he was a member. If one takes a constructionalist perspective of Shakespeare's learning one must ask what learning occurred on the continuum of incidental and planned learning activities and opportunities. See Chapter 7.

The literature in the area of Shakespeare's education is relatively straightforward and unproblematic so long as it is confined to the formal systems for and content of the grammar school education of the period. It is clear that this education, steeped in Latin and other classical texts and training in rhetoric provided the impetus and groundwork for a lifelong passion for reading and realisation of the diversity and richness of sources for his own works. Taken with the extensive work carried out by Bullough it confirms that Jonson's jibe at Shakespeare's 'little Latine and lesse Greek' (Lawson Dick, 1958: 276) is probably disingenuous, and more about Jonson's commitment to Classical revivalism than Shakespeare's lack of education. However, the key question must be how subsequently Shakespeare make the transition from education to early employment. This was aided as Honigmann (1985) believes by John Cottom, Stratford-upon-Avon Grammar School Master, a recusant with home links with the Lancashire Catholics grouped around the powerful Earls of Derby and Lords Strange families. What the literature shows however is that it is usually straightforward from a research perspective to demonstrate that Shakespeare could have acquired his enormous knowledge base from texts available to him in England. What this research is interested in is the means by which Shakespeare's knowledge was acquired experientially.

Lost years: >1592

There is no single period that has attracted such constant curiosity than that period of time following the date we may safely suppose Shakespeare finished his formal education, 1579 - 1580, to when he first appears in the records in Greene's savage personal attack in *The Groatsworth of Wit* in 1592. This period is sometimes known

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as the lost years and while much of the biographical literature rightly considers Shakespeare's personal life, the work based learning dilemmas are apparent. In a thirteen year period taking William Shakespeare from age fifteen to age twenty-eight what was he doing to earn a living and how did that enable him to reach such a prominent role position of possibly high status in a brand new occupational area, with no identified extant records to show the process. Rappaport (1989) discusses the social structure of apprenticeship during the period, and while his focus is on London, it is clear from these that if Shakespeare had entered into a formal apprenticeship, some records could have survived, since these were important legal documents and normally well preserved in Guild records, which were based on bureaucratic practice. It is reasonable to expect there to be a record **if** Shakespeare's early career had followed traditional, official or secure routes; an instance where a gap in source material may substantiate Honigmann's argument. This situation means that Chambers' (1930) subtitle of his biography of Shakespeare as *A Study of Facts and Problems* is still apposite and led, from as early as the mid-seventeenth century onwards, to the creation of a Shakespeare mythology to account for these lost years that is brilliantly anatomised by Schoenbaum (1970).

Schoenbaum discusses these myths by initially tracing their various provenance's and credibility. Both Aubrey (Lawson Dick, 1958: 275 - 276) and Davenant (Schoenbaum, 1970: 98 - 105) made statements about the lost years that are only one generation apart from Shakespeare himself (Davenant was born in 1606). The most important of these statements is by Aubrey at the end of his main note about the playwright because its provenance can be traced directly to Christopher Beeston, an actor with the Lord Chamberlain's Men in 1598.[4]

> Though, as Ben Johnson [*sic*] sayes of him, that he had but little Latine and lesse Greek, He understood Latine pretty well: for he had been in his younger yeares a schoolmaster in the countrey.
> Lawson Dick (1958: 276)

Honigmann (1985) is the main scholarly promulgator of the argument that not only was Shakespeare a school master, but that his teaching was undertaken in Lancashire, a Catholic county where the main landowners were the Strange family who held the Earls of Derby title. Honigmann argues that this led to Shakespeare becoming an actor in Lord Strange's Men local company in the mid-1580's, transferring to the probably separate London based group by *circa* 1587. The nexus of Honigmann's case is that William Shakespeare is the same person as a William Shakeshafte who is identified as an actor in the August 1581 will of Alexander Hoghton (also spelt Houghton) of Lea in Lancashire. Honigmann's argument builds on that originally posited by Chambers (1930) to which Hamer (1970) presented a range of counter evidence, which Honigmann demolishes. Honigmann's research has uncovered vital and convincing evidence for Shakespeare as Shakeshafte that looks back to the link with Stratford-upon-Avon and forward to Gurr's very important paper in *Shakespeare Quarterly* (1993) discussed below, because records unequivocally show that there were strong links between the playing companies kept by Hoghton and Lord Strange which, Honigmann argues, suggest a job transfer for Shakespeare in the early 1580's and by 1585. More recently Honan (1998) and Wilson (1999) have supported this argument and it appears to be gathering acceptance. The argument is as follows.

John Cottom, the Stratford-upon-Avon Grammar School master from 1579 - 81, was from Lancashire and was most likely a Catholic; his brother, Thomas, was a close companion of Edmund Campion, and executed with him. The Cottom's lived in Tarnacre in Lancashire. Honigmann argues that John acted as Shakespeare's referee (an attractive example of the unconscious use of work based learning language) as a possible teacher for the Hoghton family because, a) Catholic families only wanted Catholic staff for obvious security reasons; b) Shakespeare was an exceptionally bright and able pupil, who at fifteen or sixteen was ready and ambitious for work and c) John Shakespeare's Catholicism was attracting worrying notice that, coupled with his financial difficulties from 1577, made it desirable for the eldest son to be less visible to the authorities. Honigmann argues that the variant spellings of 'Shakespeare' throughout William's life conforms to sixteenth century orthographic practice, an

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argument finding substantial support across the literature. At approximately the same time as Shakespeare's alleged move to Lancashire, the Jesuit priest, Edmund Campion escaped to safer Lancashire from the Stratford-upon-Avon manor of Lapworth home of William Catesby, the father of the Gunpowder Plot conspirator (DNB, I: 494 and Utley, 1997). As the leading Jesuit in England, it would have been Campion's role to support local Catholics in areas he was visiting and both Fraser (1996: 115) and Wilson (1999), following Schoenbaum (1975) argue that was when the standard text of Borromeo's Last Will and Testament was personalised for John Shakespeare.

The Lancashire connection is strengthened by the case of Thomas Savage (1552 - 1611) and his role relationship to Shakespeare. Savage was, with William Leveson, one of the trustees appointed by the Lord Chamberlain's Men in 1599 to 'make the shares in the Globe tenancies held in common' (Halliday, 431 - 432); that is to negotiate the lease with the landlord, Brend. Savage was also a friend of John Jackson, an overseer of Shakespeare's will. Savage came from Rufford in Lancashire the home of Sir Thomas Hesketh to whom his neighbour, Alexander Hoghton commended William Shakespeare/shafte.

Honigmann argues that Shakespeare transferred to the company of players kept by Lord Strange, which argument is continued by Gurr (1993), as discussed below, working with them as an actor and playwright until *circa* 1592. The publication of Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit* in 1592 is therefore generally agreed to be the *antedate* to the lost years, with its vitriolic attack on Shakespeare as 'an upstart crow', already sufficiently established as an actor and progressively as a playwright to be able to threaten those playwrights (such as Greene) with a longer standing track record, **and**, with a university education. Chettle's reply, providing a supportive response to Shakespeare in *Kind Hearts Dream* of the same year, confirms that Shakespeare was also well known amongst writers in London. Chapters 6 and 7 develop this argument further.

Lost years literature therefore attempts, in the vocabulary of this research, to identify Shakespeare's role positions and role acquisition progress across a critical fifteen year period in such as way as to contextualise Shakespeare's early career development, and understand Greene's attack. The period is of fundamental importance in understanding how Shakespeare's work based learning was shaped and influenced because whatever theatre companies Shakespeare worked with will have determined what role positions he held and of what Role Sets he was a member. As can be seen there continues to be much scope for further research, including how and when Shakespeare came to be linked professionally with the Burbages, and how, within the lost years, does this relate to his early dramatic writing. The literature in the former area is outlined in the Employment section below, the latter in the Authorship section which follows it.

Patrons: 1592<

The practice of patronage in the Shakespearean period is fundamental to understanding it, as has been discussed in Chapter 3, and Goldberg (1983), Hurstfield (1973), Kernan (1995), Levy Peck (1989 and 1991) and Lindley (1996), all variously discuss the importance of practical patronage of the arts, politics and factions in the period, relating it to of the very different styles of monarchy practised by Elizabeth I and James I discussed by Starkey (1987).

> In early Stuart England, patrons ranged from the king, his Privy Council and nobility to central and local officials, while clients included individuals, towns and corporations. The distance in status between patron and client, often both members of the political elite, was frequently exaggerated by rhetorical geesture [sic]. Much court life and political energy was taken up with reading the signs of court favor and the dissemination of court news throughout the country. Patronage networks spanned court, household and council, and center and locality. Two significant additions in early seventeenth-century patronage networks were the wildcards of the Scots as brokers and the increasing importance of royal favorites. ...Such networks in the sixteenth

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century changed with the emergence of the Crown as the central source of reward and Renaissance notions of the patron.
Levy Peck (1989: 48)

The key questions are who were Shakespeare's patrons at different phases in his career, how is the transition from one patron to another 'managed' and to what extent can we see any patterns of continuity or discontinuity? The literature covering this aspect of Shakespeare's work based learning frequently draws in the arguments and counter arguments for identification of the key characters in the *Sonnets* and speculation about Shakespeare's personal life. Schoenbaum's (1970) research and use of eclectic sources are the most valuable references in treading more lightly across this quagmire. From a work based learning perspective it is noteworthy that if Southampton, as Shakespeare's dedicatee in *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*, is also the Young Man of the *Sonnets*, then we need to remind ourselves that for unknown reasons, and at which party's instigation, he did not remain in that role for long. The other contender for the Young Man role is William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke; his initials match those of 'Mr W.H' and his biographical circumstances are similar to those of the Young Man in 1592 - 4. His later patronage of the King's Men and patronage of the arts as part of the Pembroke/Sidney set based at Wilton is also important because the Wilton environment can be analysed in terms of its Role Sets and their relationship to other, theatrical and aristocratic Role Sets.

Honigmann's work on Shakespeare's lost years (1986) has been discussed above and his argument for Derby/Strange patronage in the 1580s is implicitly endorsed by the continuity argument of Gurr (1993) for the early 1590s. Gurr sees Shakespeare's membership of acting companies, first as an actor, increasingly as a playwright, linked to the patronage network which sees him moving from Strange's Men (<1585 - >1592) to Pembroke's Men, (1592 < - > August 1593) possibly with a short spell with Sussex's (> February 1594) prior to being picked (headhunted in work based learning terminology) by Hunsdon for the new Lord Chamberlain's Men in May 1594. During the period 1592 - 94 it is difficult to track the playing companies and their variable memberships, because this was a time of severe plague which created serious

economic and practical difficulties in actually performing. Gurr (1996) provides the most modern analysis of this situation. Additionally, the post of Lord Chamberlain, who oversaw the licensing of the playing companies as well as that of the Office of the Master of the Revels (Dutton, 1991) changed three times. Gurr argues logically, that Charles Howard, Lord Effingham (later Earl of Nottingham) and his father-in-law Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon (both sequentially occupiers of the Lord Chamberlain post) exercised a policy of not patronising playing companies during their period of office. This would have avoided role conflict and appears to be a result of the monopoly held by the Queen's Men up to 1593, but suddenly changed drastically in May 1594, when their collapse was abundantly clear.

Gurr (1993) discusses the short lived company under the patronage of Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke that survived for only about fifteen months during 1592 -3, and provides good reasons for this company including James Burbage, formerly an Earl of Leicester's Man. It is here that Gurr believes Richard Burbage may have begun his career. Gurr provides evidence from this and other, non-theatrical, sources to support the Pembroke/Sidney's inheritance of Leicester's cultural patronage.[5]

> He [Pembroke] was the obvious choice for a former Leicester's player to turn to as a new patron, a senior noble not currently patronising any company. And there are perhaps other reasons for Burbage to have gone that way. After Leicester's death in 1588, the Leicester circle had migrated to the countess of Pembroke. She herself was writing plays in 1591 - 92. An appeal to her husband might well have been the best way to secure the highest level of patronage for the new company.
> Gurr (1993: 170)

At the collapse of Pembroke's Men (most probably for economic and plague related reasons) Gurr traces some members to the company patronised by Lord Strange and playing under Henslowe with Edward Alleyn at the Rose on Bankside and the other company to the patronage of the Earl of Sussex under James Burbage at the Theatre in Shoreditch, and probably including some members of the former Queen's Men.

In 1594, following the death of Lord Strange, the creation of Howard as Lord Admiral and the creation of his father-in-law Hunsdon as Lord Chamberlain, the two men appear to have changed their patronage policy. While they clearly followed the precedent set by the monopoly of the Queen's Men in 1583, were they influenced by Pembroke's actions of a year earlier? Gurr thinks so and then makes a revolutionary statement that these two senior members of Elizabeth's Court **hand-picked** from those surviving companies two companies under their respective patronage that formed a licensed duopoly that was to endure, more or less intact, until 1603 and ultimately to 1642. It is this scenario that Gurr says explains why the two companies, one containing Shakespeare, were so evenly matched. Each had a young leading actor (Richard Burbage and Edward Alleyn), an impresario at a defined playhouse (James Burbage at the Theatre and Henslowe at the Rose), and each owned the play-scripts of a major playwright. The fact that neither James Burbage nor Henslowe were company sharers creates an interesting and probably complex series of role relationships, which is currently under-researched. Shakespeare's play-scripts went to the Lord Chamberlain's and the recently dead Marlowe's to the Lord Admiral's. Finally each had a group of actors who were familiar with the existing play-scripts used by that company, some of which had come through other companies with their respective playwrights.

Gurr supports this argument by tracking three types of plays, some Shakespeare's, by performance, publication and ownership. Shakespeare's *King Henry VI Part I* and *Titus Andronicus* can be traced from Strange's to Pembroke's to Sussex's as can publications of the Henriad, and plays which Shakespeare used as sources for his own later works such as *King Lear* and *Hamlet* which existed as *Leir* and Ur-*Hamlet* in the late 1580s. No serious detractors from Gurr's work have been identified to date. The literature in respect of Shakespeare's authorship is discussed below.

This patronage chronology is extremely important for Shakespeare's playwrighting patronage, but less so for his poetry and publications record when we consider the period 1592 - 94, in respect of his patronage by Southampton. It appears Shakespeare

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may have been making decisions about the nature of his creative professionalism: actor, poet or playwright? In view of the later multiple work roles he held, this either / or question is in itself intriguing. The questions raised by the dilemmas of patronage during this gap are analysed in Chapter 7.

The period 1594 to *circa* 1597 were plague years, a period when the playhouses and other places for public gatherings were closed for extensive periods due to the very high recorded levels of plague deaths. Barroll (1991) cites extensive evidence of the City and Privy Council's manifestations of social responsibility in their enforcement of regulations of assembly at times of plague outbreak. He also reminds us that the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men in their roles of Grooms of the Chamber, were **servants** of the monarch. This relates to those questions considered under the Employment, Income and Travel sections here, namely how did Shakespeare earn his living during these periods of economic dearth, when it is also apparent from the Time Chart that this period covered him making a decision to forego the possibly lucrative and high status poetry career in favour of the altogether more risky playwrighting and ultimately playhouse sharer by 1599. These are questions that will be interrogated from an analysis of the Role Sets of which Shakespeare was a member, especially those that chart his strengthening links with the Burbages. Notwithstanding the above, the patronage status of the Lord Chamberlain's Men remains relatively stable in the period 1594 - 1603.

In patronage terms the literature varies in how it treats the transition from the Lord Chamberlain's Men to the speedy formation of the King's Men on the accession of James I in 1603. The letters patent for the establishment of the King's Men licence was issued to them on 19 May 1603, having been signed by James on 17 May. James had arrived in London a week earlier and had only been proclaimed king six weeks previously. This unprecedented speed has naturally attracted academic attention. Licences for the other main company, the Lord Admiral's Men were not issued in their new name of the Prince's Men until 1604 (Barroll, 1991: 32*ff*). Broadly, two perspectives emerge. Kernan (1995) advocates that James's personal knowledge of

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and interest in the Lord Chamberlain's Men (possibly through English actors known visits to Scotland or to the unknown activities of the mysterious Laurence Fletcher or even more tantalisingly the mass of secret correspondence between James VI and members of the Privy Council in the period 1601 - 1603) meant he was keen to provide patronage to the company at the soonest possible moment.[6] The alternative perspective (Barroll, 1991) takes an anti-monarchial view of the creation of the company and provides ample evidence for the extreme un-likelihood of James's personal intervention at such an early and politically sensitive point in his reign. This leads to a more persuasive middle ground discussed in Chapters 6 and 7 below. Both Kernan and Barroll are however, creating a groundswell of academic opinion supporting the existence of a special patron and protector of the Lord Chamberlain's Men in general and William Shakespeare specifically. It is argued that the intervention of a special friend of Shakespeare's who had influence with James in the early months of his reign was the impetus for the establishment of the King's Men. Using Shakespeare's Role Sets and their interaction with patronage networks in Chapter 6 below may determine the validity of such an argument and identify the likely contenders for this critical role in Shakespeare's work based learning and subsequent career development.

The argument for a patron who had influence at Court is augmented by consideration of the events surrounding the Lord Chamberlain's Men's involvement with the Essex Rebellion in 1601. Augustine Phillips' deposition (Halliday, 1964: 366 - 367) to Lord Chief Justice Popham and Justice Fenner is sometimes interpreted as both disingenuous and highly unlikely of success given the political climate of the months following the Rebellion, as Haywood's prosecution for publishing a biography of King Henry IV demonstrated (Kinney, 1993). Perhaps the incident is more open to analysis of the work based learning of the Essex conspirators than members of the Lord Chamberlain's Men, as Bacon's partisan view may support.

So earnest he [Merrick, a key Essex supporter who commissioned the performance] was to satisfy his eyes with the sight of that tragedy which he thought soon after his lord should bring from the stage to the state, but that God turned it upon their own heads.

Bacon: *Declaration of the Practises and Treasons...by Robert late Earl of Essex* quoted by Halliday (1964: 48)

But this does not preclude asking if anyone was protecting the Lord Chamberlain's Men in an undoubtedly fraught situation? This seems a reasonable question and one allied to that of Shakespeare's own career, blissfully free of intervention from and involvement with the authorities that dogged so many of his theatrical contemporaries, notably Marlowe and Jonson. Therefore, while the patronage literature taken together with the art of the period is valuable in visualising the lived culture of the patron and official workings of this as a *modus operandi* for individuals and theatre companies, it leads to unanswered questions, often of a more political dimension. Barroll (1991) Dollimore (1984) and Kernan (1995), all therefore hold views as to where on a continuum of conservative or subversive playwrighting one may place Shakespeare, given his Court affiliations and royal patronage. This research is less sure that such a mindset is sufficiently dynamic to account for Shakespeare's role relationships with his patrons and work environments as is discussed in the next section and analysed in Chapter 7.

Employment: <1592

Boulton (1987) shows that in seventeenth century Southwark it was extremely common for men to hold more than one work role simultaneously. Frequently multiple jobs included the occupation and status one had within one's Guild, and this most likely covered administrative and trading roles on behalf of the Guild as well as those for the production and supply of goods and services. Parish responsibilities gave the role occupant a high status within the immediate community as well as enabling a contribution to be made to the economic and social success of that community. Both within and outside of London, most men above a certain income bracket were owners

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of property and land: Shakespeare included. The concept of a single work role and employment or employer was rare as income sources diversified from a supply and service to an increasingly capitalistic economy.

Shakespeare too was a multiple role holder, and it is well known that even within his theatrical responsibilities those work roles included actor, playwright and sharer. Baldwin (1927) and Bentley (1971) have tried to allocate role responsibilities to the sharers of the Lord Chamberlain's Men, and have suggested that Heminges took overall charge of financial management, Phillips undertook public relations and corporate affairs and Cuthbert Burbage property and investment management alongside Richard. In contemporary theatre terminology, recent research (Thomson, 1994) is interested in the rehearsal process the actors engaged in, and while the existence of individual actors' parts helps to clarify that rehearsal as we understand it did not take place, the role of Shakespeare as director (especially of Richard Burbage in the title roles he is tacitly agreed to have taken) is an intriguing one. Chapter 7 clarifies some of these important issues. As a sharer and playwright it is reasonable to assume that Shakespeare was involved in the move from the Theatre to the Globe in 1599 and, more importantly, an influence to be consulted in the abortive 1596 but successful 1608 establishment in the Blackfriars. It is noteworthy that the non-creative aspects of this activity for Shakespeare are largely undetermined by the literature. In this respect the role of sharer puts Shakespeare into something that we might catalogue as employer (sharer) as well as employee (playwright). Are we being too modern by asking if this created any conflict of interests for him or his colleagues within the company?

Additionally, as sharers in the company, Shakespeare and his colleagues were also Grooms of the Chamber (see above Chapter 3 for the structure of the monarch's household). As servants it is assumed that they participated in the funeral of Elizabeth I, the coronation of James I and that all probably took part in this capacity in the diplomatically important mission of the Spanish Ambassador, the Constable of Castille, at the Somerset House Conference in 1604, which completed the peace treaty

with England. The main responsibility though of the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men as Grooms of the Chamber, was to be available on summons by the Master of the Office of the Revels to perform on command before the monarch. The Revels Accounts (Feuillerat, 1908) transcribe meticulous details of some aspects of the Office of the Revels, but most frequently list payees and dates only, and not (with notable exceptions) what play was performed. The charts in Revels 3 (1975) helpfully distinguish who was performing when amongst the two leading companies. Dutton (1991) discusses the processes by which plays and their performances were regulated by the Master of the Revels and the Lord Chamberlain and, where necessary, how the written word (not the spoken) was censored when considered necessary. Interestingly the censoring function of the Lord Chamberlain was not abolished until 1968.

It is wrong to assume that performances at Court, the Globe and Blackfriars were the only performances the company undertook, and the limited evidence that exists for London and the vast amount of evidence for outside London, suggests that private performances were a frequent commission of Shakespeare and his company. See for instance Halliday (1964: 115) and Somerset (1994). As already noted this is still a largely under-researched area because primary data is diffused amongst diverse county, household and epistolary sources, and yet to come to light.

In 1613 Burbage and Shakespeare were commissioned to design the motto and icons for the Earl of Rutland's *Impresa*, or shield, for the King's annual Accession Day Tilt. Nichols (1828, II: 609) informs us that this was the first time the young Earl had participated in this prestigious event. Strong (1977) has shown that the Accession Day Tilts were important high status, socially competitive events in the court calendar, with which other theatre professionals such as Dekker, Jonson and Heywood had been associated. Why did Rutland commission Burbage and Shakespeare who, as far as is known, had no reputation in the area?

What this section strongly indicates is that the literature in respect of Shakespeare's employment centres on his playwrighting and shareholder roles in the playhouses with which the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men were associated. This appears to be seen as somehow separate from his other significant, business concerns both in London and in Stratford-upon-Avon and his commissions for work aligned to theatrical activity. Indeed, what scholars such as Boulton (1987) and Rappaport (1989) imply for the multiple work activities for other elements of the population, should logically be applied to Shakespeare. Namely that the multiplicity of work roles he held needs to be seen as integrated portfolio that is holistic, looking similar to some contemporary theatre professionals, who may have employment with one company, but for whom freelance work is sufficiently commonplace for it to be an occupational norm.

Authorship, Collaborations, Staff development, Publications: 1585<

Hinman (1968) and other textual critics such as Alexander (1951) and the New Arden editors (Jenkins, 1982) have undertaken significant research to examine how the plays published in the First Folio (F1) in 1623 were printed, and to determine wherever possible the status of copy used, as far as possible seeking a transcript of Shakespeare's autograph manuscript as source. Textual stability affects some plays more traumatically than others. This is still an important area, since it raises the question of the stability of play-scripts in any period, where the precise nuances of script as spoken at an individual performance will always be variable, and is different from the literary status afforded a publication. Where modern editions may typically present valid scholarly argument for drawing on both quartos and folio editions to conflate a text, we can surely never confidently acknowledge that a text is the play-script as performed. We have seen in Chapter 2 the organic, fluctuating nature of the play-script within rehearsal and performance situations.

The question of the chronology and dating the plays has been of major interest over the past four hundred years. Chambers (1923) tended towards the argument that

Shakespeare was a late developer, writing his first plays (generally agreed to be *King Henry VI Part I*, *Titus Andronicus*, and at least three of the early comedies, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Comedy of Errors*) no earlier than 1589, and more likely in the period 1592 - 94. Alexander (1951) disagreed, which set the tone for modern scholarship, providing ample, albeit sometimes controversial evidence to the contrary. Indeed Honigmann (1986) suggests that Shakespeare was writing in Lancashire for Lord Strange's Men from about 1585, and that his early works, notably *King Henry VI Part I* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. are liberally spread with overt complimentary references to the Strange family's contribution to the successes of the Tudor dynasty to support this argument.

Since Alexander's (1951) revision of Shakespeare as a late starter, and the work of the metricists (Chambers, 1930, II: 397 - 408) other scholars have considered the chronology and authorship of the Canon and the growing apochcrypha. Schoenbaum (1970: 60 - 72) is only one of many to discuss the attribution of plays and other works to Shakespeare that date back to his own lifetime, sometimes appearing in print. Since 1616 there has been a regular flow of works, dramatic and poetic, attributed to Shakespeare, notably in the Third Folio, published in 1663. A more recent example is of the controversy surrounding 'A Funeral Elegy' (Ferguson, 1996). As has been stated already, this research takes a more accepting few of the likelihood of Shakespeare writing incidental pieces for his friends, since the evidence from the period indicates the normality of this.

Hope (1994) has developed forms of socio-linguistic testing, and discusses Shakespeare's authorship, especially where it is collaborative. This is particularly effective when it is cross-referenced to plays known to have included Shakespeare's joint authorship, such as *The Two Noble Kinsman* and *King Henry VIII* (both with John Fletcher), or use of contemporary sources in *Pericles* (from Wilkins).[7] This is helpful as it is moving modern scholarship towards a broader acceptance of Shakespeare as a collaborator, and enabling plays that might have been joint author-ships such as *Edward III* to be reassessed. Indeed the latter has recently (1998) been

published by Cambridge University Press, giving the play-script a new status and making it more accessible for researchers.

So far, this section has included commentary on when Shakespeare started writing, and the chronology of his plays, and then joint authorship of plays that are known to be much later compositions, where collaboration might, to use work based learning vocabulary, show Shakespeare in the role of staff developer of other, younger writers. It appears that, certainly in the middle period of his career, 1594 - 1608, Shakespeare's dramatic works were entirely solo compositions. This is important because for the period it is highly unusual. Yet again then, in discussing the literature regarding Shakespeare's work based learning, we return to the period to 1594 in order, through the literature, to raise the critical question; namely, during his early professional career, what was Shakespeare writing, and very importantly for considering his work based learning, who with and for whom?

The probably single most important instance of questionable authorship during this critical time, is the manuscript called *The Book of Sir Thomas More* (British Library MS Harley 7368). McMillin (1987) dates this manuscript to 1590 - 92 on both internal and external evidence and discusses the five main authors, identified by the initial letters S and A - E. Hand S is Anthony Munday, Hand A Chettle, Hand B is Heywood, Hand C is the same professional scribe who produced the plot of *The Seven Deadly Sins*, Hand D, with confidence identified as that of Shakespeare and Hand E is Dekker. Shakespeare's section comprises that known as the Evil May Day scene, where More addresses, and calms the London mob; it was this scene that the Master of the Revels (Tilney), required to be censored.

Gurr (1996) supports the argument for composition in 1590 - 92 which led to Tilney's censorship and the suppression of the text until it was revised, probably in about 1603, with intended performance by the Lord Admiral's Men. However, McMillin's (1987) radical addition to his argument is that Hands S, A, C and D were the sole ones involved in the early version and that Hands B, E and C again worked on the revision

a decade later. That is, Hand C, which is that of a professional scribe who also transcribed the plot of *The Seven Deadly Sins*, was involved (logically as someone who knew the script and its authorial intentions) on both occasions. Subtly, McMillin (1987: 143 - 159), notes the palaeographic similarity between Hands C and D! By extension is there an argument for Shakespeare having transcribed the plot of *The Seven Deadly Sins*? An argument congruent with Gurr's belief of Shakespeare's whereabouts in 1590 - 2 with Lord Strange's Men, and the early nature of his experiential learning, that accumulated knowledge of a diversity of playhouse practices by 1594.

Honigmann (1990) is one of many to discuss this most fascinating of manuscripts in terms of Shakespeare's involvement. It has long been noticed that it was highly unusual to be writing a play in the 1590s where the hero was an acknowledged English Catholic martyr. The post-Armada climate produced a significant Protestant backlash, as has already been discussed in Chapter 3 above. Moreover, it is known that the lead playwright, Munday, was ferociously anti-Catholic to the extent that in the previous decade he had been employed as a spy for Topcliffe in Italy, helping to bring down Campion (Halliday, 1964: 328 - 9). Honigmann (1990) argues that part of Henslowe's purpose in commissioning the play is a not so subtle attempt to look at the Englishness of More within a command and control situation rather than from a Popish point of view, which may have been conceived as a compliment to the Catholic Lord Strange whose players were intended to perform the finished script. Honigmann also very interestingly points out that this appears to coincide with the composition of Rowland Lockey's copy of Holbein's famous painting of the generations of the More family. This is discussed in Chapter 6 and 7 below.

For the study of Shakespeare's work based learning, this raises questions of how he became involved in this specific, and apparently, rather special commission. Additionally, we must consider what he learnt, and how, from the collaborative team involved. Munday and Chettle were both experienced professional writers by 1590 - 92, mainly, but not exclusively writing drama for Henslowe. Their combined

experience of the playwriting and playhouse world would have provided an unparalleled opportunity for their less experienced but equally able contemporary, William Shakespeare. Was this his first 'big break' in London?

The secondary literature runs parallel to other primary source material. If *Sir Thomas More* is an example of what Shakespeare was commissioned to do in 1590 - 1592, we may see some of Greene's motivation for his vitriolic attack in the 1592 *Groatsworth of Wit*. Greene, it appears, had good cause to feel creatively challenged. Chettle's involvement in trying to assuage the damage done (he had also acted as Greene's editor), now comes from the very different, experiential, perspective of Shakespeare as an immediate colleague. The work based learning approach to Role Theory is used to analyse this problem in Chapters 6 and 7.

The literature in this section primarily raises questions about the work conditions that provided the optimum environment for Shakespeare to write, and occasionally publish. Evidence suggests that at key times in his career (notably *circa* 1591 - 94) (un-)authorised publication of his plays and meticulously planned publication of his poems were either seen as necessary for economic survival and/or highly desirable for his professional development as a poet. His collaborations with other playwriting colleagues suggests that such activity was conscious career development whether to enable him to progressively enter the London playwrights scene or, later, to work strategically with the younger generation in new modes of creativity, perhaps to further the King's Men and to ease his final transition from London to Stratford-upon-Avon. Blayney's (1997) important investigations into the publication practices for play-scripts are discussed in Chapter 3 and 6.

While these points will be investigated in the following chapters in this thesis, the literature here also shows a feature of Shakespeare's playwrighting career that is especially unusual for the time. Namely, that after 1594 he wrote all his plays for one company as resident playwright, and in sole authorship, while other playwrights were holding commissions from more than one company.

Income

On 4 May 1597 Shakespeare completed his purchase of the second largest house in Stratford-upon-Avon (Halliday, 1964: 444 and Schoenbaum, 1975). Called New Place, the property cost the considerable sum of £60, a fact which has continued to intrigue scholars and myth-hunters alike; the key question being where did Shakespeare get the capital from.

The main myth of Shakespeare's finances is as follows. In his edition of Shakespeare of 1709, Rowe repeated a tale he claims to have heard from William Davenant '...that my Lord Southampton gave [Shakespeare] a thousand pounds, to enable him to go through with a purchase he had a mind to' (Halliday, 1964: 465). The date of such a transaction is unspecified, and involved a fantastically large sum of money. However, we should not dismiss the myth, rather than the amount of money, out of hand, since the patronage patterns of the period would naturally support the exchange of sums of money in return for services rendered.

Shakespeare's biographers, especially Chambers (1930) have attempted to gauge the actual amounts of money Shakespeare earned each year. Similarly some of the Theatre Studies scholars (Baldwin, 1927; Bentley, 1971) have attempted to formulate the financial models for earnings within the playhouses of the periods. This is of course, fascinating, but underplays a basic point. By trying to gauge Shakespeare's income in this respect they focus on what we might call his waged salary and not his net income, which was far broader than solely income from playwrighting and as sharer.

Shakespeare's sources of income are probably identifiable. The actual amount of annual income generated is probably irrecoverable since it would mean determining not simply how much rent Shakespeare charged for tithes and land he owned, but the frequency and regularity of payments. While Baldwin (1927) and Gurr (1970: 47 - 51) are excellent on the expenditure sharers were committed to and the income generated,

we would need to be in a position to determine Shakespeare's total financial commitments to form a judgement of his net disposable income. This situation is exacerbated by the economic history of the period. Rappaport's (1989) socioeconomic analysis of the English and European balance of payments problems and attendant inflation that were rampant during the 1590s tends to give examples of individual budgets usually only at either end of the social spectrum rather than providing a continuum.

While we may assume that William, as the eldest surviving son, inherited a majority of his father's estate in September 1601 when his father died, John Shakespeare's will is not extant. However William's purchases of land for £320 and property in May and September of the following year most probably indicate his capital investment of any cash inheritance to substantiate this. Further, the Stratford-upon-Avon records on the one hand indicate John's prosecution for debt in the 1580s, while the records for the 1590s indicate a return to financial wellbeing. Halliday (1964: 442) sees this as being probably as a result of William's instigation. This assumption simplifies arguments that foreground the status given to property and sterling against expenditure on litigation. Shakespeare's own will, in common with sound legal practices then as now, does not specify his major bequests in terms of their financial value, but demonstrates that the bulk of the estate was tied up in land and property.

Travel

Gurr (1996: 36 - 54) draws extensively on the illuminating materials published under the REED programme and Somerset (1994) gives some interesting illustrations of players' practices on the road. Both are clear that travelling was a norm rather than an exception for the acting companies, with players regularly embarking on ambitious circuits in the south-west and north of England as well as the more accessible Midlands and southern counties. Gurr (1996: 46 - 47) posits an interesting theory that much of the travel might have been by sea given the more sophisticated infrastructure

for local import and export business around the English coast than found in road conditions and networks. This requires further research to establish distances travelled over known time periods, issuing (or otherwise) of travel permits and passport documents and a far greater understanding of how groups of people made arrangements for long term travel during the period.

Barroll's (1991: 227 - 228) interest in the travelling activities of the acting companies is located in his unravelling of London plagues records and the statutory authorities (usually the Privy Council and City of London Council) response to it. He takes the view that players consistently performed less in London than outside it. Given that performances outside London were far from always being located in municipal venues and frequently were private performances, this is important in understanding professional practice. If private performances, both in and out of London, were a regular activity of the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men, how were contacts established, networks maintained, 'bookings' received or solicited for and by whom? Who was commissioning Shakespeare's work? In other words who was travelling where, why, to see whom and how did they know them in Shakespearean England?

Shakespeare also travelled, and Aubrey (Lawson-Dick, 1949: 275) is the first to report that this was an annual trip to his home and family in Stratford-upon-Avon. The Stratford-upon-Avon records from time to time indicate events and activities that Shakespeare most probably attended; his son Hamnet's funeral in August 1596, the final signing for the purchase of New Place in May the following year and his father's funeral in September 1601 for example. However, on a normal basis, the time of year for his visits are indeterminable, although Ingram's (1978) research into the life of Francis Langley, hints, by default, at one interpretation:

> If Shakespeare did live in the Clink [in 1596 after leaving St Helen's Bishopgate], as all the other evidence seems to suggest, then he was singularly invisible every year at token time.
> Ingram (1978: 143)

It is not only when and why Shakespeare travelled home, but also a question of whether he needed to have permission from the other sharers to do so; on what **contractual** basis was his work role as playwright related to his other work roles, of which travelling home to deal with his property, land and investments in Stratford-upon-Avon was an integral part.

Summary

This chapter set out to give an overview of the literature relating to Shakespeare's work based learning within the framework of a CV, using specific headings that in some instances focused on particular periods of Shakespeare's career (notably 1579 – 1594) and in others identified themes (Shakespeare's multiple work roles) that flow throughout his career. The CV structure has been found to be most helpful in this respect as it does reveals the strengths and gaps in the literature. However, like the literature, a CV is always partial and dependent upon who it is prepared for, under what circumstances and drawing upon which primary and secondary sources. Importantly, the review confirms that the key reference point that must underpin understanding of Shakespeare's work based learning is to be found in Theatre Studies, with all of Gurr's research forming a critical mass, that might even pre-figure the work based learning approach:

> It will be even longer [than twenty years] before the priority given to the written forms of record is displaced in favour of the necessarily more ephemeral notes about transient 'events', those occasions which written scripts so inadequately report. All that this history can claim is to be making a reasonably coherent and certainly a fresh kind of pattern, different in focus and in priorities from its predecessors, out of the sort of fragments that can be applied to the whole mosaic's plastic setting.
> Gurr (1996: 18)

Gurr's research (especially 1993) proves that the confused state of the playing companies in the period 1592 - 94 is significantly closer to being unravelled and, that

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together with the strengths of Honigmann's (1986) research, some critical connections are emerging for Shakespeare's early career development. While there are still significant gaps in the literature about Shakespeare's lost years, the period of time this covers is diminishing and ways of understanding the lost years problems are gradually increasing. The importance of this period cannot be over-stressed, because whatever Shakespeare's professional experience was in this highly formative period must be of overwhelming influence in determining his subsequent work activities, choices and opportunities from which his work based learning may be determined.

The strength of much of the literature is on its detailed attention to the playhouse world. As has been seen in this chapter and in Chapter 3 the literature dealing with infrastructure for and operational management of the two major companies and the drama they produced is highly sophisticated. What is missing in terms of Shakespeare's work based learning appears to be any detailed analysis of his dual roles of sharer and playwright for the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men and how his roles interacted with those of other company members, particularly how, why and with what consequences he made transitions from and in-between these work roles and those of actor and poet. Notwithstanding this, it is important to note that the centripetal analytical approaches used by the New Historicists are of value, especially when they can be events based and viewed in terms of Williams' (1970) lived culture *versus* recorded culture.

Much of the problem in this respect lies in considering Shakespeare's career as solely focused on his playwrighting and sharer roles at the Theatre, Globe and Blackfriars, when it is clearly the case that he was involved in other work activities, presumably through a mixture of choice and necessity. Those activities that are known to fall into categories attributable to his position as a royal servant as a Groom of the Chamber or are the result of commissions. The patronage literature strongly indicates that our understanding of patronage networks needs strengthening and makes allowances for tangential links with Court and aristocratic personnel that may not necessarily be documented explicitly. That Shakespeare, personally, was in receipt of such

patronage other than from the Earl of Southampton should be considered as a sensible question congruent with practice in the period.

Shakespeare the business man, in London and Stratford-upon-Avon is rarely considered as integrating with that of the creative theatre professional. To think of Shakespeare occupying separate worlds in London or in Stratford-upon-Avon does not mean that Shakespeare differentiated in this way. The entire portfolio of his work roles needs to be considered holistically so that when we look at Shakespeare's learning it is not confined to his formal education at Stratford-upon-Avon Grammar School, but is lifelong and experientially predicated.

Finally, of major significance from the literature review, within the overall context of the thesis so far, is to demonstrate that there is ample evidence to support the opportunities for researching Shakespeare's work based learning using Role Theory, in such a way that one would hope it will be substantially under twenty years before Gurr's (1996: 18) hopes, quoted above, are realised. This application is presented in Chapters 6 and 7.

Notes

1. Ackroyd's biographies on William Blake, (1995) and Sir Thomas More (1998) are examples of an emerging genre that integrates biographical, pure historical studies and work based learning approaches. Ackroyd skilfully manages the intersection of the study of individual genius, their social, cultural and political context within a holistic appraisal of achievement. This is close to a work based learning approach and it is interesting to note how Ackroyd also manipulates this tension in his historical fiction.

2. The work based learning of architects has been implicitly analysed by Schön's important work (1987), where his evaluation of the professional *practicum* as a process for learning has been most influential. Schön expands this to other creative professional development such as the music master-class and conservatoire approach.

3. The list of the 22 professional dramatists are in Bentley (1971: 27). In full they are Thomas Heywood, John Fletcher, Thomas Dekker, Philip Massinger, Henry Chettle, Thomas Middleton, William Shakespeare, James Shirley, Ben Jonson, William Rowley, John Day, Richard Brome, William Haughton, George Chapman, Michael Drayton, Robert Wilson, William Hathaway, Anthony Munday, John Ford, Wentworth Smith, John Webster and Francis Beaumont.

4. Christopher Beeston performed in Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour* in 1598 while an actor in the Lord Chamberlain's Men. His subsequent career has a series of links with the company's members, notably Augustine Phillips. He joined Worcester's, later Queen Anne's Men in 1602 and became owner of the Cockpit. His career lasted until at least 1637. Aubrey received the information from Beeston's son, William, also an actor. See Gurr (1970) and Halliday (1964: 57).

5. Gurr notes the growing body of literature surrounding Mary Sidney's patronage, as does Levy Peck (1991), in terms of the roles of courtly women of influence. Gurr (1996) notes that the argument for Shakespeare's membership of the Queen's Men can be made as plausibly as that for his membership of Lord Strange's.

6. Laurence Fletcher was a Scottish actor working for James VI, who appeared to come to London early in the new reign in 1603, where his name heads the list in the licence of 19 May for the establishment of the King's Men. He was buried at St Saviour's, Southwark in 1608, but as he does not appear in F1 list of Principal Actors, his precise role position with the company is uncertain. See Halliday (1964: 168).

7. Prior (1972) in *Shakespeare Survey*, 25: 137 - 152, discusses what is known of Wilkins' life and notes a George Wilkins was also involved in the Belott-Mountjoy litigation of 1612 and knew John Heminges. Does this account for the connection to the King's Men and the joint authorship with Shakespeare?

THE TIME CHART AND MAP OF ROLE SETS: PRESENTING THE EVIDENCE

Introduction

This chapter outlines the instruments for collecting and recording data to facilitate its subsequent analysis and to enable the full methodological apparatus to be drawn together. The data is fully described and discussed, which comprises the major components of the chapter. This integrated package of literature, methodology and instrumentation for data collection and analysis is presented as a new methodological model at the end of the chapter.

Due to the enormity, complexity and wide ranging nature of data to be stored, and the need to create and apply criteria for selecting data, an instrument called the Time Chart was created. The full Time Chart is in Table 1 and should be read alongside the text of this chapter. The rationale for this approach is given below. Following the Rationale, this chapter turns to the sources used to extrapolate data from. From these sources criteria were drawn up for inclusion (and indeed exclusion) of data in the resultant Time Chart. These are specified and discussed in terms applicable to work based learning thinking. The chapter continues with an overview of each of the horizontal lines, or themes of data, incorporated into the Time Chart in turn, that describes its purpose in the Time Chart as a whole, and how these relate to the chronological and vertical axis of the Chart. The second half of the chapter presents the evidence from the underpinning Role Sets. A rationale for the composition of the Role Sets is given and each one discussed. In order for the Role Sets and the Time Chart to mediate with one another a chronological Map of Role Sets has been invented. This is in Figure 2 and readers are advised to read this alongside this chapter. The process is fully illustrated leading to the chapter summary that looks forward to Chapter 7 and 8 of the thesis; the full analysis, interpretation and implications of this data.

Rationale

It is not unusual for research that deals with complex data over a lengthy period of time to depict this graphically, and the Chronological Table in Revels 3 (1975: xv - xxxiii) is an excellent example of this, dealing as it does with the Shakespearean period, where a mixture of cultural, social and historical information may be recorded and easily viewed. Indeed, the use of a chronological table became a feature of the Revels series as a whole, creating a valuable resource in terms of the relative inclusiveness of information that may be presented in this manner. Barroll (1991: 211 - 226) and Kernan (1995: 203 - 208) follow suit with data of chronological activity focused to reflect their respective interests in plague during the Shakespearean period, and King's Men performances at the Court of James I. All these materials have been drawn on for source material in the Time Chart.[1]

However, the main precedent for the present Time Chart was that found in Strong's (1969a) important and innovatory review of Elizabethan portraiture. His 'Calendar of Political and Artistic Events 1540 to 1620' specifically shows 'the life-spans when known of the artists or the periods in which they are known to have been active' (Strong, 1969a: 58), as what are called time-lines here, against major national and European historical and cultural events. This is important as it shows the significance of being able to relate the professional activities of individuals to the development and evolution of aesthetic and historical events, that implies a relationship between them and the social systems and structures of their location. That is, the time-line type of depiction as used by Strong, and in the Time Chart, are capable of indicating the **formative** and **incremental** development of artistic work based learners which, as discussed in Chapter 2, is a critical component in the work based learning conceptual framework because it can be culturally contextualised.

Strong's 'Calendar' goes from the macro level (date, ruling monarch, and key historical events) to the micro with the time-lines of individual artists. This

structure was inverted for the purposes of the Time Chart which has a chronological axis across the top of a page. It is important to note the rationale for this approach, not least of which being the different objectives of the Time Chart from Strong's 'Calendar'. The latter is used to **summarise** artists' periods of professional activity against the broader cultural and historical perspective, but gives no detailed data. This enables Strong to devote a section to each artist in turn and, chronologically, to discuss their professional outputs, patronage relationships, artistic quality and the provenance of their works within the then standards of art history cataloguing.[2] A critical purpose of the Time Chart is to demonstrate relationships between people, events and activities, **within** the Time Chart, to show multiple types of work activity that may yield information about what was learnt from this activity. This relates to arguments presented earlier in the thesis that work based learning may be identified from the performance of work roles and the production of works through Role Theory which requires close attention to and use of detailed data to construct Role Sets. The methodological implications of the combined approach of historical method, work based learning thinking and Role Theory will be clarified at the end of the chapter.

The dates for the commencement and closing of the Time Chart were chosen as being significant parameters for Shakespeare's work based learning, representing a period of forty-four years of professional activity. Shakespeare's age in each year is marked for ease of reference. The entirety of a work based learner's professional life will help to corroborate as well as differentiate between different types and phases of role activity and, particularly, consider where anticipatory socialisation and work role acquisition (Merton, 1968: 436 - 438) may have occurred as Shakespeare achieved membership of new and / or additional Role Sets.

The start date, 1579, when Shakespeare was aged fifteen, was when he probably finished his full-time education and began his working life (see Chapter 5). It is this period and up to *circa* 1581 that Honan (1998), Honigmann (1985) and Wilson (1999) argue that Shakespeare became an assisting schoolmaster and

subsequently a player in Catholic Lancashire. The year 1576 might have been a viable alternative to start the Time Chart with as this was the date when the Theatre was built and James Burbage was active as leader of Leicester's Men. However, with this important exception, it appears that there was little activity by Shakespeare's near contemporaries that might be noted as of work based learning influence in the period 1575 - 1579, that would not be covered by subsequent entries in the Time Chart, when for instance, Richard Burbage, Samuel Daniel or John Florio become active, which is *circa* 1579 – 80. The following extract from the Time Chart shows this data.

	1579 age 15	1583 age 19
12. Richard Burbage: died 1619		Active as an actor?
13. Samuel Daniel: *c*1563 - 1619	Entered Magdalen College, Oxford	
14. John Florio: *c*1553 - 1625	Teaching at Magdalen College, Oxford	

The end date of 1623 is the publication date of F1 and, while seven years after Shakespeare's death in 1616 and probably a decade since his alleged retirement, is significant by demonstrating his peer group's professional endeavours in publishing their former colleague's play-scripts.[3] While this was undoubtedly a well-founded commercial decision (Blayney, 1997), it was also a clear mark of esteem and approbation from Shakespeare's theatre company colleagues. As discussed in Chapter 2, peer group approbation is an aspect of role modelling and a characteristic of the work based learning of theatrical practitioners. In terms of Role Theory, the publication of F1 (notwithstanding the publication of Jonson's *Complete Works* in 1616) is an example of innovation in the publication of play-scripts as play-texts, rather than as dramatic literature as inferred by Jonson's action (Goldberg, 1983; Kiernan, 1996), and thus of importance in consideration of the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men as innovators with dramatic form.

The criteria used for compiling the left hand margin of the Time Chart is discussed under **Identification of time-lines** section below. It is this left hand margin that

names the theme or subject for the horizontal recording of data that is aligned to a specific year, or across a number of years (consecutively as well as non-consecutively) recorded across the top of the page. This resulted in a series of time-lines, some of which are work based learning specific and some of which are contextualising and thus more socially and historically generic. Entry of data was a careful process of creating a spreadsheet with one cell for each year within each of the eighteen time-lines of thematic data. As one would expect data is not available for each cell and this is especially apparent for the period up to *circa* 1592. Analysis of such gaps or silences are likely to be as revealing as periods where there is a high level or clustering of known activity (such as Travelling sections), where activity is known to be protracted (Plague outbreaks) or where activity may be speculative (Shakespeare's involvement with *The Book of Sir Thomas More* or the composition of the *Sonnets*). The rationale for and significance of such analysis is presented below. [4]

Sources

The sources for data included in the Time Chart and Role Sets are mainly those key secondary texts identified and fully discussed in Chapter 5 Literature Review, namely Chambers (1923 and 1930), Gurr (1996), Halliday (1964) and Revels 3 (1975). Chambers' 'Dictionary of Actors' (1923, II: 295 - 350) provides access to primary data of a biographical nature, while Gurr's sections (pp273 - 277 and 302 - 305) on companies' provincial travelling, drawn from REED primary source material, were transcribed verbatim onto the appropriate years of the Time Chart. Barroll (1991), Kernan (1995) and Revels 3 (1975) were also utilised and data from one source was cross-checked against another source wherever possible to ensure accuracy. The abbreviations used in the Time Chart and Role Sets for titles of Shakespeare's play-scripts and poetry follow the standards used by editors of the New Arden edition of Shakespeare and are listed in the 'Abbreviations' section of the thesis. The Time Chart follows the Gregorian rather than Julian Calendar used by Elizabeth I. Sohmer (1999) provides fascinating insights and analyses into the complications and controversy this caused Shakespeare and his

contemporaries *post* 1582 when the Gregorian Calendar was introduced into Europe but the Julian maintained in England.

Identification of time-lines

The identification of time-lines is predicated by work based learning thinking about areas of professional learning activity that might typically appear on a CV, job description and in a practising artist's professional portfolio. These areas of activity can be cross-referenced to the sub-headings used in the Literature Review and Chapter 3. Each time-line has been chosen because it interacts with those critical questions about Shakespeare's work based learning identified at the end of Chapter 2, and analysed in Chapter 7. For instance, time-lines 2 'Works Published' and 6 'Non-dramatic professional activity' relate specifically to tasks Shakespeare undertook as a playwright and within his managerial capacities as a sharer of the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men. Other time-lines are explicitly those that relate to the social structures, cultural frameworks and historical events of the Shakespearean period in England, but with some reference to key European events where there is evidence that these were perceived to have been influential on English affairs and / or cultural development. Time-lines 5 - 8 are the contextualising time-lines, and so placed in the Time Chart to interact with the Shakespeare-specific ones (1 - 4) and the theatrically generic ones. Time-lines 9 - 14 are person-specific, centred on individuals who, in Role Theory terms, are Shakespeare's known or possible significant others; for instance Richard Burbage, Edward Alleyn, Philip Henslowe and Samuel Daniel. Additional significant others who are primarily peripheral but significant for critical incidents (the Earl of Essex and the third Earl of Pembroke for instance) normally appear in the relevant contextualising time-lines. The travelling time-lines (15 - 18) are placed last because the activity contained within them is still subject to extensive research. The time-lines, in order of their appearance on the Time Chart, are as follows:

1.   Works composed/first recorded performance
2.   Works published

3. Other personal documented activity

4. Professional documented activity

5. Non-Shakespeare performances/publications

6. Performances at Court

7. Key political and historical events

8. City of London events/activities, including plague outbreaks

9. Philip Henslowe and Edward Alleyn / The Rose Playhouse

10. Christopher Marlowe

11. Ben Jonson

12. Richard Burbage

13. Samuel Daniel

14. John Florio

15. Travelling: Hunsdon's Men 1564 – 1586, Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men   1594 - 1608

16. Travelling: Strange's Players 1564 - 1594 and Derby's Men 1594 – 1620

17. Travelling: Derby's Players > 1594

18. Travelling: Pembroke's Men 1591 – 1601

Each time-line is now introduced, with a brief rationale for its inclusion, a summary of its content, sources and potential. Inclusion of a time-line covering Elizabeth I's and James I's progresses around England was considered, but rejected on the grounds that the Time Chart could not do justice to the complexity of detail. However, Nichols (1788 - 1807 and 1828) was fully consulted to ensure that relevant data was captured. Extracts from the Time Chart can be cross-referenced back to it by date and time-line reference.

1.   Works composed/first performance

The date for the first known performance of a play by Shakespeare and the likely composition of any of the plays and poems are primarily drawn from Alexander (1951) and Halliday (1964) and thus follow their and Honigmann's (1985) argument that Shakespeare was an early developer, rather than Chambers' (1923 and 1930) for Shakespeare as a late starter. Performance information is also

drawn from other sources, namely Gurr (1987) and Salgado (1975). Performances in this section exclude those that took place at Court when commissioned by the Office of the Revels (these are in time-line 6) but include performances for royalty at other venues; notably the performance at Wilton on 2 December 1603 probably of *As You Like It*, when the Court re-located to Wilton, hosted by the Pembrokes.

	1603 age 39
1. Works composed/1st performance	*Mea*; Q1 *Ham* @ Oxbridge?; 2.12: *AYLI?* @ Wilton
6. Court performances	2.2: Richmond; Shrove Sun + one other date; 26.12, 27.12, 28.12, 31.2 (Hampton Court?); 2.12 *AYLI* ? @ Wilton

This first time-line provides a major benchmark for other activity as it records the accumulation of Shakespeare's known written output for the stage and poetry . It enables any other entry in the Time Chart to be analysed against Shakespeare's known creative output and *vice-versa* to discuss the intensity and direction of influence. In terms of Role Episodes, anticipatory socialisation and key work based learning issues, it raises two important questions from the lost years period. Firstly, why and how did Shakespeare turn from acting to playwrighting and, secondly, what was Shakespeare's work role position in composing the play-script of *The Book of Sir Thomas More* and how was that work role acquired?

2.   Works published

This second time-line is also problematic, since it raises fundamental questions about when and why poetry and plays by Shakespeare were published and under what authority. The source for this time-line is Halliday (1964) and also Revels 3 (1975). Analysis of this time-line yields information about any rationale for publishing at particular points in time, for instance when the persistence of plague in London kept the public playhouses closed and other times when income was low, but may also note the incongruities of this argument against known practices

of publishers and booksellers (Blayney, 1997). Patterns of publications reveal the popularity of specific scripts (*King Henry VI* for instance) and of publishers' activities, notably the Jaggards in 1619, but does not reveal the rationale for such popularity or publishing activity without recourse to Role Sets.

	1598 age 34	1599 age 35
2. Works published	Q *LLL*, Q1 *1H4*, Q1 *R2*, Q2&3 *R3*	Q2 *R&J*, Q2 *1H4*, *Passionate Pilgrim*

3. Other personal documented activity

The source for this time-line is primarily Schoenbaum (1975), supported by Halliday (1964). The time-line mainly records Shakespeare's legal, financial, domestic activities and dynastic events, and therefore indicates correlation between inheritance he received from John Shakespeare's estate in 1601 and subsequent significant expenditure on land, tithes and property purchases in 1602. This time-line shows when he was likely in be in Stratford-upon-Avon and London or travelling.

4. Professional documented activity

There are multiple sources for this time-line: Chambers (1923), Gurr (1996), Revels 3 (1975) and Schoenbaum (1975). What is immediately apparent with this time-line is its cluster of activity in the period 1594 - 1614, and its main, but by no means sole, emphasis on recorded activities involving the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men. The time-line therefore needs very careful analysis to explore activity prior to 1594 and post 1614, and whether understanding of professional activity that was not obviously theatrical (the work on the Rutland *Impresa* of 1613 for instance) can be strengthened. This is important because it supports the argument that Shakespeare was a multiple work role holder, in line with contemporary practice. This time-line enables understanding of this dimension of

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Shakespeare's work based learning and how areas of different learning activity influenced one another.

5.   Non-Shakespeare performances/publications

This time-line is highly selective, since to record in this format all known performances and publications by Shakespeare's peers would not be possible within the scale and scope available. Selection has been made in order to illustrate that scale and scope. The sources are therefore diverse; Halliday (1964) and Revels 3 (1975) for work by other dramatists and poets, and Strong (1969 and 1969a) for artists. Did Shakespeare know Nicholas Hilliard? John Donne apparently did.[5] This time-line will enhance and increase our understanding of the content of time-lines 1 - 4 through the work based learning questions in Chapter 2. The data will help interpret the extent to which Shakespeare's work role relationships with other creative professionals operated as a network for practitioners in London.

6.   Performances at Court

Sources for this line have included Feuillerat (1908), Kernan (1995) and Revels 3 (1975), but entries have also been influenced by the discussion of court structures, systems and patronage in Levy Peck (1991 and 1996) and Starkey (1987). The problems with data recording performances at Court during the Shakespearean period are well known (Chambers, 1923; Schoenbaum, 1975), where dates are given the play performed may not be recorded, where payees' names are stated which Court venue was used may be missing and so forth. Court Calendars of the period use the Julian rather than Gregorian Calendar which means data is not always consistently datable as it is sometimes confusing. Dutton's (1991) research on the function and operation of the Office of the Revels aids analysis of this time-line, which needs to be seen in other contexts. The clustering of court performances during key events such as the marriage of Princess Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine in 1613 needs to be considered as Role Episodes and has never been considered from a work based learning perspective. Analysis of theatrical

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practitioners involved is revealing in terms of differentiating between practices for public and private performance.

	1606 age 42
6. Court performances	26.12: *Lr* + 13 other plays on unknown dates during visit of Christian IV of Denmark

From an alternative perspective, why Shakespeare did not involve himself in the emergent form of the Court Masque, when it was an innovative and possibly high status work role opportunity is interesting. The influences between this genre, its associated network of writers, designers and composers and Shakespeare's own late work (*circa* 1610 - 1614) are too strong to ignore the presence of work based learning reciprocity, as the stylistic synergy has often been commented on before. See for instance Kernan (1995), Orgel and Strong (1973).

7. Key political and historical events

Sources include Houston (1995), Randell (1994) and Warren (1993), and the emphasis is primarily English, then Scottish and then Euro-centric. Contextually this section draws on a range of other literature for analytical purposes, including Fraser (1996), Mattingley (1989) and Thomas (1971) for home and overseas religious events and trends. Honan (1998), Honigmann (1985) and Schoenbaum (1975) contribute to discussions about Shakespeare's participation in the 1604 Somerset House Conference and the extent of the Lord Chamberlain's Men relationship, if any, with key political figures; notably the Earl of Essex and the rebellion of 1601. Both constitute Role Episodes with Shakespeare as a multiple role holder. This time-line presents some more intangible and difficult questions about the intensity and direction of influence from events and activities at the national level to work based learning activities from these influences at the level of group and individual. What, therefore, are the relationships for Shakespeare in the 1601 rebellion (if any?) and, given the Warwickshire Roman Catholic

connections of the Gunpowder Plot and its antecedents in the 1580s and the lost years, (Fraser, 1996; Honigmann, 1985) are there any work role relationships with Shakespeare?

8. City of London events/activities, including plague outbreaks

Barroll (1994), Boulton (1987), Rappaport (1989) and Revels 3 (1975) are the main sources for this time-line, analysis of which is important in further understanding any annual patterns of Shakespeare's work programme and its formative development for the duration of his career. It is especially relevant to consider how the closure of the playhouses during periods when the death rate from plague reached specific heights influenced professional practice: in Shakespeare's terms his publications output and his undertaking non-theatrical professional activities. The cluster of publications in 1594 suggests a cumulative response to the lengthy period of theatre closure in the preceding years and possibly a growing awareness of alternative sources of income for the theatre companies.

	1592 age 28	1593 age 29	1594 age 30
2. Works published		*V&A*	*V&A*, *Tit*, Q1 *2H6*, *Luc*, *A Shr*, *True Trag*
8. City of London	Plague - theatres closed	Plague - theatres closed	Plague - theatres closed

From an alternative perspective, given that so many of Shakespeare's contemporaries (Jonson, Dekker, Daniel and Middleton for instance) wrote the often populist scripts for many of the State entries of royalty into the City and civic City pageants; why is Shakespeare apparently so conspicuously absent from this alternative form of ready income? See, for instance, Anglo (1992), Goldberg (1983) and Strong (1973 and 1977).

9. Philip Henslowe and Edward Alleyn / The Rose Playhouse

Chambers (1923), Gurr (1996), Halliday (1964) and Revels 3 (1975) all provide source material for this time-line, which represents activity from the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men main professional competitor on Bankside, not least because of Alleyn's personal financial success.[6] From Henslowe's Diary we may infer similarity and difference of professional practice between one company, playhouse, its personnel and another. Role Sets for the period 1590 - 1594 will be revealing about the interrelationships between members of the different and changing companies during this complex time (Gurr, 1993) enabling time-lines 1 - 4 for this period of Shakespeare's work based learning to become more transparent, especially through the consortium of playwrights commissioned by Henslowe to produce *The Book of Sir Thomas More*. The Admiral's Men are frequently seen as competitors to Shakespeare's company, but Role Set analysis will also suggest that there was a extent of collaborative learning between company members in these earlier iterations

10. Christopher Marlowe

Halliday (1964), Revels 3 (1975) and Steane (1969) are the main sources for this time-line, necessarily a brief one, given that Marlowe's professional activity as a playwright was curtailed by his murder in 1593. Prior to this curtailment, Marlowe's professional output as a dramatist was prolific and innovative, with his plays being performed regularly and with great popularity by Strange's Men at The Rose under Henslowe's management and with Edward Alleyn playing the Marlovian heroes, Tamburlaine and Dr Faustus for example. Marlowe's professional development was probably influential for Shakespeare's shift from being actor to playwright, and may be linked with Greene's attack on Shakespeare in 1592. Put another way, did Shakespeare use Marlowe as a role model for this change in emphasis to a playwrighting?

11. Ben Jonson

Chambers (1923) and Halliday (1964) are the main sources for this time-line which presents an opportunity to look at the development of a professional dramatist who was not a playwright with any one company. The professional relationship between Jonson and Shakespeare in terms of their respective work roles may shed light on the divergences possible in theatrical careers during this period. Jonson's focus on the development of work roles within the Court, notably with Inigo Jones and the Court Masque, can sometimes be used to suggest that he was more successful in his own lifetime (Goldberg, 1983) than Shakespeare, but then why did Shakespeare not involve himself in the Court Masque? Analysis may help determine what these professional career differences mean in terms of the establishment of the occupation of playwright and the extent of role innovation this will certainly have involved.

12. Richard Burbage

The sources for this time-line are Chambers (1923), Halliday (1964) and Salgado (1975). Richard Burbage is arguably Shakespeare's most important significant other in Role Theory terms and their working relationship incorporates their respective multiple work roles: Burbage's of playhouse owner, sharer, actor and painter; Shakespeare's of sharer, actor, playwright, poet. Burbage's and Shakespeare's performances in all these work roles **in relation to one another** and other professional colleagues is of great importance. This is particularly so in looking at both the continuity and radical innovation of the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men, where the professional partnership of all the changing sharers is clearly critical for the company's growing status. Can the work based learning approach to Role Theory get a closer look at the playwright - actor relationship?

13.   Samuel Daniel

The main sources for this time-line are Halliday (1964) and Rees (1964). Daniel is an extremely interesting contemporary to Shakespeare and his own professional career as a poet, within theatre and at Court is a rich one, worthy of an extensive work based learning analysis in its own right.[7] In his lifetime, it is argued that his status as a published dramatic-poet receiving considerable aristocratic and royal patronage, was higher than Shakespeare's (Bland, 1999), and it is useful to note that he is also a multiple work role holder. Key to Daniel's likely status as one of Shakespeare's significant others is his interaction with John Florio (time-line 14), relationships with the Pembrokes and at Court (time-line 6).

14.   John Florio

Florio's work roles at Court and with Pembroke patronage provide a definite Role Set connection with Daniel as well as a familial one: Florio married Daniel's sister, Rosa (?) (Halliday, 1964: 168). Florio's translation of Montaigne (1603) and his Italian-English dictionaries (1598 and 1611) were certainly known to Shakespeare (Bullough, 1973, VIII: 267; Shaheen, 1994). Like Daniel and Jonson, the rationale for Florio's place in the Time Chart is that he was probably known to Shakespeare and Role Sets in which he figures are likely to enhance and widen our understanding of Shakespeare's networks of fellow professionals (theatrical and non-theatrical) especially those located in London. As has been mentioned above, this probably includes individuals such as Hilliard, Rowland Lockey, Dowland, Donne and Isaac Oliver and is fundamental to understanding how networks of creative artists may be integrated with those of creative courtiers (Sidney or Ralegh for instance) and close patronage systems and networks (Leicester, Essex, Southampton and the Pembrokes). These distinctions are important.

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	1602 age 38	1603 age 39	1604 age 40
13. Samuel Daniel	*Defence of Ryme*	Gallops north to greet James I	Patent Licenser of Plays, Master of Queen's Revels, *Visions of 12 Goddesses* at Court, with Lucy. Countess of Bedford
14. John Florio		Translation of Montaigne, Reader to Queen Anna	Groom of Privy Chamber to Queen Anna

15 - 18.   Travelling time-lines

The sources for all these are Gurr (1996) from which they have been directly transcribed. The recent and ongoing research activities of the REED programme are of great significance and will continue to unfold as further archives, county by county are published. This data, as has been indicated in Chapter 5. has a profound effect on previously held views about professional theatrical activity, which was often predicated by a perception that London was the sole venue for performance by the lead companies the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men and their competitors the Admiral's / Prince's Men when this is clearly not the case.[8] There is now huge scope for research into on-the-road practices and knowledge of the use of touring venues is really only embryonic in understanding playing companies' relationships with local town and parish councils, let alone private commissions for performance within and outside of London (see Somerset, 1994).

	1597 age 33	1603 age 39
8. City of London	28.7 *Isle of Dogs* @ Swan. Theatres closed.	Plague
15. Travelling: Lord Chamberlain's/King's Men	Aug: Rye: 20s; Sept: Bristol 30s; Bath 20s; Dover 13s 4d; Marlborough 6s 4d; Faversham 13s 4d	Bridgnorth 40s; Oxford (town) 20s; Bath 30s

The Time Chart and Role Theory

Using the Time Chart and Role Theory in the context of work based learning, the known Role Sets for William Shakespeare and his significant others are now presented. This data forms the main body of evidence for analysis in Chapter 7. As has been seen above, at the end of Chapter 4, this is a process of depicting circles which are named with a known event or activity. These events and activities will have a direct correlation to a time-line or series of time-lines. The Time Chart enables Role Sets to be depicted because data from individual cells within single and multiple time-lines can be extrapolated to create thematic units. Such units form the basis for Role Sets which may run over a period of time and be iterative, or for Role Episodes that are likely to be event specific but culturally determined.[9]

Evidence for the depiction of Role Sets is necessarily drawn from both single time-lines and multiple time-lines. It will be evident that where a single time-line is a source for a Role Set it is more likely to reflect existing knowledge (for instance Shakespeare's membership of the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men at specific dates) whereas Role Sets drawn from across one or more time-lines are more likely to show more speculative patterns of Shakespeare's work based learning activity. An instance of this is the Role Set relationship between Shakespeare, John Florio and Samuel Daniel in the period 1603 - 1605 when all three appear to be engaged in activities with the Court and Pembrokes, and maybe all at Wilton.

It is important to note that each time-line may not necessarily lead to the identification of specific Role Sets, but rather provide data about a vital area of work activity that may corroborate or differentiate membership of other Role Sets. For instance we have, at this stage in scholarly knowledge, no direct means of analysing the extent to which Shakespeare was personally and professionally involved in the regional and provincial tours the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men undertook. However, scholarly analysis of REED data indicating theatre

companies' professional practices will help clarify aspects of Shakespeare's work based learning over time.

In time-line 4 'Professional documented activity' for 1594 is the entry for Shakespeare 'joins Chamberlain's Men'. This refers to a well known entry in the accounts for the Queen's treasurer (Chamber Account) recording payment on 15 March 1595 to members of the company, and naming Shakespeare together with Richard Burbage and William Kempe as payees for performances at the Court in Greenwich on 26 and 28 December 1594 (Halliday, 1964: 443; Revels 3, 1975: 50-51; Schoenbaum, 1975: 137*ff*).[10] This is normally interpreted by scholars as showing that Shakespeare joined the company on their formation that summer (Gurr, 1993) and, together with information of membership from June 1594 (*ibid*), gives us membership of the Role Set of the sharers of the Lord Chamberlain's Men, and indicates a role position (as 'payees') for Burbage, Kempe and Shakespeare at this point in time. This is, apparently, the first time Shakespeare's role position as a theatre professional can be identified as holding what we might call an administrative or managerial status. This Role Set and its subsequent iterations which demonstrate its formative nature and the significance and consequences of that continuity, to 1623, are discussed below and in Chapter 7.

Using the Time Chart to establish participation in Role Episodes follows a similar process. There is an important exception however, in that Role Episodes are more likely to yield initial multiple Role Sets and be found in multiple time-lines. Generic or contextualising time-lines (5 - 9) yield Role Episode material that may be analysed in terms of the patterns of interaction in-between Role Sets and any resultant role conflict from differing positions, expectations and performance. The potential for role conflict to occur explicitly at a more substantial rate in Role Episodes is likely to be more easily identifiable than from individual Role Sets, because Role Episodes, by their very nature involve Role Sets with disparate values' systems and contain data that may be verified by historical documentation. This is entirely congruent with Role Theory, and Biddle and Thomas (1966: 32*ff*) discuss criteria of similarity and differentiation within and across disparate Role

Sets. Here consensus and nonpolarised views and activities are likely to yield role specialisation (especially occupational and thence institutionalisation). whereas dissensus and polarised views and activities are more likely to yield role conflict. It is obvious that this is more likely to occur in Role Episodes involving more than one Role Set than in a single Role Set where commonality in goal/values helps resolve discrepancies between role expectation and performance, whereas role differentiation between multiple Role Sets enhances awareness of and reaction to value differences. Role Episodes are therefore deemed to be open to analysis of differentiation in role position, status, expectation and performance. Such analysis may enable shifts in scholarly understanding from the currently known to the currently less well known.

Thus, the Role Set extracted from the Map of Role Sets and depicted below as an example of the process, is to be found as an event in time-line 11, 'Richard Burbage' for 1590 - 1, as the Plot of the *Part Two of The Seven Deadly Sins*. Its grid reference in the Map of Role Sets is c2r4. This was performed by Strange's Men, of whom Burbage therefore must have been a member at that time. Around the perimeter of the circle are the initials of those other known participants in the event or activity, and these initials correspond to the initials listed in Table 3 below where they are matched to the full name of the Role Set member, together with their dates of birth and death where known.

It will be apparent that discussion must start with the currently known Role Sets and Role Episodes which are directly and indirectly linked to Shakespeare's own work based learning and that of his significant others. These are in Table 2 below, together with the Table 3 of Role Sets members' initials matched to their full names.
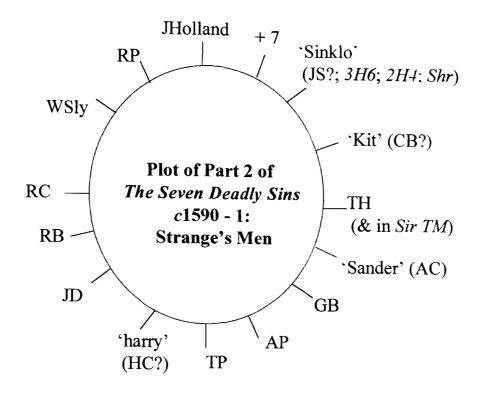
JHolland + 7
RP   'Sinklo'
            (JS?; *3H6*; *2H4*; *Shr*)
WSly
            'Kit' (CB?)

Plot of Part 2 of
The Seven Deadly Sins
c1590 - 1:
Strange's Men

RC   TH
            (& in *Sir TM*)
RB
            'Sander' (AC)
JD
            GB
'harry'   AP
(HC?)   TP

Table 2. List of Role Sets and Role Episodes

The Table lists the known Role Sets in chronological order. As precise a date as possible is always given, as is the narrative in the 'Description' column.

Date	Description
1585 –86	Touring in The Netherlands
1586 – 7	Touring at Courts of Denmark and Saxony
1588 – 1591?	Members of Strange's Men
1590 – 1?	Plot of *Part 2 The Seven Deadly Sins*, Strange's Men
1590?	Plot of *Dead Man's Fortune*, performed by Admiral's/Strange's Men
1592?	Composers of *The Book of Sir Thomas More*
1593, 6 May	Privy Council licence for Strange's/Admiral's Men touring in the Provinces
1594 – 97	Principal Actors: Admiral's Men
1594, June	Lord Chamberlain's Men sharers
1594<	Playwrights working for Lord Chamberlain's Men
1597, October	Members of Admiral's Men
1597<	Playwrights working for Philip Henslowe
1598	Cast of *Every Man In His Humour*
1599	Cast of *Every Man Out of His Humour*

1598 - 9	Dismantling the Theatre, building the Globe
1601, 6 February	Commissioning of performance of *King Richard II* at the Globe
1601, 7 February	Present at the performance of *King Richard II* at the Globe prior to the Earl of Essex's rebellion
1603	Cast of *Sejanus*
1603, 19 May	King's Men Patent issued
1603, 22 July	Thomas Pope's will
1603, 21 October	Joan Woodward's letter
1603, December	At Wilton House
1604	4.5 yards of cloth for King's Men at James I's coronation
1604	King's Men sharers
1604	Prince's Men Wardrobe Account for James I's coronation
1604, 9 – 27 August	Somerset House Conference
1605	King's Men sharers
1605	The Gunpowder Plot
1605, May	Augustine Phillips' will
1608, August	Blackfriars sharers and housekeepers
1613, 24 March	Rutland *Impresa*
1614	Second Globe sharers
1623	'Principal Actors' listed in F1

Table 3. List of Role Set members

The Table gives the initials used as abbreviations in the Role Sets listed above against the individual details of each Role Sets' membership. The columns give the full name of the Role Set member, the abbreviation used for that name (usually the initials of the first and last name, except where there is more than one Role Set member with the same initials in which case this is elongated to differentiate members from one another) and the dates of their birth and death where known. The sources used are Chambers (1923) and Halliday (1964). Only those who appear in more than one Role Set are listed here. For those who appear in one Role Set only, their full name will be given as that Role Set is depicted. The same initials and /or abbreviations are used in the Time Chart. The colour coding used is as follows, and is important because it shows the longevity and cumulative nature of membership.

William Shakespeare.

'Principal Actors' and sharers in the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men.

Full name	Initials	Dates
Alleyn, Edward	EA	1566 - 1626
Anna of Denmark	A	1574 - 1619
Armin, Robert	RA	Died 1615
Beeston, Christopher	CB	Active 1590 - 1639
Benfield, Robert	RBen	Active 1613 - 1647
Bryan, George	GB	Active 1585 - 1613
Burbage, Cuthbert	CBur	c1566 - 1636
Burbage, James	JB	c1530 - 1597
Burbage, Richard	RB	c1568 - 1619
Condell, Henry	HC	Died 1627
Cooke, Alexander	AC	Died 1614
Cowley, Richard	RC	Died 1619
Crosse, Samuel	SC	Died 1605?
Daniel, Samuel	SD	c1563 - 1619
Duke, John	JD	Active 1590 - 1609
Eccleston, William	WE	Active 1610 - 1623
Elizabeth I	E1	1533 - 1603
Evans, Thomas	TE	Active 1608
Field, Nathan	NF	1587 – 1620
Fletcher, John	JFlet	1579 – 1625
Fletcher, Laurence	LF	Died 1608
Florio, John	JF	c1553 - 1625
Gilburne, Samuel	SG	Active 1605
Goodale, Thomas	TG	Active 1581 - 1595
Gough, Robert	RG	Died 1624
Heminges, John	JH	Died 1630
Henry , Prince of Wales	H	1594 - 1612
Henslowe, Philip	PH	Died 1616
James I	J1	1566 - 1625
Jones, Inigo	IJ	1573 - 1651
Jonson, Ben	BJ	1572 - 1637
Kempe, William	WK	Active 1585 - 1608
Lowin, John	JL	1576 – 1669?
Ostler, William	WO	Died 1614
Pallant, Robert	RP	Died 1619?
Phillips, Augustine	AP	Died 1605
Pope, Thomas	TP	Active 1586< Died 1603
Rice, John	JR	Active 1607< Died *post* 1630
Robinson, Richard	RR	Active 1611< Died 1648
Sands, James	JS	Active 1605 – 1617?
Shakespeare, William	WS	1564 - 1616
Shanke, John	JSha	Active >1603 Died 1636

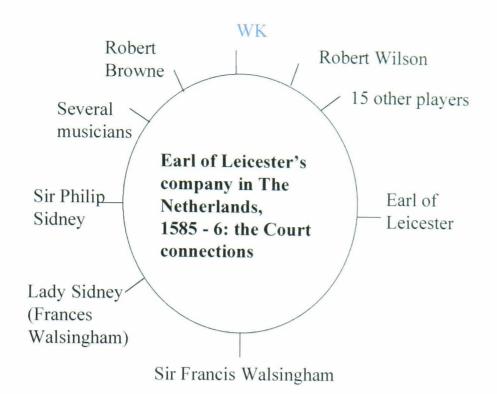| Sincler, John	JSin	Active 1590 – 1604<
Sly, William	WSly	Died 1608
Taylor, Joseph	JT	Active 1619< Died 1652
Tooley, Nicholas	NT	Died 1623
Underwood, John	JU	Died 1624

The following sections in this chapter depicts and describe the known Role Sets and known Role Episodes tabulated chronologically above as evidence for Shakespeare's work based learning. The Map of Role Sets is in Figure 2 and as this shows the transitions, links and relationships between the Role Sets, readers should read it alongside the chapter. Each grid on the Map has a numbered column and row reference to enable readers to locate each Role Set within the Map and where it is discussed in this chapter.

Role Sets and Role Episodes

1585 – 86   Touring in The Netherlands (Grid reference: c1r1)

This is a formative Role Set because William Kempe, was later to become a sharer in the 1594 formation of the Lord Chamberlain's Men. It also contains two other named players (Browne and Wilson) as well as key members of the influential Leicester-Sidney-Pembroke patronage network. It will be useful to note here that this extended to the Earl of Essex (Leicester's step-son) even more explicitly, when he married Sidney's widow. Gurr (1996: 191) quotes from a letter written by Sir Philip Sidney (Leicester's nephew) to his father-in-law, Sir Francis Walsingham, from Utrecht on 24 March 1586. While it may be far-fetched, given Walsingham's position as head of intelligence for Elizabeth, and the level of concern expressed in the letter about something apparently trivial, are there any espionage implications raised by this incident?
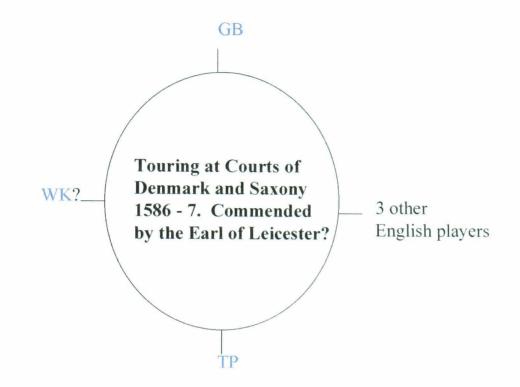
> complaining that his previous letter, which was carried from Holland by 'Will, my lord of Lester's jesting plaier' enclosed in a letter to Sidney's wife, had not reached Walsingham because the player had delivered the papers instead to Leicester's wife [Lettice Knollys].
> Gurr (1996: 191)

WK

Robert Browne — Robert Wilson — 15 other players — Earl of Leicester — Sir Francis Walsingham — Lady Sidney (Frances Walsingham) — Sir Philip Sidney — Several musicians

Earl of Leicester's company in The Netherlands, 1585 - 6: the Court connections

Robert Wilson had been a member of the Queen's Men and Browne came from Worcester's, so it is possible that this was a large composite group selected by Leicester for entertainment purposes for the duration of his campaign in The Netherlands where he was Lord Governor of the Low Countries. Kempe clearly had functional responsibility other than as a player, evidenced by his carrier role. This suggests lack of detailed familiarity with the members of the patronage network (as well as a genuine delivery mistake). The Role Set shows Leicester's power in acquiring a group of prestigious entertainers while overseas that in turn will present some continuity with his home-based company and the touring in Denmark in the Role Set immediately following. It also shows that players and entertainers from different companies had opportunities for collaborative working in new formations of company membership, which in turn would lead to cross-fertilisation of work based ideas and developing professional and occupational practices. The wide-ranging importance of this is analysed in Chapter 7. Over-arching this is The Netherlands' context in which such patronage was taking place, where members of Leicester's entourage would have been exposed to the cultural and political dynamics as manifested by the English presence in contested Spanish-occupied territory (Warren, 1993).
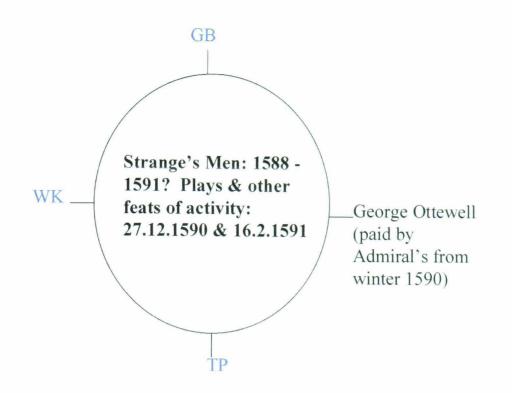
1586 – 7   Touring at Courts of Denmark and Saxony (Grid reference: c1r2)

The following year George Bryan and Thomas Pope, both founding sharers in the Lord Chamberlain's Men are named as touring in Denmark and Saxony, probably at Leicester's recommendation (Chambers, 1923, II: 304; Halliday, 1964: 74; Gurr, 1996: 191).

GB

WK?

Touring at Courts of Denmark and Saxony 1586 - 7. Commended by the Earl of Leicester?

3 other English players

TP

Both men also subsequently appear in the Plot of *Part Two of The Seven Deadly Sins*, and it is possible that Kempe went with them, maybe as hand-picked by Leicester (Gurr's suggestion) on a tour as a courtesy to the court of Denmark. If this is so, it intimates that the fluidity and diversity of company membership both at home and abroad was a regular feature of playing life in the late 1580s, with patrons co-ordinating with one another perhaps to establish specially constituted groups for specific purposes. This concurs with Gurr's (1993) similar analysis of the different issues inherent in the 1592 - 1594 re-formations, which acknowledges that the patrons themselves probably held significant and detailed knowledge about the abilities and repertoires of individual players and companies with which they were associated. Such detailed knowledge held by the patron would be a specific advantage, and, if there was an implicit link between the Earl of Essex and the Lord Chamberlain's Men in 1601 that eased the commissioning

of the performance of *King Richard II*, that commissioning would arguably be more effective if conducted between two parties who knew one another.

1588 – 91?   Members of Strange's Men (Grid reference: c2r1)

GB

WK

Strange's Men: 1588 - 1591? Plays & other feats of activity: 27.12.1590 & 16.2.1591

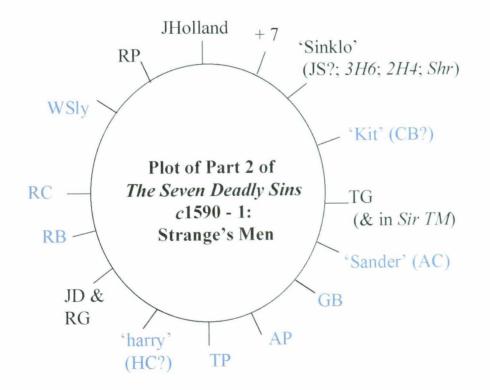George Ottewell (paid by Admiral's from winter 1590)

TP

The link between this Role Set and the previous one indicates the continuity of partnership of Bryan, Pope and Kempe following Leicester's death in 1588, based on the premise that they joined Strange's Men prior to working on the Plot of *Part Two of The Seven Deadly Sins*. Halliday (1964: 133) cites Court payment records for the winter season of 1590 - 1 to 'George Ottewell and his players' for 'plays and other feats of activity'. Chambers (1923, II: 300) thinks Ottewell (or Attwell) may have been a singer, which would corroborate comedian Kempe's participation in feats of activity.

1590 – 1?   Plot of *Part Two of The Seven Deadly Sins*, Strange's Men (Grid reference: c2r4)

This Role Set is a centrifugal one in the sense that its influence radiates backwards and forwards across the Time Chart and Map of Role Sets to illuminate other Role Sets and progressions between them. The play was written by Tarleton in

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circa 1588 for what we might now term an example of ensemble playing. A Plot is the scene-by-scene synopsis of a play-script, indicating entrances, exits and often use of properties (Halliday, 1964: 375). It is a type of stage-manager's prompt copy. This Role Set and the one that follows it are both of considerable importance because it is the first extant reference to the theatrical activities of several of Shakespeare's significant others, namely; Richard Burbage, Henry Condell, Augustine Phillips, William Sly, Richard Cowley and probably Christopher Beeston. Along with Thomas Pope and George Bryan who have already appeared all of these people became sharers of the Lord Chamberlain's Men. Beeston is an exception since, while he appears in the cast list for Jonson's *Every Man In His Humour* in 1598 and was Phillips' apprentice, he was not a sharer, and in 1590 - 1 was presumably acting while within his apprenticeship period.
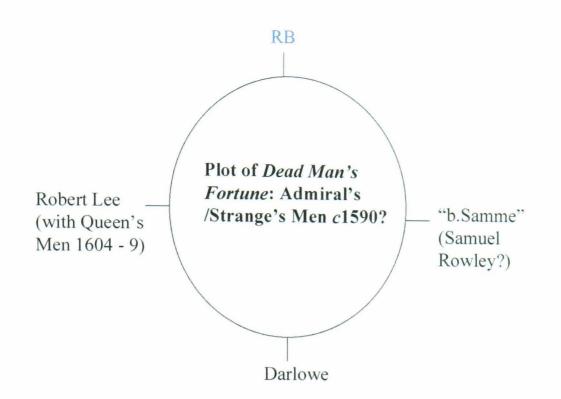

Not only are these Role Set members some of Shakespeare's later significant others, but their appearance here is an instance of their early career development (Burbage was aged about twenty-two at this time) and thus anticipatory socialisation. If 'TG' is the player Thomas Goodale who also appears as a player for *The Book of Sir Thomas More* this would strengthen an argument for correlation of Role Set membership between the players here and the playwrights involved in *The Book of Sir Thomas More*. Clearly professional experience in

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early phases of career development would have significant influence on the work based learning of the Role Set members, when the same members join future Role Sets, but with the addition of new members. Such new members, Shakespeare of course, would then be exposed to the **cumulative** and **combined** work based learning of these significant others providing some temporal shortcuts to his own knowledge acquistion. Similarly one would expect an exchange of work based learning experiences, so that the overlaps between membership of this Role Set and *The Book of Sir Thomas More* provide reciprocal learning for the various actors and playwrights involved. Goodale, under the auspices of leadership, management and patronage of Strange's Men (Edward Alleyn, Philip Henslowe and Ferdinando Derby, Lord Strange) is the known Role Set intermediary, providing a tentative link in 1590 - 1 between Richard Burbage and William Shakespeare.

1590?　　　　**Plot of *Dead Man's Fortune*, performed by Admiral's/Strange's Men (Grid reference: c2r3)**
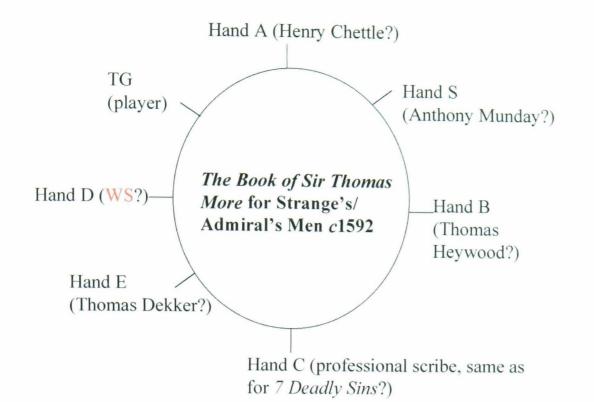
In addition to the points made in the previous Role Set it is important to reiterate points already made for Leicester's patronage in 1585 - 6, namely that the mobility of different performers is clearly a strength of company diversity.

The possible combined membership of Strange's / Admiral's Men at this time was large and opportune for performing the large scale plays by Marlowe, such as *Tamburlaine* and 'Harry the vj', the initial version of Shakespeare's *King Henry VI Part I*. The inclusion in this Role Set of 'b. Samme' is interesting. If this is the playwright Samuel Rowley, here is another instance (Shakespeare being the notable other) of a player's work based learning opportunities during his probable apprenticeship (to Lee, a prolific player?) evolving into a work role as a playwright.

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RB

Robert Lee
(with Queen's
Men 1604 - 9)

**Plot of *Dead Man's
Fortune*: Admiral's
/Strange's Men *c*1590?**

"b.Samme"
(Samuel
Rowley?)

Darlowe

1592?   **Composers of *The Book of Sir Thomas More* (Grid reference: c3r3)**

This centrifugal Role Set comprises those playwrights generally agreed to have been involved in the composition of the controversial script called *The Book of Sir Thomas More* and is arguably the most exciting and radical Role Set to write about at this stage of the thesis. This is because the data gives a rare and vital insight into two aspects of Shakespeare's work based learning that does not appear to have ever been fully noticed before. These are Shakespeare's link with Munday prior to 1592 and Shakespeare's link with Chettle to Greene's vituperative attack on Shakespeare of the same year. Therefore, while it is not only a question of whether Shakespeare is the same as Hand D in the manuscript but what the work based learning precedents and consequences of this were, it is important to summarise the evidence for Hand D and Shakespeare being the same person from the work based learning, rather than palaeographic or bibliographic perspectives (see Mullaney, 1988).

Hand A (Henry Chettle?)

TG
(player)

Hand S
(Anthony Munday?)

Hand D (WS?)—

**The Book of Sir Thomas
More for Strange's/
Admiral's Men *c*1592**

Hand B
(Thomas
Heywood?)

Hand E
(Thomas Dekker?)

Hand C (professional scribe, same as
for *7 Deadly Sins*?)

McMillin's research (1987) is of great value, and the following should serve to make his position clear:

> …let Munday, Chettle and Shakespeare be the collaborators on the original version; let Dekker, Heywood and perhaps Chettle be the revisers a decade later; let Hand C be present on both occasions.
> McMillin (1987: 159)

McMillin's argument for this is that he sees strong evidence in the manuscript that Hand D was writing his allocated share of the script before Master of the Revels, Tilney's censorship:

> If D was one of the writers of the original version, the things he did not know are explained by one reason; his writing preceded all the interventions [of Tilney] that subsequently required revision …. Blayney has found signs that Hand D's section *of The Book of Sir Thomas More* had such an impact on Chettle that when Chettle wrote *Kind Hearts Dream* in late 1592, he incorporated little bursts of echo from this influential author ….It does appear that Chettle's playwright of quick pen and trusty brow was Shakespeare. If so, Chettle tells us when he met Shakespeare - between September and December of 1592 during the span of time in which we have placed the original writing of *The Book of Sir Thomas More* for Strange's Men.
> McMillin (1987: 143 – 149)

Kind Hearts Dream also contains Chettle's famous apology to Shakespeare following Greene's attack in *A Groatsworth of Wit bought with a Million of Repentance* (edited by Chettle), where he deliberately misquotes from *King Henry VI Part III* to insult Shakespeare's transition from being active as a player to meeting his apparent role aspiration to be a playwright. It would seem that Shakespeare's collaboration with Munday and Chettle came then in the midst of Greene's attack (or further provoked it) and Chettle's reply. Perhaps adding to Greene's injury may have been his received insult on not being involved in this interesting project. Writing about a controversial figure to make a hero out of a nationalist Roman Catholic traitor, Sir Thomas More, was a delicate task and could have greatly appealed to Greene's own provocative style, and to see the apparent newcomer Shakespeare succeed professionally in both what he wrote and the effectiveness of his collaboration (attested to by Chettle) would be sufficiently goading for Greene to launch his attack.

So, why might Shakespeare in 1592 have been commissioned by Strange's Men to work on this collaboration? The noted success of the uncommissioned *King Henry VI Part III* is clearly one factor, but there is another, that as mentioned above has hitherto gone unnoticed. If William Shakespeare is the same as William Shakeshafte as Honigmann (1985) and Wilson (1999) contend, then Munday's early career as an anti-Roman Catholic spy for Walsingham and prosecution witness against Edmund Campion provides the link (*The Concise Dictionary of National Biography,* 1992, II: 2122 and Halliday 1964: 328). While Wilson (1999: 7) notes both Munday's and Shakespeare's different stylistic approaches to the character of Sir Thomas More in the manuscript, he does not mention that Munday was author of *A Discoverie of Edmund Campion* in 1581 and, given Munday's knowledge of Jesuit practice in England and Italy, could have been involved in the government's raid on the Hoghton estates following Campion's arrest and torture in August 1581. Shakespeare / Shakeshafte had moved on (both geographically and spiritually) but what knowledge might Munday have acquired, in this early work role, that by 1592 presents a deeply ironic and potentially dangerous partnership between himself and the emergent playwright, Shakespeare. Did Munday, working with Strange's Men in 1592 (Gurr, 1993),
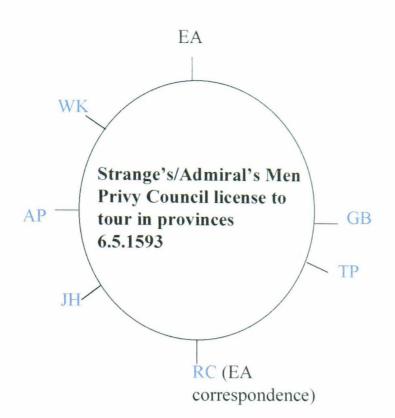
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already know Shakespeare, and, making the Lancashire connections recall his early creative potential?

While *King Henry VI Part III* initially established Shakespeare's emergent reputation as a playwright in London to such an extent as to provoke Greene's attack, it is arguable that his ferocity was further exacerbated by Shakespeare collaborating on what was seen as being a controversial and therefore interesting project. This suggests that this opportunity was Shakespeare's high status 'big break' as a playwright in London. Big breaks in the theatre rely on luck and opportunity and are distinctive features of work based learning (Portwood, 1995), especially of creative artists. Shakespeare's collaboration with Chettle, Dekker and Munday may have raised issues of prior learning that Shakespeare continued to try and conceal, but gave him the opportunity to prove the talent and dedicated application he needed at this phase of his career. The implications of this analysis are further discussed in Chapters 7 and 8.

1593, 6 May   Privy Council licence for Strange's / Admiral's Men touring in the Provinces (Grid reference: c3r4)
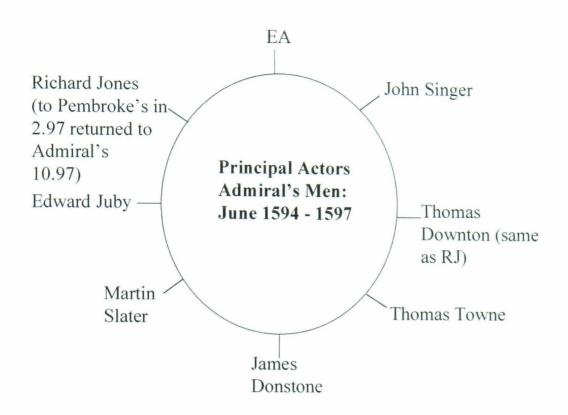
This Role Set represents continuity with the Role Set for the Plot of *Part Two of The Seven Deadly Sins* through the presence of Pope, Bryan, Cowley and Phillips. It also adds Kempe, and for the first time Edward Alleyn and John Heminges, the latter becoming a founding sharer of the Lord Chamberlain's Men the following year. Alleyn had married Henslowe's step-daughter in 1592, and led the extensive provincial tour authorised by the Privy Council during this protracted period of plague in London (see time-lines 8 and 9). The correspondence between Alleyn and his wife dated 1 August 1593 shows that Alleyn received his wife's letter while in Bristol from Richard Cowley (Halliday, 1964: 119).

EA

WK

Strange's/Admiral's Men
Privy Council license to
tour in provinces
6.5.1593

AP

GB

TP

JH

RC (EA
correspondence)

This suggests that not all players necessarily participated in the full tour, but moved backwards and forwards to fulfil other commitments and functions within the company. Gurr (1996: 264 - 265) says that those listed here were the leaders, and that the company probably also included Thomas Goodale, Richard Burbage and Thomas Downton, again demonstrating continuity and the repertory scope of such a sizeable company.
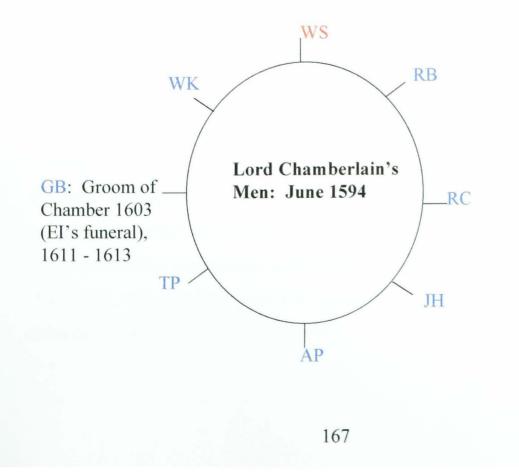
1594 – 97   Principal Actors: Admiral's Men (Grid reference: c4r4)

This Role Set and the one following it show how the re-organisation of the major companies in June 1594 both clarified and settled the multiple amalgamations and diversifications of the previous plague-ridden years. Gurr's hypothesis (1993 and 1996) about the processes and rationale for these developments are also supported by Leicester's patronage practices of a decade earlier.

EA

Richard Jones
(to Pembroke's in
2.97 returned to
Admiral's
10.97)

John Singer

**Principal Actors
Admiral's Men:
June 1594 - 1597**

Edward Juby

Thomas
Downton (same
as RJ)

Martin
Slater

Thomas Towne

James
Donstone

1594, June   Lord Chamberlain's Men sharers (Grid reference: c4r5)

This follows Gurr's (1993 and 1996) theory that the settling of membership for
the Lord Chamberlain's Men and the Lord Admiral's Men in 1594 was an
intentional and explicit demonstration of the companies' patrons knowledge of the
existing repertoires and talents of the best players and playwrights.

WS

WK

RB

**Lord Chamberlain's
Men: June 1594**

GB: Groom of
Chamber 1603
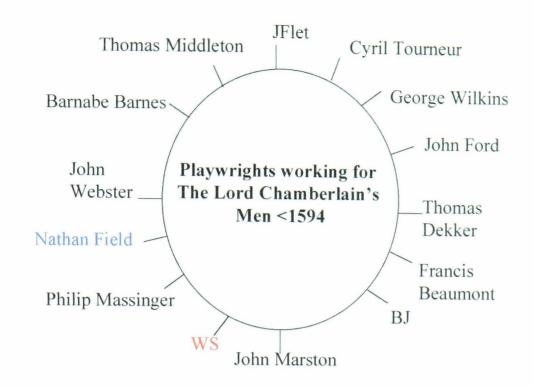(EI's funeral),
1611 - 1613

RC

TP

JH

AP

It is therefore no accident that the Admiral's Men settled at the Rose on Bankside with Edward Alleyn, Marlowe's scripts and Henslowe's access to a consortium of playwrights such as Dekker, Chettle and Heywood. Equally intentional was the establishment of Richard Burbage, Shakespeare's play-scripts and Shakespeare as principal playwright at the Theatre in Shoreditch, under the leadership of James Burbage. Shakespeare clearly met the pre-requisites for this post. Marlowe's murder the previous year presumably having fore-closed on the opportunity for Marlowe to be playwright at the Rose.

It is interesting to note that George Bryan now became active as a Groom of the Chamber, and attended Elizabeth I's funeral in that capacity. Technically, all the Lord Chamberlain's Men took the role of 'servants' of the Chamber, but prior to their participation in James I's coronation and the 1604 Somerset House Conference there is no other evidence of such services being undertaken by other company members.

1594< Playwrights working for Lord Chamberlain's Men (Grid reference: c4r6)

This Role Set depicts the major known playwrights working on a freelance basis for the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men across the period 1594 until 1623, as well as the principal playwright, Shakespeare. They are therefore occupants of a work role similar to that of Shakespeare himself, a significant difference being that none of them (except Field) were sharers. This is discussed in Chapter 7. Several of them also worked for other companies, notably Jonson, Dekker, Field and Massinger, and second generation playwrights such as Field, Fletcher, Beaumont and Ford were writing for both Globe and Blackfriars performances. However, conspicuous through his absence in this list is Thomas Heywood, who, as we have seen, was working sporadically as both actor and playwright for Henslowe from 1597, from 1602 with Worcester's Men, re-named Queen Anne's in 1603, and disbanded at the Queen's death in 1619.

Playwrights working for
The Lord Chamberlain's
Men <1594

Thomas Middleton · JFlet · Cyril Tourneur · Barnabe Barnes · George Wilkins · John Ford · John Webster · Thomas Dekker · Nathan Field · Francis Beaumont · Philip Massinger · BJ · WS · John Marston
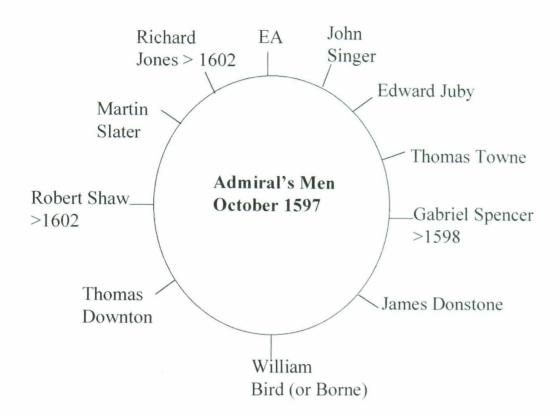
This evidence suggests a two-tier system of playwrights operated; firstly, exclusivity (Shakespeare and Heywood) and secondly, portfolio working, for those freelancing playwrights. Such portfolio working, and that often collaboratively, is where one would expect there to be greatest reciprocity of playhouse and playwrighting practices and ideas between companies. So, for instance one sees Jonson's, Marston's and Chapman's *Eastwood Ho* of 1605 being played by the Children of her Majesty's Revels, whereas, a few years previously Jonson was presenting opposing views to Marston and Dekker respectively in *Poetaster* and the latter's *Satiromastix*.

Such portfolio working is indicative of evolving theatre company specialisation, but in modern terms, a frequent occurrence amongst creative artists. One would today expect the major theatre companies to hold such portfolio lists, just as one would expect a major playwright's CV to identify commissioned work by different major companies.
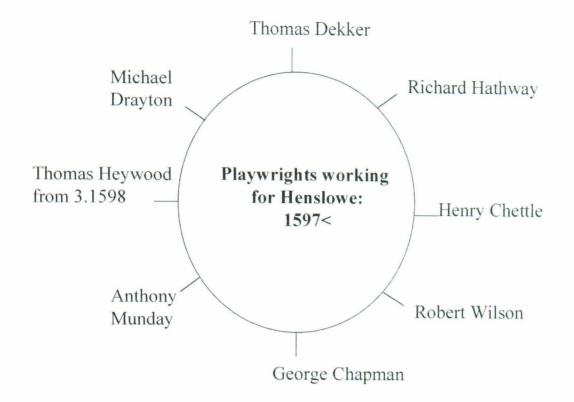
One final point in this Role Set is to mention a potential link between John Marston and the Pembroke patronage network. Miller (1959: 8) says that Marston was brought up at Wilton, where his father was the Earl of Pembroke's

chamberlain. Unfortunately no corroboration of this elusive data has been found, nor does Miller reference his source. However, if this were confirmed it would provide a valuable link in Shakespeare's patronage network and how this impacted on his professional activity.

1597, October   **Members of Admiral's Men (Grid reference: c5r4)**

As with the Role Set of Lord Chamberlain's Men members and sharers for 1594, with this comparable one for 1597, we begin to see a settling down, and consolidation of membership across the two major companies. These are the years where Henslowe's Diary is at its height and Halliday (1964: 24) records that in the period 1594 - 1597 the Admiral's Men gave 728 performances in London, producing fifty-five new plays. The watershed date of 1597 is prior to the closing of all the theatres following the *Isle of Dogs* episode that was so overtly critical of the Privy Council, and also the year of Gabriel Spencer's murder by Ben Jonson. Membership at this time comprises a strong group of experienced players led by Alleyn, most of whom had worked together in varying combinations for almost a decade.
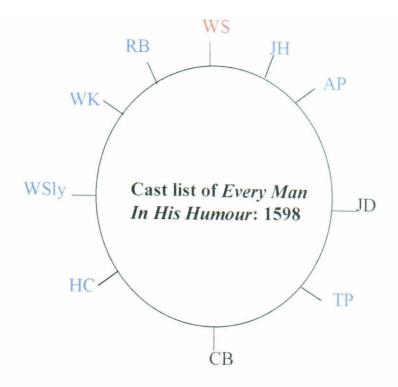
1597< Playwrights working for Philip Henslowe (Grid reference: c5r3)

There is some overlap of membership between this Role Set and its sister one for the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men. Notably with Dekker, while Chapman and Drayton were also engaged professionally in non-dramatic writing. Following the *Isle of Dogs* scandal of 1597, Heywood made a purposeful decision to align himself contractually to Henslowe and the Admiral's Men bound for the next two years (Halliday, 1964: 225 - 226). Perhaps, having already worked with Shakespeare, and seen the benefits of his working relationship with the Lord Chamberlain's Men at the Theatre. The differences in Shakespeare's and Heywood's work roles are discussed in Chapter 7.

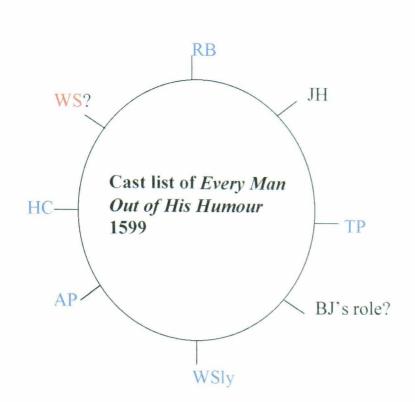**1598   Cast of *Every Man In His Humour* (Grid reference: c6r6)**

Jonson's cast-list for his play as performed in 1598 was published in his 1616 *Complete Works*. It is the last appearance of Christopher Beeston with the company; he presumably completed his apprenticeship around this time.

Cast list of *Every Man In His Humour*: 1598

WS
RB   JH
WK   AP
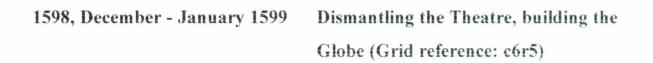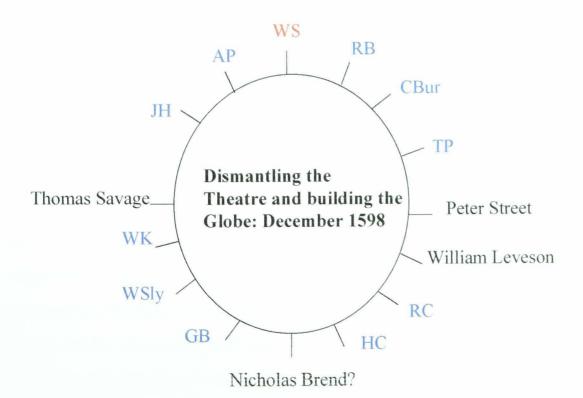WSly   JD
HC   TP
        CB

John Duke, who also appears in the Plot of *Part Two of The Seven Deadly Sins*, was not a sharer in the Lord Chamberlain's Men and this might have been his sole involvement with the company. This would imply that he was brought in for this one production, as hired men are not usually to be found in play lists. Shakespeare is the first named of the players in the cast-list after Ben Jonson's name as author, and this is clear evidence that those named in this Role Set had work roles as players and as sharers.

1599   Cast of *Every Man Out of His Humour* (Grid reference: c6r7)

As the Role Set for the cast-list of *Every Man Out of His Humour* does not contain Shakespeare's name it can be inferred that this marks his final transition to roles of playwright and sharer only with the Lord Chamberlain's Men, or is an interesting example of his absence on business elsewhere. However, time-line 3 'Other personal documented activity' for the years 1599 and 1600 record Shakespeare as being in debt for local taxes in the St Helen's parish where he was resident, so it is as likely that he was in Stratford-upon-Avon.

Cast list of *Every Man Out of His Humour* 1599

RB
WS?
JH
HC
TP
AP
BJ's role?
WSly

1598, December - January 1599   Dismantling the Theatre, building the Globe (Grid reference: c6r5)

Dismantling the Theatre and building the Globe: December 1598

WS
AP
RB
CBur
JH
TP
Thomas Savage
Peter Street
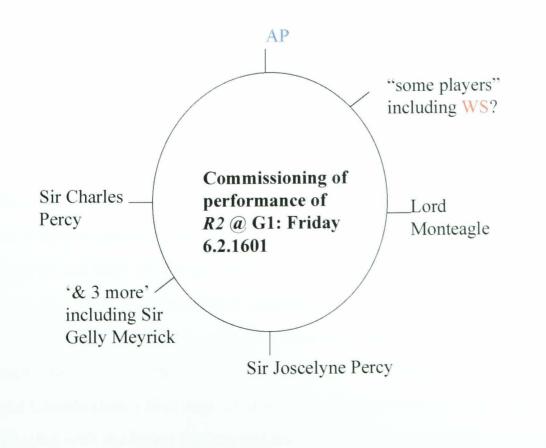WK
William Leveson
WSly
RC
GB
HC
Nicholas Brend?

The melodrama of the Burbages' and Lord Chamberlain's Men move from the Theatre at the expiry of its lease, to Bankside to construct the Globe out of the Theatre's timbers has been expertly narrated elsewhere (for example Honan,

1998; Schoenbaum, 1975 and Thomson, 1992) and the legalistic and organisational rationale given by Gurr (1970) and Revels 3 (1975). From a Role Theory and work based learning perspective we find an outstanding instance of where role deviancy, cultural subversion, situational ambiguity and collaborative effort combine to show that the Burbages' assessment of the risk involved in their venture proved an effective solution to an otherwise complex and potentially crisis situation.
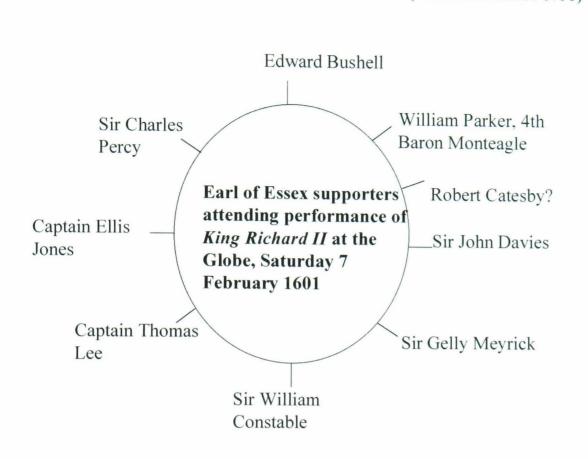
Of the non-Chamberlain's participants, Edmond's (1993) points out that the builder, Peter Street, was a prominent figure in the Carpenters' Company and not the quasi-underworld figure as he is sometimes portrayed. According to Orrell (1988: 109 - 111), Street may have been aware of the emergent influence of classical Serlian architectural theory and practice. He was known to the Burbages through his work with James Burbage on the Blackfriars project in 1596 and later worked on the 1606 Banqueting House. Leveson and Savage were the trustees to whom Shakespeare, Heminges, Phillips, Pope and Kempe made their share over, in order to make their half into tenancies held in common, demonstrating acute attention to legal details of property ownership. Leveson was known to Heminges; he was churchwarden of St Mary's Aldermanbury where Heminges's lived. Savage also lived near Heminges, but of more importance was that he was probably known to Shakespeare from his Lancashire days. Savage came from Rufford, the home of Sir Thomas Hesketh to whom William Shakeshafte had been commended in Alexander Hoghton's will of 1581. He was also a friend of John Jackson, later overseer of Shakespeare's will (sources include those already cited, and Gurr, 1996, Halliday, 1964 and Honigmann, 1985). Nicholas Brend, the landowner of the Globe site had, according to Edmond's (1993), been in discussion with Richard and Cuthbert since December 1998 when they rented the Globe site for a period of thirty-one years. A financial commitment showing astute knowledge of one's market.

While the move to Bankside was clearly not within the original plans of James Burbage when he rented the Blackfriars in 1596, once it was realised that this was not immediately feasible, Cuthbert and Richard took careful, planned action in full

consultation with a range of known subject experts. Although it might have been a desperate response to the irresolvable issue over the Blackfriars, it was not a professionally unplanned response. Not only did these experts have professional credibility, but in all instances had been known to various members of the Lord Chamberlain's Men over time. Ironically, James Burbage's radical vision of a professional, indoor venue for his sons' company, enabled the Lord Chamberlain's Men to consolidate and mainstream their activities from 1599 by moving to the more contemporary convention of an outdoor playhouse on Bankside.

1601, 6 February   **Commissioning of performance of *King Richard II* at the Globe (Grid reference: c7r5)**

The two Role Sets depicted below are going to be discussed from a somewhat different perspective than so far in this chapter. This is to use the controversial and putative involvement of the Lord Chamberlain's Men in the preparatory events for the Earl of Essex's rebellion as the means by which to mediate between Role Theory, work based learning thinking and the accumulation of Shakespeare's own work based learning through local cultural knowledge.

AP

"some players" including WS?

Sir Charles Percy

Commissioning of performance of *R2* @ G1: Friday 6.2.1601

Lord Monteagle

'& 3 more' including Sir Gelly Meyrick

Sir Joscelyne Percy

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1601, 7 February   Performance of *King Richard II* at the Globe prior to the Earl of Essex's rebellion (Grid reference: c7r6)

Edward Bushell

Sir Charles Percy

William Parker, 4th Baron Monteagle

Earl of Essex supporters attending performance of *King Richard II* at the Globe, Saturday 7 February 1601

Robert Catesby?

Captain Ellis Jones

Sir John Davies

Captain Thomas Lee

Sir Gelly Meyrick

Sir William Constable

The rationale for this is sound. At a time when the dissemination of the iconography of the sovereign was at perhaps its most intense (Strong, 1969a and 1977) so was the marketing of iconography of Richard II and his deposition. This manifested itself in a number of ways, Shakespeare's own play, but more controversially, John Hayward's narrative *First Part of the Life and Reign of Henry IV*, published in 1599 with a fulsome dedication to the Earl of Essex and appearing to condone Bolingbroke's deposition of Richard. The repercussions of the publication and its link to the rebellion are dealt with in Barroll (1988) and Kinney (1993). Chambers (1930, II: 323 - 326) gives transcripts of events and Harrison (1933, III: 141 - 173) gives a narrated chronological account. It is clear that Elizabeth perceived the link being made by her statement 'I am Richard II. Know ye not that?' (Nichols, 1788 - 1807, III: 552 - 3). Indeed much of the issue about the rebellion was its alleged similarity to Bolingbroke's deposition of Richard. The commissioning of a performance of *King Richard II* by some of Essex's followers on the eve of the rebellion is sometimes viewed as indicating the Lord Chamberlain's Men implied or actual political (rather than patronage) affiliation with the Essex faction, and the extent of their complicity in the event.

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While Augustine Phillips' testimony to their innocence may be somewhat disingenuous after the event, the commission is more evidence of the conspirators' need to utilise the performance to 'But screw [their] courage to the sticking place,/And we'll not fail'. (*Macbeth* I vii 61 - 62) rather than overt treasonous activity. Shakespeare's prior learning and the obvious presence of known Catholics (Catesby, Bushell and Monteagle) amongst the conspirators, is likely to have imbued him and his colleagues with more political sense.

> Phillips said nothing of suspecting that the special performance of this 'old' play might be linked with subversive activities; he talked of it solely as a business proposition (which was only sensible) ....*Richard II* may, in short, be a red herring for those looking for abrasive clashes between the acting profession and the authorities. It is entirely possible that it was licensed quite normally and never deemed subversive, despite its associations with the Essex affair. If so it would be a copy-book example of how a system of licensing by authority was *supposed* to work: a potentially dangerous text was rendered innocuous, both in performance and on the printed page, by being subjected to the collusive system. Dutton (1991: 123, 127)

Rather, what we find by researching Shakespeare's own knowledge about Richard II's iconography, is a far more sensitive and artistically aware attuning to contemporary and historical cultural nuance. This presents an altogether different picture of the validity of Shakespeare's interpretation of Richard II, and thereby, his knowledge of sources.

The quote from Nichols above is well known. What is less reported is the subsequent conversation between Elizabeth and William Lambarde, Keeper of Records at the Tower of London who recorded the conversation held on 4 August 1601 at Greenwich.

> *Her Majestie.* ...Then returning to Richard II. She demanded 'Whether I had seen any true picture, or lively representation of his countenance and person?'
> *W.L.* 'None but such as be in common hands.'
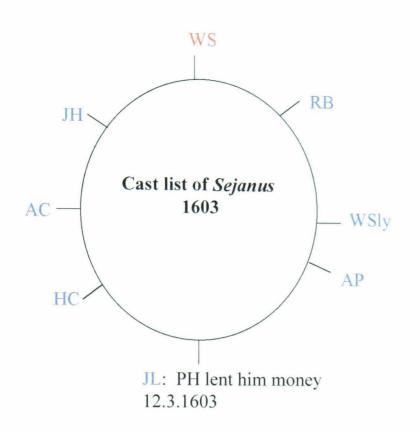> *Her Majesite.* 'The Lord Lumley, a lover of antiquities, discovered it

fastened on the backside of a door of a base room; which he presented unto me, praying, with my good ears, that I might put it in order with the Ancestors and Successors; I will command Tho. Kneavet, Keeper of my House and Gallery at Westminster, to show it unto thee.'
Nichols (1788 - 1807, III: 552 - 553)

The veracity of this can be substantiated by the provenance for the National Portrait Gallery's *circa* 1388 portrait of Richard II (Strong 1969, I: 261; II: Plate 509). This portrait was owned by the Roman Catholic Lord Lumley before he gave it to Elizabeth at an unknown date and is recorded in the Lumley Inventory of his substantial collection dated 1590 (Cust, 1917-1918; Hearn, 1995: 158). Lumley regularly had his collection on display at his London house, as was current practice (Hearn, 1995: 15 - 16) as it appears did the Queen. Could Shakespeare have actually seen this sensitive picture of the young king aged twenty-one?

To cross-reference this back to Shakespeare's involvement with *The Book of Sir Thomas More*, Strong also notes that Lord Lumley owned the 1590 Rowland Lockey copy of the Holbein group portrait of the More family and this was seen by the antiquary William Burton (1575 - 1645) in Lockey's studio (Strong, 1969, I: 348 - 350, II: Plate 679). This generation of the More family were also amongst those Catholics resident in the north of England who relocated to safer areas in the *post*-Campion persecutions of 1581. See also Honigmann (1990) and the discussion in Chapter 7.
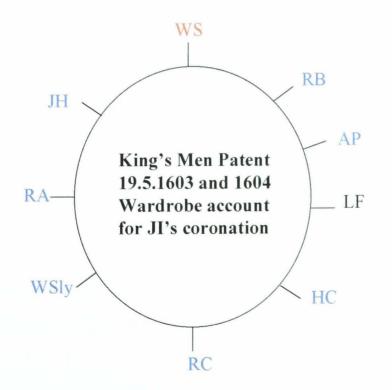
1603   Cast of *Sejanus* (Grid reference: c8r6)

This is the last known cast-list in which Shakespeare appears as an actor, and the first one in which John Lowin appears which is an example of a planned work role transition. Here we see something of the multiple work role relationships on Bankside in Henslowe's loan to Lowin of that year. Boulton (1987: 88 - 91). reminds us that much of Henslowe's income was generated from his copious pawnbroking activity throughout this part of Southwark.

WS

JH

RB

AC

Cast list of *Sejanus* 1603

WSly

HC

AP

JL: PH lent him money
12.3.1603

1603, 19 May   **King's Men patent issued (Grid reference:c8r5)**

WS

JH

RB

AP

RA

King's Men Patent 19.5.1603 and 1604 Wardrobe account for JI's coronation

LF

WSly

HC

RC

Barroll (1991) and Gurr (1996) both give very full accounts of and explanations

for the changes in theatre company patronage and the speedy issuing of a patent
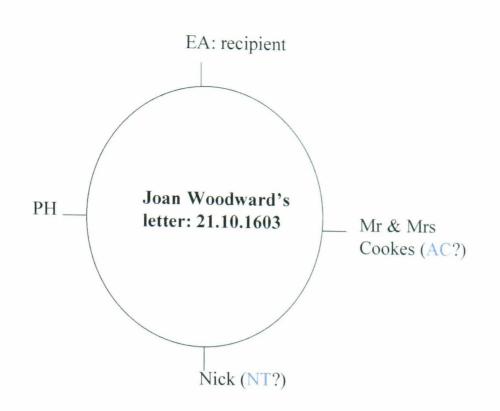
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to Shakespeare's company as the newly named King's Men following the death of Elizabeth and the accession of James I in March 1603. While their arguments do differ slightly they both adopt a central theme; namely that the issuing of a patent to the company within a month of James reaching London is so highly unusual, that there must have been the intervention of a third party.

Barroll (1991: 35 - 41) believes this was the third Earl of Pembroke. Gurr (1996: 111 - 114)) agrees with this; his view is that James' susceptibility to Pembroke at this time (he and Southampton were the only peers to be made Knights of the Garter in June that year, see Nichols, 1828, I: 190) was the reason for James' positive response to Pembroke's request to issue the patent. The patent was easily within James's gift, was without financial outlay, and a request likely to be popular at a time when the political stability was still far from assured.[11]

The work based learning approach strengthens the argument for Pembroke's intervention, as this is entirely congruent with his patronage patterns and inheritance of the Leicester-Sidney, and now Essex patronage affiliations. Given James Burbage's known work role relationship with the Earl of Leicester it is perhaps more likely that Richard Burbage, rather than Shakespeare, is the intermediary who prompted Pembroke. Barroll (1991) too argues that this was so, but he bases his argument on Pembroke's later rather than earlier declared fondness and involvement with the player and the company.
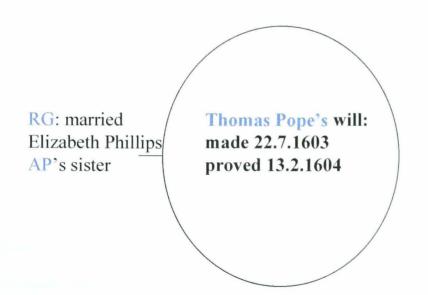
1603, 21 October   Joan Woodward's letter (Grid reference: c8r4)

Joan Woodward reports from London to Alleyn in Sussex that all players are back from their summer tours, and mentions the Cookes' and Nicholas Tooley by name. See Chambers (1923, II: 312) and Gurr (1996: 23).

EA: recipient

PH —— **Joan Woodward's letter: 21.10.1603** —— Mr & Mrs Cookes (AC?)

Nick (NT?)

1603, 22 July   **Thomas Pope's will (Grid reference: c9r6**

RG: married
Elizabeth Phillips
AP's sister   **Thomas Pope's will:
made 22.7.1603
proved 13.2.1604**

Pope was the first of the original sharers of the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men to die, and his bequest is to Robert Gough who was married to Elizabeth, Augustine Phillips' sister (Chambers, 1923, II: 334 – 335). Gough was not a
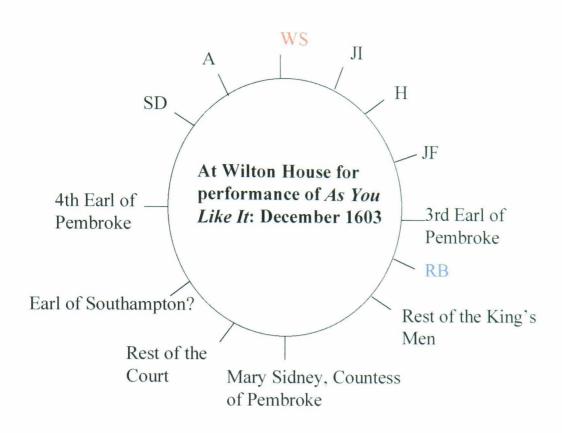
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sharer of the company at this time, nor an apprentice, and since the rest of Pope's bequests are to family members, this suggests a close and enduring work role relationship that certainly goes back to their working together on the Plot of *Part Two of The Seven Deadly Sins*.

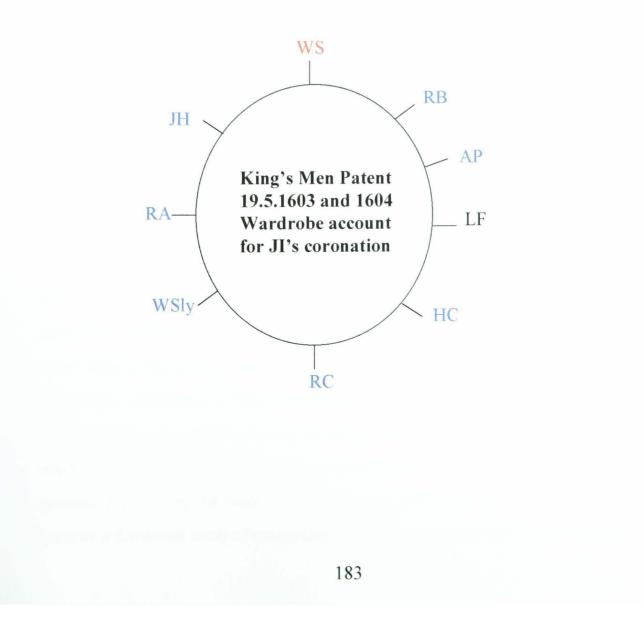**1603, December   At Wilton House (Grid reference: c8r7)**

As with the Role Set for *The Book of Sir Thomas More*, this Role Episode is a centrifugal one. The King's Men apparent premiere performance for their new patron makes more sense if viewed within the context of the work roles of Pembroke and his extended family as patrons and their support of other creative artists (Daniel for example) with whom members of the King's Men may have had work role relationships. In December 1603, Shakespeare and the rest of the King's Men were performing for the Court during their lengthy stay at Wilton near Salisbury, 24 October - 12 December (Chambers, 1930, II: 329), both to avoid plague in London and for the trial of the Bye and Main Plot defendants in Winchester (see Barroll, 1991: 59 – 62 for the political contexts and Court protocols of this event). Chambers quotes the promptly paid Chamber Accounts for 2 December:
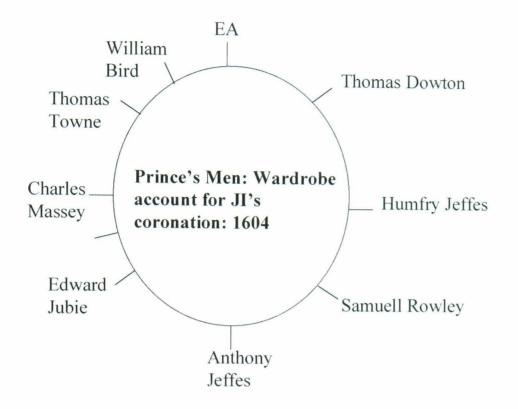
> John Hemyngs one of his Maiesties players…for the paynes and expences of himself and the rest of the company in coming from Mortelake in the countie of Surrie unto the courte aforesaid and there presenting before his Majestie one playe.
> Chambers (1930, II: 329)

Their departure from Mortlake, Augustine Phillips' home, suggests they travelled the route marked by the current M3 and A30 roads. The well known tradition that this was for a performance of *As You Like It* and that Shakespeare was present (did he play Adam?) is entirely feasible, given the combined patronage links of the Pembrokes and James I. Mary Sidney's request to her son to bring James I from Salisbury the three miles to Wilton would have been easily achievable.

At Wilton House for performance of *As You Like It*: December 1603

WS
A
JI
SD
H
JF
4th Earl of Pembroke
3rd Earl of Pembroke
RB
Earl of Southampton?
Rest of the King's Men
Rest of the Court
Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke

1603   Four and a half yards of cloth for King's Men at James I's coronation (Grid reference: c8r5)

King's Men Patent 19.5.1603 and 1604 Wardrobe account for JI's coronation

WS
JH
RB
AP
RA
LF
WSly
HC
RC

1604   Prince's Men (Grid reference: c9r4)

EA

William Bird

Thomas Dowton

Thomas Towne

Prince's Men: Wardrobe account for JI's coronation: 1604
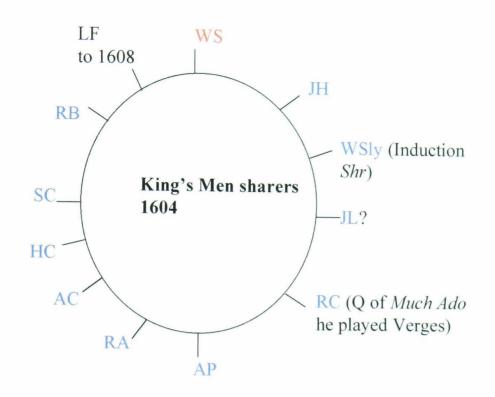
Charles Massey

Humfry Jeffes

Edward Jubie

Samuell Rowley

Anthony Jeffes

1604   King's Men sharers (Grid reference: c9r5)

These three Role Sets show their members as servants, Grooms of the Chamber, to James I and Henry, Prince of Wales. All members of the King's and some of the Prince's (formerly the Admiral's) Men were issued with a standard four and a half yards of red cloth to make cloaks to walk in the coronation procession held in March 1604. Scarlet cloth was given to higher ranking servants (Barroll, 1991: 49). Goldberg (1983) gives a full account of the procession and the triumphal arches that followed the route. Shakespeare held a single work role here, whereas some of his colleagues (Jonson and Dekker for example) were directly involved in composing celebratory verses for declaration and enactment at each of the times the procession stopped at a triumphal arch. Culturally this is representative of residual activity which is typical of state ritual, and Jonson was even at this moment diversifying his work roles to working with Inigo Jones on what was to become a dominant form of monarchical compliment; the Court Masque (Orgel
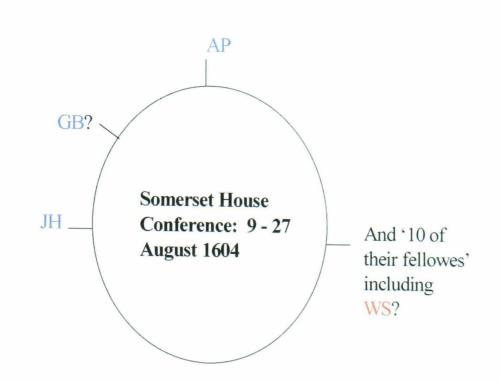
and Strong, 1973).

King's Men sharers 1604

- LF to 1608
- WS
- JH
- WSly (Induction *Shr*)
- JL?
- RC (Q of *Much Ado* he played Verges)
- AP
- RA
- AC
- HC
- SC
- RB

Also seen in the 1604 sharers' list is reference to the characters played by William Sly and Richard Cowley in, respectively, *The Taming of the Shrew* and *Much Ado about Nothing*.

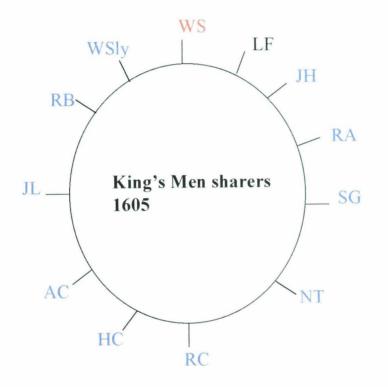### 1604, 9 – 27 August Somerset House Conference (Grid reference: c9r7)

The precise nature of the King's Men's involvement in the signing of the important peace treaty between England and Spain has been much debated. While Shakespeare is not one of the named payees for this event, there is no evidence that he was not one of the 'fellowes' referred to in the Chamber Accounts (Halliday, 1964: 460). Barroll (1991: 49 - 53) sees their attendance being solely as Grooms of the Chamber, whereas Chambers (1930, I: 76 - 7) and Schoenbaum (1975: 196) see their presence at an important political and diplomatic occasion being more important. Work based learning reveals a middle way that acknowledges their professional work roles.

AP

GB?

JH

Somerset House Conference: 9 - 27 August 1604

And '10 of their fellowes' including WS?

What has gone unnoticed in this debate is that the King's Men's attendance was only for duration of the **signing** of the treaty. Negotiations for it, commemorated in the Somerset House Conference group portrait began on 20 May and continued until 16 July (Strong, 1969, I: 351 - 353; II: Plate 665). It is feasible that the King's Men's work roles here may have been multiple - attendants on important English, Flemish and Spanish diplomats, and their entertainers, when private commissions of plays were regular occurrences (Halliday, 1964: 229). This is not to say that the King's Men were participants in a sensitive and politically expedient event, but rather as the King's servants they might naturally have been called upon to do what they did best, perform a play, for high ranking foreign and home diplomats to celebrate the signing ceremony of an important cross-European peace treaty. Rye (1865: 115 - 124) holds a transcript of the final banquet at which Shakespeare's patrons, the Earls of Pembroke and Southampton also held key roles as Gentleman Ushers.

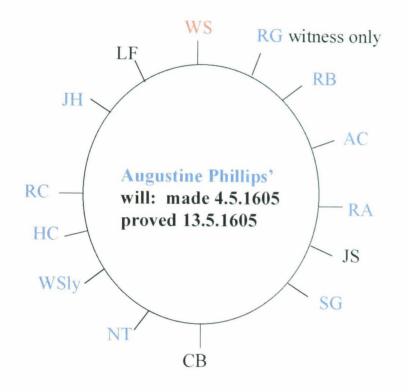**1605   King's Men sharers (Grid reference: c10r5)**

Augustine Phillips' death in 1605 (see Role Set below), led to the re-distribution of sharers for the King's Men. New sharers include Nicholas Tooley and Samuel Gilburne, Phillips' former apprentice (Halliday, 1964: 93). This inheritance of Role Set membership is highly congruent with the aspect of Role Theory named by Merton as 'abridging the Role Set: disruption of role relationships' (1968: 433). This evidence demonstrates the growing institutional and occupational stability of the King's Men and this stability manifests itself as new generations of the King's Men take on work roles inherited from previous incumbents and thence evolving alongside those of the remaining first generation sharers.

Certain relationships are broken off, leaving consensus of role expectations among those that remain. ...It can be effectively utilised only in those circumstances where it is still possible for the status-occupant to perform his other roles, without the support of those with whom he has discontinued relations...this requires that the remaining relationships in the Role Set are not substantially damaged by this device...the Role Set is not so much a matter of personal choice as a matter of the social structure in which the status is embedded. ...Typically, the individual goes, and the social structure remains.
Merton (1968: 433)

1605, May   Augustine Phillips' will (Grid reference: c10r6)

Phillips had been a leading professional player since at least 1591, and his decade of work with the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men, and earlier with some of its members, is marked by a spectacular example of a playhouse will benefiting his colleagues (Chambers, 1923, II: 333 - 334 and Halliday, 1964: 367). He had born the brunt of the Essex rebellion investigation, and apart from his player and sharer work roles, seems to have held responsibility for the company's media and public relations communications. See Chapter 7.
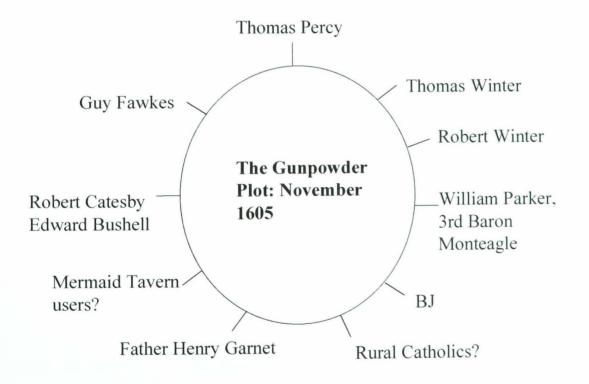

While the bulk of his bequests are monetary, those to his two apprentices, Samuel Gilburne and James Sands, of costume and musical instruments indicate the professional value of these types of items for any individual player, and aspiring sharer, as well as to their company. Halliday (1964: 367) says that the professional relationships were cross-company and familial. As we have already seen, Phillips' sister Elizabeth was married to Robert Gough, and another sister, Margery Borne was probably William Borne's wife, a player with Pembroke's Men. This extended work based learning professional network is necessarily complex, but important for analysis in Chapter 7. The speed in granting probate appears unusual.

1605   The Gunpowder Plot (Grid reference: c10r7)

This Role Set is important because several of its members (Catesby, Percy and Bushell) had direct and indirect links with the Essex rebellion and Bushell (a cousin to the Winters') was related by marriage to Judith Shakespeare (Fraser, 1996: 115). The Catesbys were, of course the sons of the family who sheltered Edmund Campion at their Warwickshire home, Lapworth in 1581.   Fraser also states (1996: 149) that Ben Jonson, a known Catholic, was present at one of the parties given by Catesby at an inn on the Strand on 9 October 1605.

The complications and intricacies of events and networks of familial, religious, regional and political affiliations are complex and fraught with ambiguity in work based learning terms for all members of the Role Sets involved. It is not possible, nor appropriate within the scale and scope of this thesis to draw this out, but to note it in terms of the analytical framework discussed in Chapter 7.

Thomas Percy

Guy Fawkes

Thomas Winter

Robert Winter

The Gunpowder Plot: November 1605

Robert Catesby
Edward Bushell

William Parker, 3rd Baron Monteagle

Mermaid Tavern users?

BJ

Father Henry Garnet

Rural Catholics?

1608, August **Blackfriars' sharers and housekeepers (Grid reference: c11r5)**

The enduring message from this Role Set is the longevity of the professional and financial commitments of the main sharers; the two Burbages, Shakespeare, Heminges, Condell and Sly prior to his death.

After a wait of twelve years for the lease to become available, and the theatrical climate to be more propitious to an indoor playhouse occupied and run by a professional adult company, some members of the King's Men became sharers of the new playhouse in 1608. Barroll (1991), Gurr (1970 and 1996) and Revels 3 (1975), all give full accounts and analyses of this transition and its implications for the repertoire and the further development of professional practice.
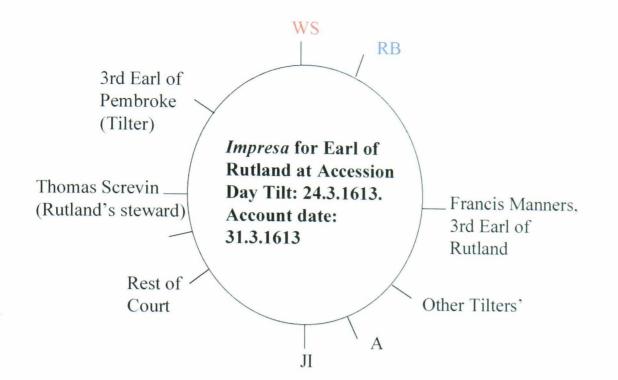

1613, 24 March **Rutland *Impresa* (Grid reference: c12r5)**

Shakespeare's partnership with Richard Burbage in preparing the Earl of Rutland's *Impresa* for the Accession's Day Tilt of 1613 is another example of a centrifugal Role Set. An *Impresa* was the decorative shield carried in the Accession Day Tilt with a symbolic illustrative and narrative device specifying the

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character and role that Tilters were depicting in these ritual events. Strong's (1977) analysis of the importance of these events includes contemporary portraits of Tilters and their *Impresa*. Nichols (1828, II: 609) names all the Tilters, some of whom are marked on the Role Set, and says that this was the first time that Rutland had taken part in one of these annual events. Rutland's steward, Thomas Screvin, records the promptly and generously paid account information:

[1613] Item, 31 Martii, to Mr Shakespeare in gold about my Lords impreso, xliiij^s; to Richard Burbage for paynting and making yt, in gold xliiij^s.
Halliday (1964: 428)

Rutland was a member of the Pembroke - Essex patronage network and it is therefore likely that the commission came as a result of Burbage's and Shakespeare's own connections within that network. Barroll (in Levy Peck, ed. 1991: 191 - 208) gives a full account of the importance of this patronage network and its extensive and cross-generation ties. He particularly cites the influence of the female members of the respective families involved in Queen Anna's own patronage networks, and traces those back to the Essex - Sidney - Leicester links of the previous reign. What is of interest is the work roles' relationship between Burbage and Shakespeare in accepting this commission. Burbage undertook a similar commission for Rutland in 1616. Shakespeare wrote about *Impresa* in *Pericles* (II ii) and they were a standard feature for Tilts, (Strong 1977), being in many respects part of the residual culture of Jacobean medieval revival that was giving way to the emergent Court Masque. Rutland appears to have commissioned Shakespeare and Burbage to make a statement about his own high social status; they were after all the best that money could buy.

WS
RB
3rd Earl of
Pembroke
(Tilter)
Impresa **for Earl of**
Rutland at Accession
Day Tilt: 24.3.1613.
Account date:
31.3.1613
Thomas Screvin
(Rutland's steward)
Francis Manners,
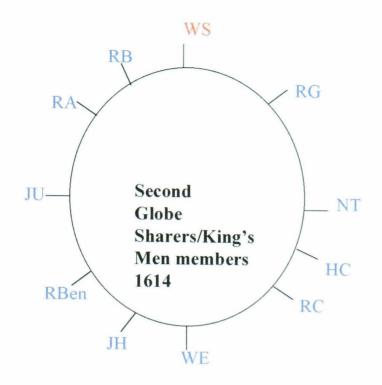3rd Earl of
Rutland
Rest of
Court
Other Tilters'
JI
A

1614   Second Globe sharers / King's Men members (Grid reference: c12r6)

This is the last remaining Role Set for the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men that includes Shakespeare. Here, what is of interest from the work based learning perspective is to note Shakespeare in the work role of staff developer, where it is argued he intentionally worked collaboratively with John Fletcher particularly to help him assume the work role of King's Men principal playwright, in preparation for Shakespeare's relocation to Stratford-upon-Avon. From the point of Role Theory, this indicates planned institutional and role continuity.

Following the disastrous fire that destroyed the first Globe in 1613 (and presumably play-scripts by Kings' Men playwrights) the group depicted include those investing capital to build the second Globe on the same site. The total cost appears to have been £1400 (Halliday, 1964: 189), and if the standard division of a half share going to Richard and Cuthbert Burbage and the remaining half between the other seven sharers, then Shakespeare's outlay was £100. The seven clearly included Shakespeare, Condell and Heminges, but precisely how the

remaining four shares were divided is not entirely clear (Baldwin, 1927: 102 and Gurr, 1996: 370).

1623   **'Principal Actors' listed in F1**

From the point of view of Role Theory in the context of work based learning we see the retrospective view of the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men by Heminges and Condell in 1623 looking back over almost forty years of emergent to dominant organisational institutionalisation. The chronological list of 'Principal Actors' gives the impression not solely of chronology but also of holism and professional continuity and endurance. Depicted here is the actuality of work role aspiration, achievement and development of the sharers, hired men, apprentices and then second and even third generation of sharers. The combination of features from work based learning thinking and Role Theory, when applied to this situation, are very similar to some prevailing theories of organisational learning:

> Consider a large, enduring organization [*sic*] such as the U.S Army. Over 50 years or so, its personnel may turn over completely, yet we still speak of it as 'the Army'. It is no longer the same collection of people, so in

what sense is it still the same?...We might then study the 50-year evolution of the ...practices - that is, the norms for... behaviour. the strategies for ...action, the assumptions about...functioning. We would then study the...theory-in-use. ...for example the patterns of command, the methods of training...had remained essentially unchanged, while other features of it - ...norms for performance - had evolved continuously from earlier forms. We might conclude that we were dealing with a single organization, self-identical, whose theory-in-use had evolved considerably over time.

Argyris and Schön (1984: 114)

Members are listed exactly as they appear in FI, reading first down the left hand column and then the right hand column which as Baldwin (1927), Bentley (1971) and Gurr (1996) all discuss is the chronological order in which members of the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men became sharers, and the consequent succession order of the shares' distribution.

William Shakespeare	Samuel Gilburne
Richard Burbage	Robert Armin
John Heminges	William Ostler
Augustine Phillips	Nathan Field
William Kemp	John Underwood
Thomas Pope	Nicholas Tooley
George Bryan	William Ecclestone
Henry Condell	Joseph Taylor
William Sly	Robert Benfield
Richard Cowley	Robert Gough
John Lowin	Richard Robinson
Samuel Crosse	John Shanke
Alexander Cook	John Rice

Hinman (1968: 17)

A new theoretical model

As can be seen the Time Chart enables identification and some partial analysis of these Role Sets. However, in order to fully analyse this material the social structures and historical context in which this research is taking place predicated by work based learning thinking now needs to be drawn together. A terminology has therefore been invented which enables the Role Sets to be analysed against the work based learning questions identified in Chapter 2. This innovation and its

place in the emerging new theoretical model for identifying and analysing the work based learning of historical work based learning creative artists is shown in the model discussed at the end of this chapter and the analytical framework at the beginning of Chapter 7. The new terminology is:

1. Role Voids: this is analysis and interpretation of the work role gaps or silences in Shakespeare's work based learning, because the Role Sets reveal such gaps. These Role Voids may be concealed with good cause (the lost years for example) or hidden from current perception because of gaps inherent in the lived and recorded culture. Just as the purpose for a character's silence on stage may be revealed by what the speaking characters are saying and doing, so may Shakespeare's Role Voids be illuminated. Role Voids' analysis is one means of looking at Shakespeare's anticipatory socialisation, his professional and patronage networks and his multiple work roles.

2. Role Intensity: this is interpretation of the intensity, focus and direction of work based learning; often manifesting itself in clustering of specific types of work activity at given points of time, place or function. As well as revealing why Role Intensity was occurring and with what purpose, analysis may also illuminate how and at what expense there is inactivity in other areas. Analysis of Role Intensity is one valid means of looking at Shakespeare's role achievements, but also at how these might relate to the manner and extent to which choice, luck or necessity informed his decisions about the development of his career.

3. Project Roles: this is analysis and interpretation of the data in terms of the extent to which it portrays protracted but both continuous or discontinuous activity over periods of time, that indicate patterns of work role interests and networks that reappear in different forms at different times. Such activity can be termed as work based projects, and Project Roles may, over time, manifest themselves as being driven by personal and professional values and the networks of persons associated with those values. Analysis of Project Roles interacts with Williams' (1977) concepts of residual, dominant and emergent culture and

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Dollimore's (1984) elaboration of this to include sub-ordinate, repressed and marginal cultural elements because it is likely to be influenced by Shakespeare's early work based experiences. This may present patterns or lack of patterning in terms of Shakespeare's role innovation as well as role deviancy and / or conformity and conflict and / or ambiguity. The Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men involvement with the Blackfriars over a long period of time is a good example of such a project.

4. Role Speculation: this is analysis and interpretation of the data in terms of what one might reasonably expect to be within the Shakespeare's portfolio, but is not currently manifesting itself in the currently known Role Sets or through analysis of Role Voids, Role Intensity or Project Roles. Role Speculation or Role Hypothesis will always be grounded by work based learning thinking and the detailed social, occupational and historical context. More radically, aspects of contemporary playwrights' work based learning professional portfolios may also feature to aid Role Speculation.

These four new terms, drawn from Role Theory **in the context** of work based learning thinking, have been created because they are an efficient way of using the methodological infrastructure of the thesis to move from the known to the not fully known and the not yet known. This is an important and original new application of Role Theory that leads to a modern theoretical model drawing on aspects of cultural theory. On the one hand this validates the partial efficacy of Role Theory to articulate what is known about Shakespeare's work based learning in the process, but, on the other hand, also notes where Role Theory is inadequate to this purpose. It is likely that Shakespeare's work based learning can only really emerge when there is cross-referencing between all this. Evidence from the Time Chart and Map of Role Sets indicates the three-dimensional nature of the analysis. The methodological importance and theoretical significance of this framework for uncovering the work based learning of creative artists is discussed further in Chapters 7 and 8.

Summary

This chapter has introduced and described major components of the methodological framework for the thesis (the Time Chart and Map of Role Sets) and shown how they can make an original contribution to our understanding of Shakespeare's work based learning. The Time Chart (Table 1) and extracts from it are incorporated within the main text that, together with a description and initial discussion of the known underpinning Role Sets, illustrate how this approach enables analysis of this complex data to begin. The Map of Role Sets is shown at Figure 2.

The transference of Strong's (1969a: 58) 'Calendar' to the slightly different purposes of the Time Chart has proved especially efficacious. Strong used his Calendar as both a centrifugal and centripetal means of moving between data at the macro and micro levels, that used traditional art history tools such as provenance and substantiated anecdotal documentary evidence to show who painted what, when, of who, for whom, where and why. This illuminates the work based learning of the artists, sitters and patrons he discusses.

The Time Chart attempts to do something similar, but more ambitiously. Like Strong, the Time Chart is only a beginning to understanding. One needs to know how to interrogate it for it to be meaningful. Role Theory is only partially sufficient, but together with work based learning thinking and the new terminology that this chapter has proposed, lead to an emergent model for the methodology for the work based learning of historical creative artists.

It will be apparent from Chapters 4, 5 and 6 that a synthesis of the Methodology, Literature Review, the Time Chart and the Map of Role Sets constitutes a methodological framework that is more theoretically significant than just the sum of its parts. Integral to the three chapters is the argument for the validity of the work based learning approach to professional careers to give a new perspective on historical data. Such data will typically be partial, complex, often ambiguous and even absent. The work based learning application of Role Theory operates

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interactively and reciprocally with the data contained in the Time Chart, Map of Role Sets and new work based Role Theory terminology.

Chapter 6 is therefore concluded by presenting an exciting and original model of a new methodological apparatus for identifying and analysing the work based learning of creative artists. This model has arisen as a direct result of noting the limits of Role Theory on its own to analyse the work based learning of historical creative artists. The model is tabulated below.

Table 4. Methodological model for determining the work based learning of historical creative artists

Processes	Stages
	1. Identify and analyse historical material from secondary sources. Establish research question. Contextualise. Chapters 2, 3 and 5.
	2. Output = outline Time Chart with its start and end dates. Chapter 6.
A. Apply work based learning thinking, its characteristics, tools and emergent concepts and theories. Especially headings of an indicative CV and job description. Chapters 1, 2, 3 and 4.	
	3. From 1 and A, identify person-specific, contextualising, significant others' and operational time-lines with attendant work based learning issues for each time-line emanating from 2. Chapters 3, 5 and 6. Complete Time Chart.
B. Apply Role Theory (Chapter 4) to:	4. Output = depict and describe underpinning (known) Role Sets. Role Episodes and their respective memberships, drawn from analysis of 3. Output = Map of Role Sets (Figure 2).
C. Apply work based learning thinking, its characteristics, tools and emergent concepts and theories; especially holistic thinking about a relevant professional portfolio. Noting the occupational, institutional and functional boundaries and norms. Chapters 1 and 2 to develop:	

	5. Establish outline for what analysis of the Role Voids, Role Intensity, Project Roles and Role Speculation may yield, against Stage 1 and revise work based learning research questions from Stage 3. Chapters 2, 6 - 7.
D. Apply A, B and C to 3, 4 and 5 by:	6. Output = analysis of data collected using new analytical framework for triangulation of data. Chapter 7.
E. Hypothesise new content of existing time-lines, new time-lines, Role Sets and Role Episodes. Chapters 7 and 8.	7. Output = Conclusions and implications for further research. Transferability of the model. Chapter 8.

The apparatus has been partially influenced by the systemic thinking of Checkland and Scholes (1990). Soft Systems Methodology (SSM) has not been used, but thinking about, and acting upon, complex domains of real world purposeful activity in organisations systemically is useful in developing and experimenting with an embryonic methodological apparatus for analysing the work based learning of historical creative artists within their cultural complexities. There is a high level of synergy between SSM and the work based learning approach, which is worthy of further research.

The auditing toolkit for analysing learning inherent in specified bundles of work roles (Naish, 1994a) at given points in time of an individual's career has also influenced the development of the model. The major difference though is that the current application enables an **entire** career of multiple work roles to be analysed, as well as its constituent parts. As well as being the subject of Chapter 7 of this thesis, the application of the final stages of this model will necessarily benefit from further research to consider its transferability.

Notes

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1. The Time Chart was originally developed during 1996 - 1997, prior to seeing Terry Gray's 'A Shakespeare Timeline Summary Chart', a purely chronological table available online at

http://daphne.palomar.edu/shakespeare/timeline/summarychart.htm 10.10.98.

2. Where Strong was so revolutionary was in his intellectual articulation of the inherent artistic value of these artists and their outputs, which led to the growth of a significant field of scholarly research and public appreciation.

3. In work based learning terms, the question of whether Shakespeare retired in the contemporary use of the word is debatable, and probably needs rethinking.

4. This was done by transcribing the data to a Microsoft Excel™ text-based spreadsheet and ensuring it could be printed in legible format onto a single roll of paper to comply with regulations for the presentation of theses. The data is also available electronically.

5. *The Storm* contains the following lines:

'And, a hand, or eye

By Hilliard drawne, is worth an history,

By a worse painter made.'

6. In 1614 for the Time Chart records Alleyn's phenomenal expenditure of £10,000 on the site that was to house the future Dulwich College.

7. Daniel, c1563 - 1619, an almost exact contemporary of Shakespeare, had a career that by being so different to Shakespeare's may throw into relief aspects of role aspiration, choice and opportunism in the period.

8. Gurr (1996) is especially useful in his analysis of how this material may radically alter scholarly perceptions.

9. This is congruent with Williams' concept of residual, dominant and emergent culture in showing the long term implications for membership of Role Sets involving complex highly values' driven Role Episodes. The Warwickshire Catesby family involvement in the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 is directly drawn from their Catholicism and links back to their links with Edmund Campion in 1581 and William Shakespeare's lost years.

10. Halliday mistakenly says 27 not 28 December. The original is Public Record Office, Exchequer, Pipe Office, Declared Accounts, E. 351/542, f. 107^v and states St Stephens' and Innocents' Days, 26 and 28 December respectively. St John's Day is 27 December. Transcript in Chambers (1930, II: 319).

11. The urgency of the situation is shown by the other proclamation issued by James on 19 May, which was made for '...the uniting and quieting of the people inhabiting upone the Borders of England and Scotland, to live in love and quietnesse, from all spoiles and robberies ech from the other.' Nichols (1828, I: 154).

Chapter Seven

ANALYSING THE DATA

Introduction

The chapter will analyse all the data collected and discussed cumulatively in previous chapters, and in so doing demonstrate the latter stages of the new methodology for approaching the work based learning of creative artists. The methodological apparatus outlined at the end of Chapter 6 has been invented to provide a series of progressively interconnected instruments for collecting and subsequently analysing a vast amount of often highly qualitative empirical data from multiple and diverse sources. As has been discussed throughout this thesis, the methodological apparatus takes as fundamental that such data will be highly socially, culturally and historically specified. The methodology recognises the complexity of dealing with such data and in the table it is implied that a cross-referencing analytical framework is required to deal with such quantity and complexity. This implication is made explicit in the Rationale section below, where a model for data analysis is proposed. This draws together the empirical and theoretical material discussed so far.

Following discussion of this model, this chapter will then move to the analysis of the data by application of the model. This will form the main body of the chapter and indicate areas for new research into William Shakespeare's own professional portfolio. Readers should consider this analysis with the full Time Chart and Map of Role Sets alongside the written narrative for ease of reference. The chapter will conclude with a summary of the analysis and lead into Chapter 8 which will look at the overall conclusions and implications of the research.

Rationale

A major consideration in devising an analytical framework for the huge quantity of data from so many sources collected in this research is to ensure that the importance of locating the analysis firmly within its historical, cultural and social contexts can be validly accounted for. It is clear that a model is required which recognises the cultural complexity of the data in such a way that Shakespeare's work based learning can be looked at in single moments of time as well as formatively, cumulatively and holistically. An analytical framework has been devised and is depicted below.
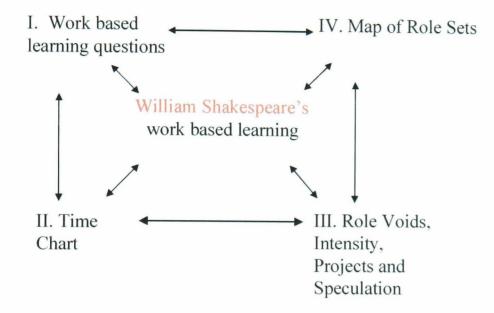
As will be seen the analytical framework comprises the four major sources of data that have been accumulated in the preceding chapters of the thesis in order of their appearance. The four 'corners' represent the methodological framework of the entire research - Role Theory - together with work based learning thinking and the empirical data collected. These interact with one another and all four interact with the statement at the centre of the model, which is the pivotal point of enquiry for the thesis; namely to determine the nature of Shakespeare's work based learning.

The formation of these concepts together into the analytical framework requires explanation. It will immediately be noticed that the model contains the apparent integration of its four fields in a neat, tidy and even-handed way. The directional arrows are depicted reciprocally and with even intensity, and at present the model does not foreground any one of its 'corners' over another. It is an uninterpreted model that is not yet time related, and there is an obvious necessity for it to become both interpreted and time related. At this stage in the discussion this is a deliberate simplification in order to show and then discuss the rationale for this approach. As the theorising for the approach emerges so will the capacity for this analytical model to become three-dimensional and thence time related. Each one of the four 'corners' is laden with detailed deep meaning beneath its surface wording, offering different types of meaning and interpretation, and once its

conceptual place in the model can be explained, then that potential will be revealed. Given that this whole research is radically new, this seems a sensible way to proceed, to enable its potential significance to become clearer.

Figure 3. Analytical framework

I. Work based learning questions   ⟷   IV. Map of Role Sets

William Shakespeare's work based learning

II. Time Chart   ⟷   III. Role Voids, Intensity, Projects and Speculation

I. Work based learning questions. These are the central questions about the nature of Shakespeare's professional career that were posed at the end of Chapter 2 within the overall framework of the work based learning approach towards creative artists. They integrate with Role Theory because they are the questions that probe Shakespeare's learning from the performance of his work roles, rather than just the performance. As such they represent consecutive and non-consecutive critical incidents that amount to areas of learning, as discussed in Chapter 1, from professional activity. They raise critical questions that attempt to synthesise the predominant issues and problems, that while specific to Shakespeare, may also be generic to creative artists. These questions lead directly into the structure of the Time Chart and the themes of its time-lines. While some of the vocabulary in the questions has been used with a specific meaning applicable to the Shakespearean period (Patronage is the strongest example of this) the transferability of these issues to the work based learning of other creative artists in other periods is yet to be tested. Such testing might begin to explore whether the vocabulary in question begins to establish an embryonic

epistemology for the work based learning of creative artists. While the questions must be culturally contextualised, they must also be time related to career phases. Therefore each question will necessarily focus on aspects of Role Theory, be applicable to particular time-lines in the Time Chart and draw selectively on the influences, patterns and conflicts manifested in the Map of Role Sets. The exact wording, formatting and order of the questions here differs from its first appearance in Chapter 2 as a result of revision in light of material covered in Chapters 3 - 6. In particular the wording applies Role Theory to different phases and aspects of Shakespeare's work based learning in such a way as to add depth and detail to the CV approach used in the Literature Review (Chapter 5), where the limitations of the CV were also discussed. The re-worded questions are listed below:

1. **Work Role aspiration.** What motivated Shakespeare, and why, to become a member of an embryonic profession, that at the time of his joining had a low and often disreputable social status, frequently at odds with the legislative framework and civic governance of England?

2. **Work Role acquisition.** What was his 'lucky break'? How did Shakespeare first become an actor, with what companies, and under what series of circumstances did he shift his career to writing of play-scripts? Why? Who were his early role models / mentors and why? To what extent were these decisions made by Shakespeare and were they choices, lucky chances or force of circumstance?

3. **Anticipatory socialisation and work based learning.** To what extent did Shakespeare plan and prepare for his career? Why did he not enter his father's profession of glove-making, or go to university?

4. **Work based learning and the significance of early artistic patronage.** The Earl of Southampton was Shakespeare's patron and dedicatee. What are the implications of this for understanding such patronage, the *Sonnets* and any autobiographical stances within them?

5. Work role re-orientation. Why did Shakespeare write poetry for an, apparently, limited period of his career only? Under what circumstances did he shift to writing plays? Why? To what extent is the impact of the plague years (1592 - 4) on standard work practices relevant for this question?

6. The social and cultural context for work based learning. How was Shakespeare's work based learning culturally influenced?

7. Role innovation and the work roles of the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men. What were the work roles of the company and how did this influence their development? Shakespeare apparently initiated the role of principal playwright within his multiple work roles with the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men from 1594; a deviation from the previous freelance practice. Why?

8. Political patronage. Who was Shakespeare's patron / protector at Court in the 1590s and 1600s, and what was the nature and extent of this relationship?

9. Collaboration and coaching. What are the implications of collaboration for the success of the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men as a company? Shakespeare, it is argued, wrote collaboratively primarily to advance his early career and saw work based learning as the best means of achieving this. Later, as the role model himself, he sought and was sought out by aspiring playwrights, to support the company.

10. Significant others: inter-personal aspects of work based learning. How did Shakespeare and Richard Burbage work together, creatively and managerially?

11. Knowledge development. How did Shakespeare acquire work role knowledge outside that of playwright and sharer? What are the implications of this?

12. Work and home: role location, tension, ambiguity and ambivalence? What was the relationship between Shakespeare's work roles in London where

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they appear to be primarily theatrical and in Stratford-upon-Avon where they appear to be primarily property related? What does this mean in terms of Shakespeare's 'retirement'?

II. The Time Chart. In time-lines 1 - 4 this identified what is known about Shakespeare in terms of the likely sequence (Alexander, 1951; Halliday, 1964) in which his plays were composed, performed and published as well as his documented personal and professional activity. They hold, in summary, the full biographical information available about William Shakespeare. It is important to differentiate between the biographical status of time-lines 1 - 4 and their work based components. Time-lines specific to Shakespeare lead to determining the other contextualising time-lines by which time-lines 1 - 4 might be meaningful from the work based learning perspective. Time-lines 5 - 18 are contextualising lines that chart significant events at the macro level of the prevailing social structure as well as those of Shakespeare's significant others. At present the model does not yet distinguish relative significance or weighting of this data, which the analysis will yield. Comparing and synthesising material from across all the time-lines enabled relevant Role Sets to be drawn up.

III. Role Voids, Intensity, Projects and Speculation. It is argued that this new terminology is likely to be particularly useful in analysing the work based learning of an historical creative artist, where research has to confront the partiality and gaps of primary and secondary sources. This acknowledges and attempts to provide a means of mediating with the objectivity-subjectivity dichotomy that plagues the application of Role Theory, and that elements of the terminology may be applicable to contemporary creative artists. Again, the vocabulary here may be important epistemologically, not least because of its theoretical proximity to Williams' (1977) concepts of the gaps between lived and recorded cultures. The terminology of Role Voids, Role Intensity, Project Roles and Role Speculation may help break down gaps and discrepancies between lived and recorded culture precisely **because** the concepts are analysed against the three-dimensionality of the Time Chart and Map of Role Sets, thus epitomising the use of Role Theory across an entire career.

IV. The Map of Role Sets. This shows the known, or underpinning, Role Sets of which either Shakespeare was a member or are ones that are deemed to be influential of his own work based learning because they relate to the learning of his significant others. Role Sets indicate avenues for Shakespeare's anticipatory socialisation, sites of possible role ambiguity and conflict and patterns of role innovation, that in turn leads to identifying a means by which the patterns of similarity and difference within these might be understood. It will be the mapping of the intensity and direction of influence that will foreground elements of the analytical framework at given moments of Shakespeare's career. Importantly the Role Sets show the company continuity of the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men and the clustering of organisational changes in the period 1592 - 1594.

Conceptually and methodologically the Time Chart and the Map of Role Sets are the work based learning specific application of Role Theory across an entire career. Since the standard application of both work based learning and Role Theory is most usually to a single point in time and type of role (for instance Gross *et al*, 1966), on its own it is not deemed adequate to the purposes here. The three dimensional nature of the analytical framework is fore-grounded by the Time Chart and Map of Role Sets since they contain the empirical data by which this complexity can be understood, whether formatively or summatively.

The elements of the analytical framework therefore all feature facets of work based learning thinking combined with Role Theory, that are made historically, socially and culturally specific by the deep content contained within each 'corner'. Holistically the analytical framework fits within the overall framework for carrying out work based learning analysis of creative artists as discussed in Chapter 2. Indeed, specifically Question 6 (below) and time-lines 5 - 9 will interact with one another as they contain cultural questioning about historical and social events and activities that correlate well with Williams' (1977) concepts of residual, dominant and emergent cultural development. This is important as it makes clear that Role Set membership, role acquisition and development is an evolving process, with all its inconsistencies, tensions and ambiguities. Above all

it acknowledges that it is from the performance of work roles that we identify an historical person's work based learning.

Dollimore's (1984) additions to Williams' argument that deal with suppressed, marginal and subversive cultural elements that interact with the hegemonic framework implied by Williams are also relevant to the growing institutionalisation of theatre companies' practice during the Shakespearean period. The apparent shift of theatre companies from being a marginal and potentially subversive cultural phenomena to one accepted by the culturally dominant status quo in the early seventeenth century still remains an unresolved and paradoxical question in contemporary society, not least because theatre is often used to convey meaning about and for that dominant group. Greenblatt's (1988) notion of cultural 'containment' may have some bearing on this phenomena and be interpreted as regulated autonomy within the theatre.

Earlier in this thesis the relevance and applicability of dialectics was raised in terms of any potential reciprocity between work based learning thinking and the development of Shakespeare's career, and this still remains an outstanding problem. The analytical framework has therefore been depicted to, coincidentally at least, resemble Ritzer's (1996: 49) 'Schematic Representation of a Sociologically Relevant Dialectic' that maps large scale structures in the past, present and future against those taking action in the past, present and future. It is argued that the integration of the questions, Time Chart, Map of Role Sets and Role Voids, Intensity, Projects and Speculation in an analytical model presents an up to date and innovative means to consider the work based learning of creative artists validly, and relate that back to the extent to which this may or may not represent a dialectical domain.

The pivotal relationship in the analytical framework is therefore between the work based learning questions and William Shakespeare's biographical data as currently depicted in time-lines 1 - 4 of the Time Chart when analysed against the data presented in the other three corners of the model, namely time-lines 5 - 18 in the Time Chart, the Role Sets Map and the Role Voids, Intensity, Projects and Speculations. The analysis is therefore structured under the headings of those

questions, before being discussed holistically. The questions are given in full at the beginning of each analytical section, both for ease of reference and to emphasise the distinctiveness of the work based learning element being discussed.

In summary then the analytical framework is a new model, based on other models, that becomes three dimensional through usage, as it interrogates, in depth, progression throughout a career. However, its simple depiction at this stage has required a commentary to locate it within a relevant theoretical and conceptual framework that makes its complexity meaningful.

The Analytical framework in use

Following work based learning practice, the application of the analytical framework is necessarily selective in order to do justice to certain critical incidents and phases of Shakespeare's career and work based learning. These critical incidents have been chosen because they provide excellent illustrative and analytical material related directly to the key questions. This means that some aspects of potential analysis are not within the scale and scope of this thesis. For example, Kernan (1995) suggests one way of viewing Shakespeare's work at Court, and Gurr (1996: 162 - 163) demonstrates the enormous potential to increase our understanding of theatre companies' provincial touring as further primary source material becomes available. In due course these will be exciting and rewarding avenues for further work based learning research.

1. Role aspiration. What motivated Shakespeare, and why, to become a member of an embryonic profession, that at the time of his joining had a low and often disreputable social status, frequently at odds with the legislative framework and civic governance of England?

This research supports the already discussed argument articulated by Honigmann (1985) that Shakespeare, perhaps using as well as being recorded under the name

Shakeshafte, spent the years 1579 - 1581/2 in Lancashire working first for the Hoghton family and later for the Heskeths. Other scholars, notably Honan (1999), Thomson (1992) and Wilson (1999) all concur with this analysis, although not for identical reasons. Thus, this period, while still in principle a Role Void, is one where a critical amassing of a new body of evidence is gradually gaining more acceptance. The reasons for Shakespeare's geographical re-location are linked with opportunism, financial, religious and political change and the need for personal and professional security; clearly highly motivating issues. Gurr (1996) and Thomson (1992) then proceed to re-locate Shakespeare to Stratford-upon-Avon for 1581/2 - 1585 for the period of his marriage and birth of his three children. This line of argument concludes that he joined the playing company Strange's Men as an actor by 1585, probably initially touring in the provinces. It is with this company that he acquired valuable work role experience as an actor and some early occupational encouragement and stability. The arguments for this have been well developed, but not entirely from the point of view of questioning the nature of Shakespeare's early professional influences and experiences in terms of what bundles of capabilities and ideas he may have accumulated about dramatic and theatrical practice.

In work based learning terms, by the mid-1580s, we can confidently say that, if the above pattern (or similar one) is accurate, Shakespeare would have had exposure to all the major modes of dramatic representation then extant. This would have included attending professional performances, both indoors and outdoors, by groups of players visiting Stratford-upon-Avon (Gurr, 1996 and Halliday, 1964: 477 - 8), professional performances in indoor halls and courtly settings (in Lancashire) and probably first-hand and indirect experience of the Kenilworth entertainment for Elizabeth I in 1575. Such exposure cannot be held to be unique to Shakespeare, but indeed highly common for many of his contemporaries. His participation in the Hoghton, Hesketh and Earls of Derby households would most importantly have allowed him to witness the processes (play composition, rehearsing) by which companies produce a performance, including the important differentiation in work roles and the necessity for effective collaboration and solitary working. Thus it is viable to speculate from the position of Role Theory that his work based learning was not only

experiential but also experimental; both important characteristics of the work based learning of theatre professionals as discussed above in Chapter 2. Experimental in the sense of exploring the links between the inputs of the dramatic process (noting the fluidity of play-scripts and rehearsals) and the outputs, the performance, perhaps beginning, experientially, to form early judgements about the quality and style of writing with and for others required for a particularly desired effect in performance. In work based learning terms it is what use Shakespeare will have made of the common stock of specialist knowledge (Berger and Luckmann, 1966: 95) that reposed in this environment that is of importance, and gradually formed his anticipatory socialisation, arguably in ways that less creative and capable aspiring actors and playwrights would not be able to do.

There are a number of interesting features from the above. While all these forms of dramatic representation may be said to be part of the residual culture of playing (Southern, 1962 and Wickham, 1959) this is also a culture in transition, influenced by statute and patronage and theatre companies' response to both these (Gurr, 1970 and Revels 3, 1975). The granting of a patent for Leicester's Men, led by James Burbage, in 1574 is key to this in the sense of identifying how one company took a proactive stance to secure their emergent professional status.

Shakespeare's learning from the well-known Kenilworth entertainment of 1575 was referred to above as being possibly both first-hand as well as indirect. It is of course a Role Void as to whether or not Shakespeare was amongst the watching crowds, but within the bounds of probability. However, his indirect knowledge of the event would be an example of Williams' (1977) recorded rather than lived experience. Nicols (1788 - 1807) has a full account of the event that would have been attended by the entire court (Perry, 1990). In the text for the 1575 'Princely Pleasures' (Laneham, 1575/1969) is an account of the principal visual device of the Lady of the Lake held on 18 July; an image that appears in *Twelfth Night* (II i 15) as '...like Arion on a dolphin's back'. Robert Laneham was Elizabeth's Keeper of the Privy Council Chamber Door (Chambers, 1923, II: 328) and, given the patronage networks for service, presumably related to John Laneham, a named lead actor in the 1574 patent for Leicester's Men. It would surely be a

work role expectation that the newly patented Leicester's Men were present at Kenilworth in 1575 to attend their Lord and there is no conflicting evidence available of their presence elsewhere in the country; thus ensuring that accounts of this visual extravaganza became a specific part of the oral culture of the company and the Burbage family.

Arguably, by the mid-1580s, Shakespeare's work based learning in theatre companies had been in the safe and creatively supported environments of wealthy landowners who were also active as patrons; not least because such patronage enhanced their own status. While this was underpinned by the standard grammar school education of the day (the Arion image originates in Ovid), the exposure to powerful visual imagery and dramaturgy in performance on the creative mind throughout the formative years, reinforced in later years by this forming part of the oral and recorded traditions is likely to be profound. In terms of work role aspiration it is argued that these experiences purposively did not reveal the disreputable elements of theatre companies as seen by the State and legislation of the period, but rather protected Shakespeare from awareness of them and presented a series of desirable and potentially achievable possibilities. By being within the Hoghton and Hesketh households, Shakespeare had already been in the right place at the right time, and by probably demonstrating appropriate talents for creativity, had achieved his first work role aspiration as an actor with Lord Strange's Men. Being a young actor in a company of this calibre (the foremost **provincial** company) created unprecedented learning opportunities, which, it is argued, Shakespeare, being so supported and encouraged, made the most of. Above all he will have been exposed to the decision making processes used in the creation of drama. This is discussed under Question 3 below.

2. Role acquisition. What was his 'lucky break'? How did Shakespeare first become an actor, and with what companies, and under what series of circumstances did he shift his career to writing of play-scripts? Why? Who were his early role models / mentors and why? To what extent were these decisions made by Shakespeare and were they choices, lucky chances or force of circumstance?

Honigmann (1985) analyses the histrio-patronage background to the writing of Shakespeare's early history plays, *The Phoenix and the Turtle* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* from the point of view of identifying his initial playwrighting opportunities and the use he made of them. From the patronage perspective it is argued that the Stanley family who held the Earls of Derby / Lords Strange titles were unlikely to have commissioned these works (they could easily go to acknowledged professionals), but are likely to have responded positively to an opportune initiative that was highly complementary to the family by a young actor in their employment. Gurr (1996: 268 - 271) pursues Shakespeare's membership of playing companies in the period up to 1594 by tracing the ownership and performance of these and other early play-scripts (notably *Titus Andronicus*) from Strange's to Pembroke's to Sussex's Men. All of which transitions suggest that Shakespeare was in London by the end of 1588, and associated with several companies, as this appears to be the date by which the smaller, provincial manifestations of Lord Strange's Men became the single large company, incorporating Leicester's Men, based in London (Gurr, 1996: 274). This indicates how he acquired the work role of sharer, actor and principal playwright with the Lord Chamberlain's Men on their formation in 1594. If this was the case he was exposed in a very intense period of time to the highest calibre repositories of knowledge about theatre company practices available to him; an example of work role intensity in action. What is implied from the likely sequence of events is that William Shakespeare was deemed to meet the pre-requisites or person specification for the requirements of these multiple work roles in one company, which is a good example of how work based learning may uncover historical ambiguity. This suggests that he was able to transfer the specialist knowledge of others to his own abilities and ambitions and begin to reflect on how best to apply it in new ways to his own career.

The Role Sets and therefore critical incidents that inform this analysis are those fully discussed above in Chapter 6; namely the cluster of Role Sets for the period 1590 - 1592/3 showing the overlaps between actors involved in the performances of *The Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins*, *Dead Man's Fortune* and the composition of *Sir Thomas More*. All these Role Sets involve members of Strange's Men in their various iterations, together with freelancing playwrights.

the actor Edward Alleyn and the entrepreneur Philip Henslowe. While Shakespeare's name is not to be found in the two play plots, from a speculative work role perspective this does not necessarily represent a Role Void. Gurr (1996: 258 - 265) is clear that these were major undertakings for any company, constituting significant work projects and demanding full use of all the company's physical and human resources. If Shakespeare held a work role position of actor similar to that of the later 'hired hand' designation he is less likely to be named than those occupying the higher status work role positions of lead actors, Richard Burbage for example. Named actors, working collaboratively, might have expected to have some say in which rôles they assigned amongst themselves; those less gifted, or of lower work role status would be expected to perform the rôles given to them.

However, this does not assume that Shakespeare, holding the work role of actor, was directly involved in these productions, but rather to suggest why and how that involvement might now be considered a Role Void. An alternative perspective, and as has been discussed in Chapter 1, is to recall that work based learning does not necessarily have positive outcomes for a individual. It may be that part of Shakespeare's work experience here was embedded in the natural consequences of moving from being successful in a smaller, provincial touring company, supported directly by the company's patron, to the cut and thrust of a more cosmopolitan, demanding and competitive environment, with a concomitant lowlier work role position on the professional ladder. Shakespeare's involvement or lack of it may simply reflect an initial low credibility given by London based actors to a relative newcomer from the provinces. McMillin (1987) hints that the similarity between Hands C and D in *The Book of Sir Thomas More* could be interpreted that Shakespeare was the scribe for the *Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins*. As has been discussed in Chapter 2, theatre professionals today are constantly having to prove their creative capability by fresh performance; used here in both the theatrical and Role Theory meanings. While this is speculative for William Shakespeare, it is consistent with work based learning in action, and motivates individual work role holders to be proactive to improve their perceived status by availing themselves of specific opportunity in order to prove their capability.

Not mutually exclusive to the above is that a rationale for any non-involvement may be because of the lucky break status inherent in Shakespeare's work on *Sir Thomas More*. A major project such as the composition of a new play that in itself was potentially controversial, would rarely be commissioned from only one writer. Shakespeare had proved that he was emerging as a competent writer of popular historical drama and (if not acknowledged as an actor) had positioned himself to be teamed with Chettle, Dekker and Munday to work in the normal pre-determined collaborative mode. This thesis argues that it was this collaboration that prompted Greene's diatribe (see Chapter 5), but speculates that this was not necessarily because Henslowe had actively commissioned Shakespeare, but rather that Shakespeare had proactively sought the work himself. This would be entirely consistent with work role ambition and aspiration, inevitably arising from the accolades he probably experienced from his success with the Earls of Derby family, observation of the success of other playwrights (especially Marlowe and Munday), and maybe partially motivated by any disappointment he had experienced as an actor in London. Whether Shakespeare's tactics were then deemed to transgress the normal work role expectations of a playwright, may be judged by the alleged sanctions against Shakespeare's aspirations (an 'upstart crow') imposed by Greene. This was a very public denunciation. Had it not been for Chettle's disavowal of Shakespeare's possible strategy and Shakespeare's demonstrated abilities, might he have ostracised himself from further playwrighting opportunities?

Moreover, Chettle's mediation implicitly differentiates the means by which one acquires playwrighting work and the interpersonal and professional means by which one performs in the role once it has been acquired. This suggests that Chettle at least, and possibly Dekker and Munday were Shakespeare's critical friends and mentors at this crucial time, guiding him through both the competitive process of working for Henslowe and in producing the quality of output required. Again what Shakespeare made of this opportunity is demonstrated by the surviving fragments of the manuscript, showing his creative prowess and sensitive application to his subject. He put in dedicated time with a concentrated focus on the task. The entire episode undoubtedly brought him to

the attention of a wider network of creative artists than he had hitherto had access to; an ironic result given Greene's intentions to the contrary.

While collaborative composition appears not to have been Shakespeare's preferred means of composing judging from the lack of his subsequent activity in this mode, it is argued that he was clearly capable of working with others when the situation demanded it and the outcome was professionally beneficial. Such tactical activity is congruent with the contemporary world of professional theatre and its networks, and raises one further point. This is called a Role Speculation, because the evidence is work role based rather than on documentary evidence. If the above argument has any merit, it would mean that the date of composition of *Sir Thomas More* could be placed during the summer and autumn of 1592, in-between the September Stationers Registration for Chettle's editing of Greene's work and the 8 December registration for Chettle's own work (Gurr, 1996: 270).

There is a Role Intensity, even crises, of work role performance in all of the above that suggests it was critical in forging Shakespeare's professional development and subsequently joining the Lord Chamberlain's Men in 1594. The intensity manifests itself as a period of rapid, concentrated learning by doing, observing others and probably being guided or even coached by them. Shakespeare might have been encouraged to write, but as a result appears to have decided that wherever it was within his control to work as a sole playwright he would do so.

There are two remaining points to comment upon, one being Shakespeare's mentors and / work role models at this time, and the second being the beginnings of his work relationship with Richard Burbage. The two points are entwined. Shakespeare and Burbage had probably met by 1588 - 9, when on the death of the Earl of Leicester, James Burbage and the rest of Leicester's Men came under the patronage of Lord Strange. James Burbage was much preoccupied with managing the Theatre in Shoreditch, but Richard was probably busy establishing his credibility as an actor, in direct competition to Edward Alleyn. From the point of Role Speculation it is feasible to regard Shakespeare's and Burbage's combined and comparative work role experiences in the period 1588 - 1592 as

leading to an embryonic professional partnership that tapped into their mutual strengths and ambitions that were undoubtedly complementary. It was to become an intense professional relationship that must have benefited over time from the aspect of Role Theory known as 'insulation from observability'. How this might have developed and operated is discussed below under Question 10.

It is argued that Shakespeare had one other notable work role model during this phase of his career, Christopher Marlowe, whose career at this time was at its height. Marlowe's plays and poetry had been in circulation since at least 1587, and there is such strong similarity between *Hero and Leander* and *Venus and Adonis* both published the same year to suggest Shakespeare's emulation of Marlowe. The Time Chart shows that in 1592 Marlowe's *Edward II* was performed by Pembroke's Men of which company Shakespeare was most likely a member (Gurr, 1993 and 1996), even if this membership was peripheral because at a geographical distance. It is possible that this first 'sighting' of the Pembroke family in the context of Shakespeare's early professional development began connections with others in this important patronage network; perhaps John Florio and Samuel Daniel.

Arguably, this period might see Shakespeare dealing with a series of actual and / or potential tensions and conflicts with other professional peers, while simultaneously attempting to build an emergent reputation for playwrighting; of course the two are reciprocal in impact. Some of the negative work based learning Shakespeare could have experienced during this period might have led him to make some specific decisions about which actors and company to align himself to in order to plan in a less arbitrary and opportunistic way than his career to date had allowed. The opportunism and arbitrary nature of theatrical careers is still a prevailing feature of the profession (not least in their early phases) and the work based learning application of Role Theory to the questions raised here illuminate such an analysis. In applying this to Shakespeare, it might be tentatively suggested that after taking an assertive and proactive stance on his work role ambitions and aspirations, Shakespeare could have aligned himself to specific role models some of whom became his significant others. It could be argued that this was on the understanding that such professional alliances yield a

reciprocity of learning in order to realise work based ambitions. Perhaps this was because Shakespeare's initial experiences in London were associated with unacceptable levels of work role conflict?

3. Anticipatory socialisation and work based learning. To what extent did Shakespeare plan and prepare for his career? Why did he not enter his father's profession of glove-making, or go to university?

This section tries to summarise elements of Shakespeare's work based learning in the earliest phases of his career, up to approximately 1593/4. The later period of the mid-1590s incorporates multiple work role activity such as playwrighting, provincial touring, writing and publishing poetry and working with the Lord Chamberlain's Men. In Role Theory terms, the nature of the anticipatory socialisation that led to and / or enabled this multiplicity, and mid-career busy-ness, needs to be examined; not least in terms of how very early career decisions (howsoever made) will put in place a train of work based learning that pre-determines later work role activity towards particular professional pathways.

For Shakespeare, the first eight - ten years of his theatrical career seem hugely influential as he explored the scope and contexts of such work and how learning from it occurs. It was an extremely opportunistic and experimental career phase, where he seems to identify existing boundaries and how to overcome them; not least in terms of beginning to understand his ambitions and capabilities. A critical question may have been how best he could acquire new learning fast enough in order to become recognised as professionally and creatively proficient and successful. Such acquisition of learning manifested itself in peaks of opportunism and troughs of more routine work experience. That this early opportunity and success is not now, nor has necessarily been the case historically with the work based learning of creative artists is in itself significant about how Shakespeare applied his work based learning.

There were two immediate consequences of this. Firstly, his taking on a work role as an actor completely foreclosed on his taking any traditional apprenticeship route to an occupation. Rappaport's (1989) analysis of this

residual model shows that the likelihood of someone being accepted for the traditional seven-year apprenticeship beyond the age of about sixteen was remote in London, and probably applied elsewhere. Secondly, entry to either of the universities was not available to Shakespeare; possibly on religious or financial grounds, but certainly on pragmatic grounds that during these key years when such opportunities were open to his contemporaries, he was gaining his informal further education within northern aristocratic households who supported companies of players and who had Catholic leanings. In work based learning terms this was his apprenticeship. While this is also a residual model of patronage (Honigmann, 1985), it was probably an effective one, that in terms of anticipatory socialisation for the work roles of actor and later playwright were ideal. Shakespeare's later significant other, Richard Burbage, may have been in a not dissimilar position, within the Leicester patronage network.

Putting this simply, it is argued that Shakespeare may have acquired knowledge and skills across the following areas:

Working across hierarchies of workers in households where the social status of those workers was clearly defined and understood.

Working with others to achieve common goals that meant acknowledging the necessity of drawing on the expertise of those skilled in areas beyond as well as different from one's own abilities.

Learning from extensive feedback and coaching on work role performance as an actor and playwright by those more experienced than the self, by drawing on and synthesising their stock of expert knowledge. Observing the compositional practices of playwrights such as Dekker and Marlowe and comparing their standards in light of output and success.

Working in close physical proximity to one's patron; noting that the patron appreciates initiatives that honour his status. Experimenting with dramatic writing in order to please and thus be acknowledged by the patron.

The importance of dedicated application to a task, making use of focused concentration on the creative processes and drafting and re-drafting play-scripts in order to meet company deadlines.

Building on his grammar school education, applying rhetorical skills to learning and experimenting with the techniques required of the actor, drawing heavily on performances he had observed. Identifying and learning from early high calibre and provincial work role models.

Learning the value but also costs of self-promotion across the work role positions of one's occupational groups.

In summary, it is argued that Shakespeare may not have planned his career in its earliest phases, although his aspirations may well have been associated with creativity. Any initial, positive and secure work experiences and learning from them could lead him to begin to plan how he could build on his own creative capabilities within environments that supported such endeavour. Once in London with a bundle of play-scripts to his credit he probably faced tougher competition than in the provinces, where necessarily standards of work role performance as actor, let alone as playwright were likely to be lower as they were subjected to less critical scrutiny and acclaim. Shakespeare dealt with these newly imposed standards, through a series of tactical approaches to leaders in the field of playing by self-promoting services they wanted to buy that he could demonstrate he could deliver. In Role Theory terms positioning himself for future work role achievements. In so doing Shakespeare observed and learnt from leading role models and began to form strategic alliances with other actors and companies who, reciprocally, might enable him to further his own work role aspirations to achieve the coveted role of playwright. In specific terms of his work role relationship with Richard Burbage, this led to him joining Burbage in his approach to become members of Pembroke's Men following the Alleyn - Burbage confrontation in 1591 (Gurr, 1993 and 1996: 266*ff*). From here onwards Burbage and Shakespeare are always found in close proximity to one another to such an extent that where one appears to be absent in the documentary evidence,

should lead us to question whether this absence is an example of a Role Void or an instance of 'insulation from observability'.

4. Work based learning and the significance of early artistic patronage. The Earl of Southampton was Shakespeare's patron and dedicatee. What are the implications of this for understanding such patronage, the *Sonnets* and any autobiographical stances within them?

While it has been argued above that Marlowe was Shakespeare's role model in terms of his playwrighting work roles and dramaturgy abilities, it is now argued that due to the specific circumstances of 1591 - 4, Shakespeare's attention was being drawn to the poet Samuel Daniel as a literary role model, not least because of his growing publications. This switch of focus enabled Shakespeare to experience the work of printing and publishing first hand. Daniel's sonnet sequence *Delia* was published in 1592, doubtless after normal circulation in manuscript amongst creative artists and courtiers making up the Sidney-Pembroke patronage network where Daniel held the work role of tutor to William Herbert, son of the patron of Pembroke's Men. This marked the beginning of at least a decade of successful literary publication for Daniel (Kastan (ed.), 1999: 461). With a predictable dedication to Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke, the sonnet sequence was hugely successful, hitting (in modern terms) a ripe market demand for works of this type (Kastan (ed.), 1999 and Rees, 1964). Daniel had probably met the Italian teacher and translator, John Florio at Cambridge in 1579 (see Time Chart), and is presumed to have been his brother-in-law (Rees, 1964 and Yates, 1934). Florio was in a patronage relationship to another aristocratic member of the Sidney-Pembroke network, the Earl of Southampton.

Shakespeare's own output of works during this period includes an intense concentration of poetic composition and publication which is discussed in Question 5 below. Here, that question is related to the importance of patronage for Shakespeare who already had some experience of the necessity of patronage and some of the practical difficulties associated with it.

The practical difficulties Shakespeare had in making a successful transition from an actor and emergent playwright in the provinces to perhaps only a mediocre level actor in London are discussed above. While probably a member of Pembroke's Men by late 1592, but not actually in London due to the severe plague, the potential insecurity of this work role position suggests that the Role Theory approach to how Shakespeare dealt with the next stage of progressing his career is a sensible one. A work based learning analysis is based on the instability of his patronage at this point in time, and Role Theory would indicate that work role diversification, was a reasonable response to this. As an actor and playwright his patron was a known, highly respected person; and because of that and his own chosen inheritance of the Leicester patronage portfolio (Gurr, 1993 and Levy Peck, 1989), Henry Herbert, second Earl of Pembroke had very full patronage commitments to creative artists who were already deemed successful. Shakespeare's insecurity was exacerbated by the playhouses closure due to plague. While this was a situation beyond his control, his response to it was to speedily seek out an opportunity to increase that patronage security.

Concurrently, while Shakespeare had experienced some lucky opportunities as a London-based playwright and was composing play-scripts, analysis suggests that in his role model, Marlowe, he also recognised a serious rival, who at this point in time had creative abilities and access to networks, with which Shakespeare could not immediately compete. Like contemporary creative artists it is argued that he therefore sought a plurality of patronage through diversifying his creative activities, as a consequence of recognising that accessing Pembroke's direct patronage was not likely to meet with quick success. However, Role Theory indicates that from this point in time entrance to the Pembroke patronage network became a reference point for Shakespeare's own patronage aspirations.

Southampton (he was twenty in 1593) would have been unlikely to have an extensive patronage portfolio, but as part of the Sidney - Pembroke circle was an indirect asset, because Shakespeare was therefore on the periphery of that patronage Role Set. As has been discussed in Chapter 4, activity on the periphery of a Role Set has the potential to lead to new Role Sets, if the intensity of that activity enhances the role positions and status of Role Set members. This builds

on points already made, namely that Shakespeare was becoming skilled in recognising the need for assertive self-promotion that put the responsibility on his creative abilities to produce works that met the needs of diverse audiences and markets.

It is therefore argued that Shakespeare's dedication of *Venus and Adonis* and the *Rape of Lucrece* in 1593 to the Earl of Southampton can be understood in these terms; and the known success of these erotic poems achieved Shakespeare's goals. This was a direct strategy to influence his achievement to secure patronage, which can be viewed as a work based pre-requisite for future work role achievement. By his dedication to Southampton he brought new focused attention on himself from other creative professions in the context of the *frisson* associated with erotic verse. In Goffman's (1959) terms it is as though Shakespeare was deliberately playing the rôle/role of poet as part of an intentional scheme of impression management. Given the Burbages' known affiliation to the Pembroke family (Gurr, 1993) and Shakespeare's work role relationship with Richard Burbage by this time it is feasible to consider that part of the direction of this intensity of influence had been mediated by the Burbages, perhaps on the onset of the plague in London. It is however argued that while this brought some immediate gratification for Shakespeare, this was short-term in an unexpected way, which is discussed below.

What implications does this patronage have for the *Sonnets*? Role Theory and Role Speculation would suggest that they may well be *quasi*-autobiographical in the sense of a certain mythologising of a fictional self, since in terms of the rival poet sequence such work based competition has already been identified and discussed. However, they are arguably also part of Shakespeare's work role, since his performance of the work role of poet conforms to standard expectations (represented by Daniel), while far exceeding them in elaborate qualitative terms and comparable to Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*. The knowledge base Shakespeare drew on was a dominant one in cultural terms and within the public domain. However interesting Shakespeare's sexual preferences and activities are, and while recognising the significance of the personal to the professional, this

thesis does not have the scale, scope nor orientation to deal with these complex debated questions beyond that touched upon here and in Question 5 below.

5. Work role re-orientation. Why did Shakespeare write poetry for an, apparently, limited period of his career only? Under what circumstances did he shift to writing plays? Why? To what extent is the impact of the plague years of 1592 - 4 on standard work practices relevant for this question?

Work based learning opportunities and successes bring with them their own ambiguities and tensions (see Chapter 1) and it will be argued that such was the case for Shakespeare during his poetry writing and publishing phase. One of the issues here can be traced back to Shakespeare's experiences as a playwright working collaboratively on *Sir Thomas More*. It was strongly suggested that while Shakespeare had the capacity to work as part of a collaborative team of playwrights (albeit the precise working processes for so doing represent a Role Void) it was not a positive learning experience for him. Evidence from the subsequent performance of his work role as playwright demonstrates that this was not his preferred mode of composition as he rarely worked directly with others holding the work role of playwright except for explicit opportunistic reasons and at critical points in his career.

While, based on Storr's work (1994), this demonstrates a capacity to work alone, in work based learning terms it links well with the concept that solitary endeavour in its own right makes a major contribution to the collaborative output of teams (Portwood, 1995). However, it also raises more controversially, the tensions inherent in the creative artist's need to have a degree of control and autonomy over their own creativity, as has already been discussed in Chapter 2 (Cox, 1992; Sher, 1985 and Storr, 1989).

It is therefore argued that while Shakespeare deliberately sought out a patronage relationship with the Earl of Southampton (or possibly *vice versa?*), that had elements of reciprocity and mutual success, the intensity of that relationship gave the onus of control and authority to Southampton and not to Shakespeare. Role Theory notes that where the higher social status of a role position such as patron

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creates a power discrepancy with the far lower social status of the role position of poet the ego needs of the dyad are uneven (Laing, 1969 and Rowan, 1990). While arguably this may be no different from the status issues in a group patronage relationship, the intensity of a one - one rather than a one - many work role relationship increases the potential for conflict because it decreases the 'insularity from observability'. As only two work role positions are operant, the expectations of those two work role positions in performance are likely to be high because potentially more intense. Needless to say the higher the expectations, the greater the likelihood of them not being met.

Thus, in the period 1592 - 1594, Shakespeare's professional development might be termed to be work role management *in extremis*. His poetry career gave public recognition, but under terms that seemed beyond his control and fraught with tensions due to the intensity of patronage activity. He was experimenting most successfully with the literary (and more conservative) model of writing, while the model of literary patronage was at odds with his learnt preferences for composition. Conversely, his more radical playwrighting career, while progressing, in work based learning terms appeared blocked by lack of patronage activity, regulatory and statutory sanctions at times of plague and overt competition.

Three changes resolved this extreme situation; Marlowe's murder in May 1593, gradual abatement of plague deaths and the establishment of the Lord Chamberlain's Men a year later. Gurr (1993 and 1996), as already discussed, analyses the rationale for and processes that brought about the latter. The former helping to clear the way, it is argued, for Shakespeare making the critical decision of his career, to commit himself, in work role partnership with the Burbages and other members of Pembroke's Men, to being a playwright. While in the immediate context this might have been risky, it is argued that this was an informed choice, that while not able to anticipate Shakespeare being in a unique position to meet the pre-requisites for the innovative work role of principal playwright for the Lord Chamberlain's, was an astute judgement about his work role potential. In the process of making this important career decision it is speculated that Shakespeare's experiential learning had intentionally, but

opportunistically, enabled him to experiment with the more traditional model of literary patronage (based on courtly models) and compare it to the more radical and emergent one of playwrighting (based on the dominant playing in halls model). During his more isolated literary work during the plague period it is suggested that he may have reflected critically on the knowledge and skills he had acquired to date. By knowing how a creative artist might reflect upon ambition and work role preferences as a consequence of experience, the following observations are made:

A need to have an agreed level of autonomy and control over the production of works, thereby making decisions about how, why and with what consequences creativity is best utilised.

A need to work creatively, but not necessarily to inform the creativity of those occupying the work role position of playwright, but rather (if suitable agreements could be reached on processes, expectations and work role boundaries) to work with creative professionals in related occupational areas, where the reciprocity of need to produce 'works' permitted such autonomy.

Knowledge of the differences between literary and theatrical patronage systems and how they worked in practice. This knowledge, and its attendant embryonic 'networking' was to stand Shakespeare in good stead as the links he established in this crucial developmental period became projects that he returned to at later career phases.

6. The social and cultural context for work based learning. How was Shakespeare's work based learning culturally influenced?

It is argued that Shakespeare's career progression and the growing institutionalisation of theatre companies challenge but also mirror the transitions of the prevailing ideologies of the period (see Chapter 3). His success as a role innovator begins to illustrate some of the radical creative and systemic changes that Dollimore (1984) articulates from a cultural perspective. This is interesting as it suggests that any ideologies of work based learning are grounded in more

social and cultural perceptions of reality (Berger and Luckmann, 1966) in ways that may be historically constant. Ulysses' discourse on the importance of degree (*Troilus and Cressida*, I iii 75 - 137) through a series of commonplace truths (not that Shakespeare thought of these in commonplace terms, but that he chooses, with intentional irony, to show that his character does) is an instance of this. While this is open to textual interpretation, culturally Shakespeare is disclosing '...the very process of historical transition which brings [Jacobean tragedies] into being' (Dollimore, 1984: 8), while commenting on the far vaster discourses about appearance and reality and the status of the individual within the State, prevalent at the time.

> The confusion surrounding [concepts of individualism] is especially prevalent in the Renaissance, one reason being that far-reaching material and ideological changes in Elizabethan and Jacobean England - in particular the break-up of hierarchical social structures with a corresponding increase in social mobility - have been erroneously interpreted in terms of Enlightenment and Romantic conceptions of individuality. ...The cognitive conception of ideology is clearly related to the preoccupation in this period with a the appearance-reality dichotomy. ...Particularly important was the empiricist and materialist emphasis given to this view in the work of Bacon and Hobbes. Distinguishing between appearance and reality becomes a potentially revolutionary strategy for arguing against entrenched systems of belief.
> Dollimore (1984: 175, 273)

The above suggests that Shakespeare clearly and consciously grasped these concepts and some of the issues they raised, because he applies arguments about appearance and reality specifically to notions of experiential learning. For example, the nature of occupational practice in the visual arts forms intrinsic parts of the plots and imagery of both *Timon of Athens* and *The Winter's Tale*, where the argument between the Poet and the Painter in the former and the work role of Giulio Romano in the latter are used with great sophistication to emphasise Shakespeare's understanding and interpretation of the dichotomies between illusion and reality in the context of professional practice. Such usage could only be as a direct result of Shakespeare's work based learning about prevailing cultural issues, and indicates that a sophisticated metacognition was at work within his critical creative processes.

A fundamental paradox about Shakespeare's work based learning begins to emerge. That is the development of successful creative artists' work based learning **at this time**, within the Shakespearean period, appears to be completely juxtaposed to the contemporary ideologies by which social structures and systems allegedly maintained their equilibrium; namely through the concepts of degree, order, hierarchy and hegemony, as discussed in Chapters 3 and 5.

Maybe this begins to indicate some dialectical issues for work based learning thinking, but only when its particular social and historical context is thoroughly understood. Argyris (1992), Argyris and Schön (1978) and Schön (1987) have created a range of models that explore the pragmatic interaction of espoused theory, theory in use and reflective practice that provide strong evidence for the tensions (at the level of the individual and their organisational environment) inherent between ideology and practice when applied to the acquisition and use of professional knowledge. A synthesis of Dollimore (1984) and Williams (1977) with their work suggests an interesting and potent avenue for future research into this apparent juxtaposition.

An initial way of tackling this is to explore the extent to which Shakespeare may be considered an intellectual rather than a political radical. His learning from a role model such as Marlowe, perhaps actually observing Marlowe at work and from a distance, suggests a detailed familiarity with Marlowe's compositional processes and a pragmatic caution about being too close to affairs of State, perhaps influenced by Shakespeare's own prior experience. Dollimore (1984) raises this juxtaposition in respect of the pragmatism demonstrated in the writings of Montaigne, Machiavelli and Bacon, while Kernan (1995) notes Shakespeare's inherent political conservatism. The following quote demonstrates this complexity:

> Montaigne's warning against change may testify to the radical
> *implications* of his writing, implications which he may have been
> unwilling to allow politically but others were not. We need to recognise
> then how a writer can be intellectually radical without necessarily being
> politically so. In the individual writer or text subversive thought and
> political conservatism may seem to be harmonised in a way which belies

the fact that historically the two things relate dialectically: the former relates to the latter in ways which are initially integral to it yet eventually contradict it.
Dollimore (1984: 22)

Thus to illustrate the point: while there is ample evidence (see Chapters 3 and 5) that the highly complex social and cultural conditions that prevailed during the Shakespearean period both supported the development of theatre and drama in exceptional ways; contradictorily the systems and structures that provided that support also sought to suppress it. Sociologically and systemically this inherent tension makes sense if viewed dialectically, but from a work based learning perspective, what Shakespeare made of and sought to do within this contradictory environment was clearly exceptional. By way of example, two popular but very different play-scripts indicate this intellectual and creative radicalism. In *Hamlet*, in subject, style and content Shakespeare articulates the very practical debates of the age that, in modern terms, seek to enquire into aspects of reflection in action that progress, but also confront the development of the concerns of many of his contemporaries. The fact that he does this while simultaneously producing such an exciting action drama is evidence of this intellectual radicalism. His creative radicalism may be illustrated by a totally different play-script, *Pericles*. Here a form of medieval narrative is given original new meaning through the dramatic use of emotional intelligence and sensitivity that resonates with emergent cultural trends of the period (Strong, 1977). This was a highly risky departure from the dominant culture for the performing and visual arts that shows Shakespeare, in his mid-forties experimenting with emergent theatrical forms that are congruent with other cultural trends, especially in the visual arts. Each of Shakespeare's plays could be looked at in this way, and importantly shows how an individual's work based learning can make shifts from dominant to emergent cultural trends that firstly influence theatre companies' practice and eventually influence changes in vaster social structures. Williams (1961) suggests that each new work of art can be explored by cross referencing it at a micro level of its subject, content and style to the macro level of how the work reflects residual, dominant or emergent culture. Initial criteria for such exploration would be based on its initial acceptance or rejection by various groups, who by their own status might

determine the cross-currents of residual, dominant and emergent values in different audience groups and compared to the values of the alleged status quo. This is clearly beyond the scope of the current thesis, but an interesting avenue for further research if located within work based learning approaches to creative artists' careers.

The means in which Shakespeare's intellectual and creative radicalism manifest themselves within the institution of the playhouse structure and the organisation structure of the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men is discussed under the next question heading.

7. Role innovation and the work roles of the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men. What were the work roles of the company and how did this influence their development? Shakespeare apparently initiated the role of principal playwright within his multiple work roles with the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men from 1594; a deviation from the previous freelance practice. Why?

The discussion so far culminates in the important establishment of the duopoly of the Lord Chamberlain's Men based at the Theatre in Shoreditch and the Lord Admiral's Men at the Rose on Bankside. Gurr (1993 and 1996) notes the significance of this in terms of the latter company being led by the entrepreneur Philip Henslowe and the actor Edward Alleyn, with the actors from Strange's Men and Marlowe's play-scripts, while the former in James Burbage's playhouse, actor Richard Burbage and the actors from Pembroke's Men, Shakespeare's play-scripts, and Shakespeare as principal playwright. Gurr's (1993) analysis of the processes by which this duopoly came into being can be interpreted as an intentional move to develop the institutionalisation of theatre companies. It is of great significance that this appears to have been engineered by high status Court figures operating in both an agreed patronage nexus and within the hegemonic approach of Government to theatre. The establishment of the two companies is evidence of a profound, radical and maybe swift shift in practice into an emerging model that within a remarkably short period would become the dominant cultural model.

It is unlikely that Marlowe, had he lived, would have been interested in holding a principal playwright work role position, just as it is unlikely that Henslowe and Alleyn might have wished to give up their portfolio of freelance playwrights that gave them a plurality of human resource that was financially advantageous to them. Nonetheless, while it is an interesting speculation as to how far Marlowe might have aligned himself to Alleyn and Henslowe, it is important to note that Shakespeare's work role as principal playwright came about as a result of his status as a sharer in the Lord Chamberlain's Men. Arguably the economic imperative of investing money in the joint-stock company was as influential in enabling Shakespeare's principal playwright status as his creative abilities. It is unknown how much money he earned from his new source of income as a published poet (Kastan (ed.), 1999: 396), but maybe this is how he invested it. While Gurr (1993) argues that the companies were hand-picked, one presumes that any implicit criteria for selection were relatively well defined and most definitely included the ability to make an immediate financial and creative contribution and take responsibilities in both areas. If Shakespeare had not been able to contribute financially it is possible that he would have quickly joined the Role Set of other playwrights working in a freelance capacity for the Burbages, despite the proximity of ambition and means of achieving it that Richard Burbage and William Shakespeare appear to have identified as being in common. This analysis is supported by the analytical framework, especially the Map of Role Sets with its strong patterns of work role continuity for the two companies.

Therefore, while Shakespeare was one of a group of company sharers, it is the successful performance of his previous work roles of actor and playwright combined with an ability and willingness to meet the financial commitments required that meant he was eligible to meet the pre-requisites of the work role position of sharer. This appears to lead to his principal playwright status and not the other way round, and as such put in place aspects of the unique profile the company developed. While the theoretical perspective of work role innovation has been referred to in Chapter 4, it will be useful to expand upon this here, since innovation maybe does not do justice to the concept of **role making** that is happening with the establishment of the Lord Chamberlain's Men in 1594. While the sharers (Richard and Cuthbert Burbage, Augustine Phillips, William

Kempe, Thomas Pope, John Heminges and William Shakespeare) all owned the company, they now had to create work roles appropriate to each of them for the effective operation and management of that company. So while each of them (except Cuthbert) was both sharer and actor, other tasks, duties and responsibilities had to be identified and delegated with boundaries for their performance of them agreed in some form or other. This process, common to all brand new companies and projects, involves considerable work based learning and is termed by Role Theory as role making.

> Within these [social] structures, people name one another, that is recognize one another as occupants of positions. In so doing, people evoke reciprocal expectations of what each is expected to do./ Furthermore, in acting in this context, people name not only each other but also themselves; that is, they apply positional designations to themselves. …and to particular features of the situation. These definitions are then used by the actors to organize their behavior. …People do not simply take roles; rather, they take an active creative orientation to their roles. …Some structures permit more creativity than others. The possibilities of role making make various social changes possible. Changes can occur in social definitions - in names, symbols and classifications - and in the possibilities for interaction. The cumulative effect of these changes can be alterations in the larger social structures.
> Ritzer (1996: 368 - 369)

As has already been discussed James Burbage, while not a member of the Lord Chamberlain's Men, was clearly influential in their developmental processes. He brought his vast experience dating back at least twenty years, of what needed doing to make a permanent company with its own playhouse work at its best, and given that it needed to be financially viable quickly he must have contributed substantially to discussions about company organisation and repertoire. James Burbage may be deemed to have donated his expert knowledge to his sons and their colleagues. Their collective synthesis and distribution of this together with their own selective, pooled and differentiated areas of expertise, will have enabled the group to evolve their responsibilities into emergent work roles, contextualised by their up to date knowledge of the competitiveness represented by the Lord Admiral's Men.

While they all (except Cuthbert) remained actors, Kempe, Richard Burbage and Shakespeare held early responsibilities for financial management: the latter three were payees for two performances at Greenwich Palace for Queen Elizabeth in December 1594 (Chambers, 1930, II: 319 and Schoenbaum, 1975: 137). Following Kempe's departure in 1599, John Heminges' took on this responsibility, which he held until his death in 1630. His later role, with Henry Condell, in producing the First Folio demonstrates other aspects of and attitudes towards his own business acumen. Augustine Phillips' work role of external spokesman for the company has been discussed in Chapter 6.

While much has been made of the innovation of Shakespeare's work role as principal playwright, and therefore first occupant of that type of work role position, it is of course important to note that all the sharers in the Lord Chamberlain's Men were innovators. All of them were the first time occupants of new work role positions in a new company; most of them were both sharers and actors, but in holding relatively secure patronage and within the relative security of their own playhouse, were for the first time in their careers able to designate, shape and influence the structures, systems, policies and procedures for their own and each others' work role performance. This situation is an outstanding example of Role Projects.

Analysing the period of the Lord Chamberlain's Men from their establishment in 1594 to the transfer of patronage to James I in 1603 as the start-up, experimentation, stabilising and thence newly developmental eras of any new organisation is helpful (Pedler *et al*, 1991) because it must confront how company's members' developed their brand new work roles. Continuity of membership in the Role Sets, as shown in the Map of Role Sets, for this period (and indeed beyond to the company's dissolution in 1642) is very strong proof indeed that whatever work roles were developed by and for individual members, their combined performance in them was extraordinarily effective. The creative successes of the company attest to this, and together with the continuity of membership is indicative of the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men emergent institutionalisation.

That is not to suggest however that the company was free of critical features of Role Theory such as role conflict or ambiguity, and Kempe's apparently sudden departure in 1599 and swift replacement by Robert Armin suggests that the company were skilful in responding quickly to changing situations. However, since there is no evidence that the company ever had difficulty in recruiting new sharers and players, this is interpreted by Role Theory as being evidence that the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men became a reference group for aspiring theatre professionals.

As has been discussed above, especially in Chapters 1 and 4, it is in and from the performance of work roles that work based learning occurs, and one would expect that the early identification of what constituted agreed performance standards would not necessarily always gain consensus. In one sense, and as illustrated by the critical incidents the company encountered during this nine year period, this represents a series of Project Roles that required resolution. Perhaps like aspects of project management today it is reasonable to think of company members' learning in these terms.

The critical incidents of the period up to 1599 must all have been influenced by James Burbage, for although he died in 1597, the impact of his radical vision and subsequent actions had long term effects; namely in that it probably engendered radicalism within the culture of the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men. As is well known (see Chapter 3) this impact surrounded his and his sons' decision to try and acquire part of the Blackfriars for an indoor playing space for the company on the expiry of the lease of the Theatre in 1596. That this became impossible and must have left much capital tied up in the Blackfriars until, as the King's Men, the company were able to perform there from 1608 has been fully analysed elsewhere (Barroll, 1995; Gurr 1996 and Revels, 1975). The major consequence of this stalemate was the dismantling of the Theatre and using its timbers to form the Globe on Bankside. Sohmer (1999) discusses the timing of this and the dates of the first performances at this new venue in what looks like a profoundly provocative invasion of the Lord Admiral's territory. Interestingly, Henlowe and Alleyn at the Rose, chose not to compete in such close proximity but within a year had relocated to neutral ground north of the river in their newly

built Fortune. It is notable in the Time Chart that the Lord Chamberlain's Men did not undertake any provincial touring during this fraught period.

Other critical incidents for the Lord Chamberlain's Men included managing a potential patronage crises on the death of the first Lord Hunsdon in July 1596 with a gap of nine months before his heir was confirmed in the same post (Halliday, 1964: 91), and of course the 1601 Essex Rebellion, which has been fully discussed in Chapter 6. For Shakespeare the period also saw the death of his son in 1596 and his father in 1601. It must remain a Role Void as to how these personal incidents affected his creativity and work role performance, although it is noteworthy that there was no particular diminution of his play-script productivity in these years, although the same cannot be determined for the work role of sharer.

Critical incidents on the periphery of Role Sets that involve external stakeholders responsible for setting sanctions for work role performance would normally be expected to have detrimental effects on the Role Sets in question, because they challenge the viability of that Role Set. This is because where external stakeholders have punitive, often mandatory sanctions within their control; namely legislative and regulatory power, a Role Set normally conforms to those sanctions. All these critical incidents incorporate patronage and potentially financial rewards, that affected the Lord Chamberlain's Men's stability. Despite the potential enormity of these threats to the survival of the Lord Chamberlain's Men, not only did they remain intact, but arguably grew stronger and more effective. Role Theory cannot analyse what elements of the performance of their work roles enabled this, but work based learning thinking is more helpful. Perhaps it was exactly because the threats were so severe that members of the company were so successful. The potentially bonding impact of managing crises to build the affectional strengths of a group of workers, whose working together may be somewhat disparate, moves them in interpersonal terms into something more like a team. The Time Chart shows that plays for the period see the production of some of Shakespeare's and Jonson's best early works and Shakespeare's own growing financial prosperity. While members of the Lord Chamberlain's Men held the identical work roles of sharer and actor they cannot

have used identical expertise in the successful performance of these work roles. This is because, as has been discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, dedicated application of a range of experts is a characteristic of work based learning and of successful theatre companies. Their collaborative efforts to perform their work roles overcame potential threats to their survival. These individual contributions are now explored more fully.

In terms of individual effort, we have already seen (in Chapter 6) Augustine Phillips' political skills in terms of his public nurturing of the company's non-subversiveness, but financial acquisitiveness in 1601, and Richard Burbage's major contribution was his outstanding acting ability in performing the lead rôles in plays of the period. The Time Chart shows these included such popular works as *Romeo and Juliet, Julius Caesar, Richard II, Hamlet* and *Every Man In His Humour*. Cuthbert's contribution puts him on the periphery of the Lord Chamberlain's Men Role Sets and unidentified Role Sets that he must have linked with, since it is Cuthbert (although with Richard) who must have raised the 50% capital needed for himself and his brother to invest in the Globe in 1599 (Gurr, 1996: 293). Cuthbert's experience as a servant to William Cope, gentleman usher to Lord Burghley in 1591 (Chambers, 1923, II: 306) and Cope's later brokerage with Richard in arranging private performances of plays by the company in 1604-5 (interestingly at the Earl of Southampton's London home, Halliday, 1964: 115) indicates that this type of business management was fundamental to his work role. Heminges's contribution was in financial management, but particularly in liaison with the Master of the Revels, as he was the regular payee for Court performances. This and his later involvement in law-suits that involved the company (Chambers, 1923, II: 321) suggests that he developed a range of valuable negotiating abilities. The Time Chart shows the regularity of Court performances for the company during the period. While this was associated with the quality of plays and acting, the fact that during the period the Lord Chamberlain's Men performed at Court at least thirty-two times in comparison to the Lord Admiral's Men twenty performances, (Halliday, 1964) also indicates the calibre of liaison between the company and the Revels Office responsible for organising Court entertainment. This may also have been an aspect of George Bryan's contribution, since he was also a payee for Court

performance, but as one of the company who appears in earlier Role Sets for Court performances in Denmark and Saxony in the 1580s, together with Kempe's experience in The Netherlands, may have shared his prior experience of the Court environment with those of his colleagues for whom this type of work would be new. All those members of the Lord Chamberlain's Men / King's Men who appear in the Role Sets for the plots of *Dead Man's Fortune* and the *Second Part of The Seven Deadly Sins*, that is Richard Burbage, Thomas Pope, Augustine Phillips, Richard Cowley, William Sly, Henry Condell, George Bryan and Alexander Cooke, also contributed significant acting experience of large scale ensemble rehearsing and playing, within the context of Alleyn and Henslowe's entrepreneurial management styles.

In addition to being a sharer and actor, Shakespeare's individual achievement and contribution to the Lord Chamberlain's Men success was of course the composition of approximately two plays a year, presumably to agreed deadlines. These were necessarily written for specific actors whose strengths, weaknesses, preferences and availability would all be known to him (Baldwin, 1927), on analysis of what would be attractive to differing audiences at different times of year, in different venues and acceptable to regulatory bodies. This contribution is considered further under Questions 9 and 10 below.

This analysis is particularly exciting because it demonstrates the range and diversity of expertise that the sharers both brought to the Lord Chamberlain's Men and how these areas of expertise deepened and developed as their knowledge was applied in new situations and as a group. Again, we see the collective outputs from work role performance manifested as work based learning, evidenced by the company's financial and artistic success and longevity. In Role Theory terms this situation shows each sharer taking relatively clearly defined leadership responsibilities for a key and distinctive area of work activity that was essential to the company's success. Such control of specific and specialist tasks enabled individual creativity, but also company productivity. As Berger and Luckmann (1966: 95) note 'To accumulate role-specific knowledge a society must be so organized that certain individuals can concentrate on their specialities'. This is important because it indicates how the embryonic

institutionalisation of the Lord Chamberlain's Men came into being. Even more important it does so in a particular way; that is that the **social work role** structuring of the company sharers' knowledge and their ability to develop and practise specific work role specialisms is the mechanism that both enables and (automatically?) leads to the means by which the organisational structure becomes formalised. While the analysis has not forced a comparison with features of occupational specificity found in present day theatre practice, it is not hard to see that in generalisable terms a comparison could be made. This raises issues for the further research into the work based learning of creative artists discussed in Chapter 8.

8. Political patronage. Who was Shakespeare's patron / protector at Court in the 1590s and 1600s, and what was the nature and extent of this relationship?

The importance of patronage in the Shakespearean period has been discussed throughout this thesis as a major enabling and therefore potentially disabling feature for creative artists' success, whether working individually or collaboratively. The capability of creative artists to acquire a patron to support their career development and a creative artist's capacity to add to their patron's status by the quality of their works appears to have dialectic features, because of the complex reciprocity involved. This is, in itself, an interesting avenue for further research.

The question of who were Shakespeare's patrons is therefore not necessarily the same as the patronage of the companies with which he was associated, and as has been seen such company patronage was not always protective. Lord Brook, as Lord Chamberlain in 1596, was one of those who directly and explicitly blocked the company that bore his name from occupying the Blackfriars in 1596 (Thomson, 1983: 178) because he lived there. As discussed above, there is evidence that the Burbage family had personal patronage from the Pembrokes who inherited much of the Earl of Leicester's extensive patronage portfolio on his death in 1588. It has been suggested that Shakespeare's personal patronage relationships following his departure from Strange's Men in about 1591 were

fraught with ambiguity, and that while his patronage with Southampton was successful in terms of its work products (*Venus and Adonis* and the *Rape of Lucrece*) for complicated reasons it was not to be an enduring patronage relationship. Within this context, it has also been suggested that, both due to their reputation and Shakespeare's knowledge of the Burbages patronage within the Pembroke network, he had set acquisition of this patronage relationship as an aspiration, with the Pembrokes forming his reference group in terms of the effectiveness with which they managed their patronage portfolio. How Shakespeare achieved this is the subject of this section.

One of the conundrums of the development of the Lord Chamberlain's Men is how they acquired the patronage of James I so quickly after his accession to the throne, receiving their letters patent on 19 May 1603. Analyses of the processes by and rationale for this highly unusual situation has been thoroughly covered by scholars, recently Barroll (1991), Gurr (1996: 105*ff*) and Kernan (1995), and the timing is discussed above in Chapter 6 where the relevant Role Sets have been introduced. Barroll (1991: 32 - 41) establishes a sound argument for this patronage having been brokered by William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke as a result of his emergent status as an favourite of the King's, but does not cover Pembroke's rationale for his action. Role Theory, and Pembroke's own work based learning would suggest that the rationale must encompass a prior patronage relationship, which in terms of the Burbages is probably clear, and from about 1599 can arguably include Shakespeare.

As has already been discussed, when in the early 1590s Shakespeare was urgently looking for a patron, Samuel Daniel was well established in a patronage relationship with the second Earl of Pembroke and his Countess, Mary Sidney at Wilton where he was principal tutor. As shown in the Time Chart, by 1598 Daniel was tutor to Anne Clifford, daughter of the Earl of Northumberland, and probably no longer in such a close patronage relationship with the Pembrokes. The year 1598 had also seen the publication of Meres' *Palladis Tamia: Wits' Treasury* which contains emphatic praise for Shakespeare in the categories of poetry, comedy and tragedy. Also in the period 1598 - 1601 saw the compliments to Shakespeare and Richard Burbage found in the University of

Cambridge three *Parnassus* plays; interestingly on student employment prospects in theatre (Halliday, 1964: 353 and Harrison, 1933: 60)! In 1599/1600 the Pembrokes may have entertained Elizabeth I at Wilton or in their London home in Aldersgate (Nichols, 1788 - 1807, III: 529) and in 1601 William Herbert inherited the Earldom from his father. Given that at present the Time Chart shows no provincial touring at this time, Aldersgate is the more likely venue and from a work role expectation and patronage perspective it is speculated that the country's foremost patrons of the arts would invite one major theatre company to perform during the Queen's visit. It is also feasible to suggest that, with the departure of their principal poet Daniel and published acknowledgement of Shakespeare's growing reputation was inducement to William Herbert, if not to his father, to make the graceful step of incorporating the poet and playwright Shakespeare into his patronage portfolio along with the Burbages. The benefit of this line of argument is that it clarifies the links between the third and fourth Earls subsequently being the dedicatees to the First Folio in 1623 retrospectively through a history of patronage by the family that stretches back to the granting of a patent to Leicester's Men back in 1574.

It is therefore suggested that during the late 1590s Shakespeare was able to build on his developing reputation, that was being reported in print as well as orally, to maximise an opportunity to enhance his patronage relationship with the Pembrokes. That this also appears to have been complementary to William Herbert's own ambition and aspiration gives the circumstances surrounding the granting of a patent to the Lord Chamberlain's Men by James I in 1603 an added synergy. The company's ability to work effectively with the Office of the Master of the Revels has already been commented upon. The added impetus of the company's change of title and their additional patronage support by one of James' emerging favourites combine to give strong and valid arguments in support of the King's Men preferred popularity as suppliers of plays for Court performance during the new reign. The fact that a number of the plays performed before James (*Macbeth* and *King Lear* for instance) comment directly and obliquely on matters of interest to the Stuarts (Kernan, 1995) is evidence that Shakespeare chose to apply his intellectual radicalism creatively, rather than draw political inference from it.

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9. Collaboration and coaching. What are the implications of collaboration for the success of the Lord Chamberlain's Men? Shakespeare, it is argued, wrote collaboratively primarily to advance his early career and saw work based learning as the best means of achieving this, and, later to support the company.

Questions 2 and 3 above have addressed the rationale for, purposes and consequences of Shakespeare working collaboratively with other playwrights prior to 1594, where it formed part of his informal apprenticeship. This section deals with two slightly different issues about playwrights working collaboratively within the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men. Firstly, while the nature of Shakespeare's work role of principal playwright has been discussed above, it has not been discussed in respect of the Role Set of other playwrights who worked on an occasional or freelance basis for the company from 1594 onwards. Secondly, the nature of Shakespeare's known collaborative writing from about 1609 but probably earlier now needs to be addressed.

From a modern perspective of work, Shakespeare's work load appears considerable: actor, sharer and principal playwright, with a range of responsibilities and duties that, certainly in the early years of the company's existence, must have been especially demanding. Presumably this work load and the growing success of the company and his own playwrighting were sufficient reasons for him giving up acting around the turn of the century. Although he held the work role of principal playwright the Role Set of other playwrights working with the company shown in the Map of Role Sets is interesting, both in comparison with the Role Set for playwrights working for Henslowe from 1597 and in its own right. First, the comparisons and overlaps.

Thomas Heywood may have held a similar role to that of Shakespeare, in that from 25 March 1598 (Halliday, 1964: 225) he specifically tied himself to producing plays for the Lord Admiral's Men. However, the similarity is only partial as this did not give him sharer status and he only received payment for the plays he wrote, not profits from the gate. Interestingly, Gurr's lists of sharers in the Lord Admiral's Men (1996: 253 - 257) does not contain the names of any known playwrights, only actors. This appears a deliberate policy of the

company. Moreover, by 1602 Heywood had transferred to Worcester's (later Queen Anne's) Men and wrote for them. This suggests that within the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men it was the work role of sharer that was the defining work role for Shakespeare, and this predominated over the work role of principal playwright, that otherwise might have been held by a non-sharer. The only named overlap after 1597 is Thomas Dekker, and although not shown on the Role Set for Henslowe's playwrights. Ben Jonson certainly worked for Langley prior to this date, notably on the seditious *Isle of Dogs* of 1597 (Gurr, 1996: 106 - 107). In work based learning terms of career phases, perhaps Jonson's experience of this incident has similarities to Shakespeare's in 1592 with Greene and the composition of *Sir Thomas More*.

The overlap of Dekker's involvement with both companies is interesting because, as discussed above, it is argued that he was one of Shakespeare's critical friends during their collaborative composition of *Sir Thomas More* in 1592. It is a Role Void as to whether Dekker wrote more plays for the Lord Chamberlain's Men than the 1601 *Satiromastix*, part of the so-called war of the theatres referred to in *Hamlet* which may be understood as a Role Project. Perhaps Dekker approached the company direct following performance of Jonson's *The Poetaster* by the Children of the Chapel which ridiculed him. These instances suggest that it remained the norm for playwrights to work for only one company at any one time, unless unusual, and predominantly competitive circumstances prevailed, which appears to be the case with Jonson. Knutson (1999) has written extensively on how the repertories of the two lead companies reflected their competitive and non-competitive elements and how different playwrights may have taken a lead in developing particular themes within the repertory.

Turning to those playwrights writing for the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men it is noteworthy that these are necessarily those who worked for the company across phases of its history. Firstly we see, from the Role Sets of Jonson's cast lists for 1598 - 1603, that his first phase of involvement was for a five year period, which overlaps with Dekker's and Barnes' contribution to the repertory. This appears to have been an intensive period of learning for Jonson who, if he had been introduced to the company by Shakespeare, as is sometimes suggested

(Halliday, 1964: 258), may also have been mentored by him. Wilkins and Marston became involved subsequently, and then later, Beaumont, Fletcher, Webster and Ford (Gurr, 1996: 366*ff*; Halliday, 1964 and Revels 3, 1975). At any one time then, while Shakespeare was principal playwright, there was always at least one other playwright working directly with the company, and possibly two. This suggests that one important aspect of the sharers' own knowledge base would be who was currently or in the process of becoming eligible to meet the pre-requisites of the work role of playwright: that is they kept their working professional knowledge about playwrights' abilities up to date. Whoever the playwrights were, they can also be traced as being at different phases of their own playwrighting career; so for example, Jonson's contribution in 1598 shows him still in early phases, whereas by 1605 and *Volpone* he was able to make a more autonomous and sophisticated contribution.

In work based learning terms this suggests two important aspects of the company's way of working with freelancing playwrights. Firstly that they were probably directly approached by the company to contribute play-scripts (written or unwritten) that would complement Shakespeare's output. This must have been discussed and planned by the sharers. Secondly, that depending on their own level of ability, playwrights might have been coached or mentored by members of the company in order to produce plays of the calibre required. The fact that there are consistently linguistic echoes of Shakespeare's style, structure and vocabulary in works by playwrights in this Role Set (Hope, 1994) suggests that these echoes could be deliberate and caused by Shakespeare's direct involvement in the coaching and mentoring process, rather than the other playwrights only reading his works. This is entirely consistent with what Schön (1987: 212) calls the 'Follow me' approach to coaching used by musicians such as Pablo Casals in his master-classes; and there is evidence that this is a consistent practice in theatre (Barton, 1984 and Naish, 1995). Such coaching should not be seen as altruistic, but carrying an economic and creative imperative for the company to always be maximising every opportunity to retain their competitive edge with other companies and credibility with their patron. Role Theory's approach to coaching within the work environment can be summarised as follows:

> ...the counsel of elders [or others] is requisite to status passages for reasons other than hazard, since all the future steps are clear only to those who have traversed them. Certain aspects of what lies over the horizon are blurred to the candidate, no matter how clear may be his [*sic*] general path. This forces his predecessors not only to counsel and guide him, but to prepare and coach him beforehand. Coaching is an integral part of teaching the inexperienced - of any age. ...coaching is thus linked with social structure and with the positions and careers of both the coaches and the coached.
>
> Strauss, A. 'Coaching' in Biddle and Thomas (eds), (1966: 350 - 353)

This is what we would call in modern terms, strategic and consciously implemented succession planning, ensuring a ready pool of playwrights were available at different phases of their own development who could, over time, be relied upon to work independently of company supervision in the production of play-scripts. While members of this Role Set of other playwrights often wrote collaboratively with one another, they did not write collaboratively with Shakespeare in the same sense. Rather, it is argued, a mentoring / coaching process introduced emergent playwrights to elements of what could be termed the company's preferred 'house style', which can be seen flowing through play-scripts associated with them. It was this coaching that arguably influenced dramatic innovation both within and beyond the Shakespearean period, because coaching combines instructional techniques associated with learning in the creative arts with active experimentation to apply these techniques creatively to one's own practice (Schön, 1987: 208). Once established such a system could be relatively self-managing, leaving the able to manage the business of running the company. Downes' (*c*1640 - *c*1710) comments on coaching through the generations of actors and playwrights from Shakespeare to Betterton (Halliday, 1964: 140) verify this work based learning interpretation; again highlighting possible gaps between the recorded and lived cultures. If this is the case there emerges a strong argument for considering that there was a more sophisticated rehearsal process in the Shakespearean period than has hitherto been thought.

This argument therefore suggests the work based learning approach to Shakespeare's intense collaborative with John Fletcher is a sensible one, as it otherwise has no precedent. Part of the analysis here is to suggest that this was not a unique collaboration, but rather a natural consequence of previous practice

that enabled a new generation to be in the work role position of achieving Shakespeare's work role of principal playwright when he vacated that work role position. If this was the case it would been planned, and aspiring playwrights might well have directly sought out (or been sought by the company) this mentoring relationship with someone of Shakespeare's calibre to expose themselves to and learn from his acknowledged expertise. As such when Shakespeare did collaborate with someone such as John Fletcher, it makes sense to see this as a work based project, that culminated in a product of economic viability (works such as *King Henry VIII*, the lost *Cardenio* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*) and validated Fletcher's work based learning from the process.

This is clearly both a controversial and speculative analysis that creates a new interpretation for the known linguistic echoes in the plays between these playwrights and Shakespeare's works. However, its substantiation does derive from the use of the analytical framework and the work based learning approach therefore suggests a rationale for the existence of such linguistic echoes, which in turn emanate from the explicit and deliberate practices of the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men. That this could have been their practice, needs to be grounded in a purported policy to survive, be autonomous and self-regulating. This in turn suggests that over the years of their success, and the succession planning of sharers' membership a collective unconsciousness developed in the company, that acknowledged their comparative uniqueness, importance, stability and thence institutionalisation in order to be self-perpetuating.

Since this question has suggested an analysis of how and why the company drew on those members of Role Sets that were external to the main sharers Role Sets to achieve their goals, so the next section does this by considering the primary relationship at the centre of the company, that between William Shakespeare and Richard Burbage.

10. Significant others: interpersonal aspects of work based learning. How did Shakespeare and Richard Burbage work together, creatively and managerially?

Throughout this thesis Richard Burbage has been referred to as Shakespeare's significant other. That is in Role Theory and work based learning terms, the person with whom Shakespeare had the most enduring and important work role relationship, that lasted from probably about 1588 to Shakespeare's death in 1616, and was at its most intense for the twenty-year period 1594 -1614. Such a twenty-eight year working relationship would be important in present day terms, in the Shakespearean period it is unique, since even Henslowe's and Alleyn's partnership is neither so long nor so intense in continual proximity.

This is a difficult area to address, and a full and detailed analysis of this working relationship is beyond the scale and scope of this thesis, not least because some of the issues raised by this question necessitate more and new research using the work based learning approach. However, research so far indicates that there are means of tackling the problem, and that is what this section will attempt to do.

It has been seen throughout this thesis that it is from the performance of one's work role that one may begin to infer what learning has come from that performance, and that may be judged on the basis of the product or works that emerge from doing one's job. For Shakespeare one product or output is the play-scripts and for Burbage it is the acting of the rôles in the plays. While it is argued that it is possible to determine output from the products or works, insofar as we might analyse why Shakespeare wrote particular plays at particular points in time and what demands playing the character of Othello or King Lear might have made on Richard Burbage, what is far less possible is to infer outcomes and processes from these products. That is, in our current state of knowledge about work based learning we cannot analyse the behaviour and interactions of dead persons, but from some of the literature, we might begin to identify some of the influencing factors for those processes and outcomes. A simple example of this is to note that Shakespeare's leading characters become older as Burbage ages. A complex example is found in Hamlet's advice to the players (*Hamlet*, III ii 1 - 45). Jenkins (1982: 498) rightly notes that Prince Hamlet's standards of acting can afford to be uncompromising, the lines, written by Shakespeare in order to be acted by Richard Burbage, are simultaneously a vicious public attack on the Lord Chamberlain's Men competitors, and self-consciously and wildly funny. Given

that this situation has some ironic similarities to Greene's attack of 1592, one might suggest that such trading of insults was a characteristic of how conflict and tension between competing companies manifested itself.

As has been noted, playwrights and actors both need the capacity for and access to solitude (Storr, 1989) to compose a play-script and to learn one's part. These creative processes are essentially about solitary endeavour which as we have seen is a characteristic of work based learning. The output from that solitary endeavour enables collaboration; in modern terms rehearsing and then producing the play. Shakespeare and Burbage both held the capacity for solitary endeavour and in their collaborative working, over time, developed an acute, in depth understanding of the specialist knowledge and abilities inherent in each other's work roles that in turn enabled them to achieve incrementally high standards in their own work roles.

It is possible to take this argument further, by looking at the development of Shakespeare's works in work based learning terms. As has been discussed above, from 1594 Shakespeare was normally writing for known colleagues and, in the case of the Theatre and Globe tried and tested performance spaces. Arguably this continuity of physical and human resource further supported Shakespeare's inherent intellectual radicalism discussed earlier because such stability can, in work based learning terms, encourage creativity and joint experimentation. That is, it is easier to undertake new creative learning in known contexts than new creative learning in unknown contexts, where necessarily one's learning is more likely to prioritise contextual learning in order to respond creatively to it in due course. Thus, by 1608, when the King's Men were finally able to take control of the Blackfriars, Shakespeare and Burbage had at least fourteen years experience of working together with a continuity of human and physical resource to minimise the risks inherent in applying that knowledge to a new environment. This suggests that they both acquired the knowledge of and ability to jointly experiment across their own and each other's work role, and it is this experimentation that relates causally to the development of Shakespeare's works.

Working creatively and jointly experimenting with creativity is necessarily an intense process that, while on the one hand leads to the development of one's specialist areas of expertise, on the other hand has interpersonal components. As discussed in Chapter 2, peer approbation is both a normal feature of successful work based learning and one that is especially pertinent for confirming creative artists' ability. Peer approbation has interpersonal elements to it and, again within theatre, typically leads to creative artists choosing to work together over many productions. Applying this modern thinking to Shakespeare and Burbage it is reasonable to think of this intensity of working as a series of projects, but also to see their entire working relationship as being overall in a project and partnership mode. In Role Theory terms, Burbage's and Shakespeare's success elevated the status of the work role positions of lead actor and principal playwright, with resultant increases in expectations of yet higher calibre performance in those work roles. At an interpersonal level it was an invigorating and inspirational partnership. Berger and Luckmann (1966: 164 -165) discuss some sociological elements of personal commitment and the intensification of socialisation that results, but, as yet, there appears little research about the interpersonal components of work based learning projects and partnerships between collaborators.

Therefore, finally in this section, it may be useful to comment on Shakespeare's and Burbage's working relationship in terms of a highly speculative application of Kolb's (1984) theory of experiential learning to individuals. Aspects of organisational theory (Argyris, 1992 and Schein, 1988) may be useful here as such theory will typically comment on the importance of members of groups and teams having complementary learning and thinking styles to ensure projects and products are effectively implemented. Brennan and Little (1996: 43) quote Kolb's theory as applied to individual's learning styles and preferences as follows:

> Converger, whose strength lies in practical application of ideas (dominant ability - abstract conceptualisation and active experimentation...);
> Diverger, whose strength lies in imaginative ability and generation of ideas (dominant ability - concrete experience and reflective observation:...);

> Assimilator, whose strengths lie in creating theoretical models and assimilating and integrating disparate observations (dominant ability – abstract conceptualisation and reflective observation:…);
> Accommodator, whose strength lies in carrying out plans and experiments that involve them in new experiences (dominant ability – concrete experience and active experimentation:…).
> Wolf, D.M and Kolb, D.A (1984) 'Career Development, Personal Growth and Experiential Learning' in Brennan and Little (1996: 43).

In terms of contemporary creative artists, members of a theatre company need to be capable of operating across this model. In terms of trying to get closer to Shakespeare's and Burbage's joint work based learning it is argued that they undoubtedly had such complementarity, and this was a determining factor in the longevity of their working relationship, apparently free from public and unmanageable conflict.

11. Knowledge development. How did Shakespeare acquire work role knowledge outside that of playwright and sharer? What are the implications of this?

The Time Chart and Map of Role Sets discussion in Chapter 6 included that involving Shakespeare's and Burbage's work for the sixth Earl of Rutland's *Impresa* at the 1613 Accession Day Tilt. The Time Chart also records Burbage's work for Rutland's *Impresa* of 1616, a month before Shakespeare's death. Rutland's appearance at the 1613 event, a year after he succeeded to the Earldom, was the first time he had participated in this annual event. As Rutland was closely associated with the Pembroke - Sidney patronage network (he married Sir Philip Sidney's daughter by Frances Walsingham (Mowl, 1993: 35); Frances' second marriage was to the Earl of Essex who was Leicester's step-son) it is reasonable to assume that Rutland accessed Shakespeare and Burbage through this patronage network, or indeed *vice versa*. Nichols (1828, II: 609) records the participants who included other major patrons of the arts, the Earls of Pembroke and Arundel. Pembroke, Arundel and Rutland were all contemporaries.

Analysis of Questions 4 and 8 has paid particular attention to the overwhelming importance of patronage in the Shakespearean period in enabling creative artists' work based learning. This section seeks to explore Shakespeare's work roles from a different perspective; how he drew on knowledge about other forms of creative practice from the work roles of other types of creative artists, and consider what implications such links may have for his own work based learning. This will be done by indicating examples of putative links between Shakespeare and other types of creative artists, by viewing critical incidents and projects for the period *circa* 1607 - 1611.

This avenue of analysis is pursued for three main reasons. Firstly, given that most creative artists of the period (musicians, painters, writers and so forth) were practising for significant phases of their careers in London, and work based learning looks at practice (Portwood and Costley, eds, 2000, in press) as its main characteristic, it is worthwhile to analyse how Shakespeare's practice related to other creative artists. Secondly, it was noted in Chapter 6 that while many of his contemporaries (Jonson, Dekker, Hilliard, Daniel and even Richard Burbage for instance) undertook work for State and Civic entries (Goldberg, 1983) and more notably the Court Masques (Orgel and Strong, 1973), and this presumably was income generating and status enhancing, there is no evidence that Shakespeare did so. While one might suggest this is a Role Void due to the lack of documentary evidence, it is worthwhile to consider why Shakespeare may not have been involved in such work role activities. Thirdly, while his application of theatre and dramaturgy may not have been applied outside of the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men range of activities, his works demonstrate sophisticated knowledge of other art forms **in practice** and it is worthwhile to look at how this work based knowledge was acquired. The surface evidence is to be found in the contextualising time-lines in the Time Chart, especially time-line 5. It was noted in Chapter 6 that this time-line could only contain selective material for reasons of space, and what follows illustrates the deep meaning and significance inherent in this time-line and the analytical framework.

Commencing the section by returning to the Rutland project is intentional, because while the patronage link is an obvious one, there is also a link with

another creative artist based on Bankside; the sculptor Gheerart Janssen. Janssen was a second generation immigrant from The Netherlands (Halliday, 1964: 252 and Schoenbaum, 1975: 252 - 254), now best known for his work on the Shakespeare monument in Holy Trinity Church, Stratford-upon-Avon and for Shakespeare's neighbour and business associate John Combe who died in 1614. The first and second generation of the Janssen family were active before this however, and Mowl (1993: 31) notes that they were commissioned by the fifth Earl of Rutland's mother in 1591 to design and build two family tombs working from their yard in Southwark. Janssen and Shakespeare then clearly knew each other and they both knew the Rutland family, and this also linked to Shakespeare's home life.

In Chapter 6, it was strongly suggested that Shakespeare acquired knowledge of painting and the visual arts by seeing actual pictures; Rowland Lockey's family portrait of Sir Thomas More's family and the fourteenth century portrait of the young Richard II for instance. This research has found over sixty substantive references to painting and fine art practice in Shakespeare's works that demonstrate wide ranging interest in and knowledge of contemporary issues for creative practitioners. These references are to be found throughout his works, from the poems, early plays and *Sonnets* to *The Tempest*. In *The Winter's Tale* Shakespeare refers to 'that rare Italian artist Julio Romano' (V ii 96). As this is the only occasion he names an artist, why did he not compliment one of his native contemporaries such as Hilliard or Oliver? Shakespeare may just be name dropping, but more likely is making complex use of an artist's name and reputation that he could only know about through his work based learning. It is argued that Shakespeare knew about the contemporary debates concerning verisimilitude in sculpture from Janssen and about Guilio Romano from other practising artists in London. A major feature of funerary sculpture during the Shakespearean period was that it was painted and strove for verisimilitude (Auerbach, 1954).

At this time Romano (?1499 - 1546) was better known as a pornographic artist having illustrated Aretino's *Venti Pose* (Hartt (1958) is the main critical biography), and was indirectly referred to as such in Jonson's *Volpone* (III iv)

written about five years before *The Winter's Tale*. However, by 1610 when *The Winter's Tale* had been performed, Romano's reputation in England was changing and it is argued Shakespeare knew this when he deliberately named Romano. By this time Jonson's partnership with Inigo Jones was well underway, and there is strong evidence (Harris *et al*, 1973 and Orgel and Strong, 1973) that even prior to his visit to Italy with the Earl of Arundel in 1613, Jones had already visited Italy with Lord Roos in 1598 - 1601. Roos became the sixth Earl of Rutland and was a channel through which knowledge of Italian art was being discussed in patronage and creative artists networks in England.

> In 1606, Edmund Bolton, then in Italy, inscribed in a book given to Jones the pregnant words that through him 'there is hope that sculpture, modelling, architecture, painting, acting and all that is praise-worthy in the elegant arts of the ancients, may one day find their way across the Alps into England'.
> Harris *et al* (1973: 28)

Jones' library, now in Worcester College, Oxford contains a copy of Vasari's 1568 *Delle vite de piu eccellenti pittori scultori et archetetorri* (Harris *et al*, 1973: 217). Vasari's encomium to Romano's verisimilitude is the section Jones most heavily annotated; a factor crucial to the statue scene in *The Winter's Tale*, and the art *versus* nature debate in Act IV, where there are direct linguistic echoes between Vasari's epitaph on Romano and Shakespeare's play-script (Bullough, 1973, VIII: 150, 153 -154 and Pafford, 1963: 150). Interestingly, the artist Robert Peake, translator in 1611 of Serlio's *Architettura* was also in a patronage relationship with the Rutlands (Strong, 1969: 49 and 56). Peake's translation refers to Romano as Raphael's 'worthy pupil' and was entered on the Stationers register on 14 December 1611 (Arber, 1894, III: 214), and thus would have been in circulation for discussion prior to that. Finally, in relationship to the example of *The Winter's Tale*, is the performance of *The Lords' Masque* at Court on 14 February 1613 by Jones and Thomas Campion (Orgel and Strong, 1973, I: 240 - 252) which, in its Lady Masquer as a transformed statue is a direct copy of Shakespeare's device. There is extensive, conflictual literature in this

area, partially summarised by Merchant (1959) but in urgent need of updating from the work based learning perspective.[1]

The above example contains a complex array of creative artists' and patronage networks and allusions, which in terms of the analytical framework is clearly Role Speculation, that highlights the gaps that are always going to exist between culture as recorded and extant and culture as lived and experienced by all its density of detail. However, as with all Role Speculation this also has a affinity with aspects of New Historicists' methodology of considering the 'circulation of social energy' (Greenblatt, 1988) as an imperative for the reciprocity of work based learning amongst practitioners. Indeed, the concept of the 'circulation of social energy' may have a specific work based learning interpretation in terms of activities amongst and in-between practitioners and their works. Even if Shakespeare had read about Romano, which is possible and likely, such reading was with the deliberate intention of adding to his work based knowledge, so it could be used purposively in the production of his works. However, if his reading supplemented such work based learning, as is argued, through highly proactive 'networking' with other creative artists it indicates the methodological validity of the analytical framework.

If this is so, it suggests that in the period circa 1607 - 1611 Shakespeare was one of a loose group (or embryonic Role Set) of creative artists linked to specific patronage networks that were themselves interested in modern collecting both at home and in Europe (Strong, 1969: 43 - 50). From a practitioner perspective, the composing of *The Winter's Tale* is an example of actively experimenting with and applying newly acquired knowledge to works. As has been discussed in the section dealing with Question 6, this knowledge enabled Shakespeare to debate emergent ideologies about illusion and reality by demonstrating up to date understanding of and involvement with intellectual arguments of the day as relevant to practitioners. That he chose to do so by drawing on knowledge held by his professional peers, who were also creative artists, suggests that this approach could be applied to other areas of Shakespeare's work based learning.

What does this reveal about Shakespeare's own apparent lack of involvement in work activities that directly involved his theatrical contemporaries? One key theme emerging from all the analysis so far is that certainly from 1594 in practice and maybe from earlier in terms of his work role aspiration, Shakespeare was highly focused on his work roles as a playwright and sharer, and with one or two exceptions which were probably based on interpersonal links, was not deflected from this focus by other opportunities. While this suggests that, on the one hand, once he had acquired the work role of sharer and principal playwright with the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men he was content to fulfil those complex bundles of responsibilities connected with those work roles, on the other hand, his lack of distraction by other activities demonstrates a commitment and dedication, probably also influenced by a heavy work load, that gave immense gratification. It has been argued above that one aspect of Shakespeare's work based learning was his gradual recognition of a need to be autonomous and largely self-directed in his work roles. Within the context of the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men developed organisational culture this was achievable; within the diversity of politicised stakeholders' involvement that characterised Court Masque activity (Gordon, 1949) the contrary could be said to be true. Shakespeare, it is argued, chose not to become involved in what might be seen as extraneous activity because it deflected from his commitment to working as a sharer and playwright (both of which work roles gave status and income). In modern terms, his working and learning styles were essentially around models of introverted (Rowe, 1988) and intensive creativity that was reliant upon a continuity or constancy of professional peers that provided valuable sources of knowledge and learning as well as approbation. This seems consistent with the inherent dichotomy between extraversion and introversion in practice, which is not untypical of creative artists (Storr, 1994), where one seeks exposure to the expert knowledge of others but deliberately limits the quantity and quality of exposure on one's own terms in order for its intensity to be bearable.

12. Work and home: role location, tension, ambiguity and ambivalence?

What was the relationship between Shakespeare's work roles in London where they appear to be primarily theatrical and in Stratford-upon-Avon where they

appear to be primarily property related? What does this mean in terms of Shakespeare's 'retirement'?

Time-line 3 in the Time Chart shows that Shakespeare's first apparent direct experience of litigation was in 1588 (Halliday, 1964: 271) and his first property transaction in 1597 when he purchased New Place; the year after the Shakespeares were awarded a Grant of Arms; itself a considerable expense. Schoenbaum (1970 and 1975) contains very full records of Shakespeare's subsequent and considerable expenditure on land and property and the extant records of his direct and indirect involvement in litigation throughout his lifetime, and these have been reflected in the Time Chart.

With the exception of his purchase of the Blackfriars Gatehouse in 1613, all Shakespeare's expenditure on land and property were in Stratford-upon-Avon, and this was with the intention of acquiring, developing and bequeathing a coherent estate of financial worth to himself and his family during his lifetime and his heirs thereafter. Such financial management and aspiration is entirely consistent with the entrepreneurialism of the period (Boulton, 1987 and Stone, 1967) and it was the norm for property and land owners to develop legal knowledge (Heal and Holmes, 1994). Time-line 9 shows Philip Henslowe and Edward Alleyn investing in land and property with similar vigour.

From a work based learning perspective it is clear that Shakespeare made good use of the legal knowledge he acquired through direct experience, both in application to his professional and personal life. Doubtless the physical and intellectual proximity of the Inns of Court and their frequent participation in theatrical activity enabled Shakespeare to readily access networks of legal expertise from an early phase in his London-based career.

In the work based learning application of Role Theory we therefore see a holism of knowledge application. While it is not within the context of this thesis to question with what frequency or for what duration of time Shakespeare was in Stratford-upon-Avon, it appears that he saw one of the purposes of work to be to generate income in order to fulfil personal dynastic security through such

investment. Thus it is argued that while 'retirement' carries modern connotations that cannot be upheld for the Shakespearean period, the documentary evidence summarised in the Time Chart indicates that Shakespeare ceased paid work activity as a sharer and playwright once he could afford to live solely from his estate. Gurr's (1970: 47 - 51) summary of how this wealth was accumulated indicates that the bulk of his income derived from the work role of sharer and not playwright, therefore supporting the argument that the former might have been perceived as the dominant work role. Role Speculation suggests that while Shakespeare certainly invested in the second Globe he was beginning to experience what one might call work role fatigue. The inherent stability of the King's Men meant that, as discussed in Chapter 4, Shakespeare's leaving of those Role Sets associated with the company did not disrupt their organisational continuity. It is further argued that the deliberate policy of coaching actors and playwrights discussed above was a major contributing factor in terms of the continuity for works performed by the company

Given that the construct of the family unit during the Shakespearean period is very different from how it is conceptualised today (Fraser, 1984; Hey, 1996 and Stone, 1979) it is also important to note that Shakespeare's relationship with his kinship groups is beyond the remit of this thesis. However, given also that Shakespeare appears from all the analysis so far to have committed huge depth and breadth of personal resource into performing his work roles in London, Role Theory must suggest that this commitment existed in a state of ambiguity with his ascribed and achieved responsibilities in Stratford-upon-Avon. Work based learning thinking, as we have already seen, notes the connections between professional ambitions and personal commitments where absolute resolution of such tension must always remain a matter of compromise.

Summary

The summary is structured to account for two important aspects of the analytical framework. Firstly to present a holistic analysis about the entirety of Shakespeare's work based learning, and secondly to determine from that the

effectiveness of the analytical framework and suggest the relative importance and significance of its component parts.

Key to this summary of Shakespeare's work based learning are two features that also relate explicitly to the work based learning of creative artists as discussed in Chapter 2. Firstly, the hypothesis that Shakespeare's work based learning was entirely experiential seems proven within the limitations of current knowledge, and that it was exemplary is evidenced by the quality of works, where works is deemed to be evidenced by his performance of all his work roles. Secondly, and in antithesis to the first point, but congruent with perceptions about other creative artists, Shakespeare's work based learning does not often appear linear at all, but frequently dispersed and fragmentary with sporadic peaks and troughs of intensity across different spheres of work activity. Thus, the period that is crucial in understanding the early development of his work based learning (namely 1588 - 1594) is the period where there is strongest evidence of most intensity of learning in the greatest diversity of environments. This evidence is derived from the application of the analytical framework and indicates that while Shakespeare's learning was highly opportunistic it was deliberately sought, where an opportunity was perceived to exist. This application of work based learning thinking combined with Role Theory yet further emphasises the validity of respecting that the gap between evidence determined by recorded culture and the absence of evidence from the lived culture can be illuminated by the analytical framework.

In modern terms it is argued that Shakespeare made unique usage of his insider knowledge of the expert learning of others in the creative arts, specifically drawing on the networks of practising creative artists to further his career. Early in his career this manifested itself in his knowledge that in order to progress, he needed to prove his creative productivity. His settling down to produce approximately two play-scripts a year from 1594 is work based learning demonstration that such dedicated application had been accepted as a credential for occupying the work role of principal playwright. Interestingly, this consistent production of play-scripts appears determined by the weighting given to the responsibilities he held as sharer and could indicate that the number of play-

scripts was prescribed **because** of the onerous and fundamental importance of the sharer work role in managing the company, its venues and repertoire, and not the other way around. In many respects two play-scripts a year is not much in comparison to some of his contemporaries, which could support such an hypothesis. However, the pattern of play-script output is arguably a main known stabilising factor for Shakespeare and the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men, because this type of creativity (at the point of composition) is essentially solitary work role activity that can remained distanced from work activities associated with the company which are social. This follows the argument above that the dominant work role position was that of sharer, because it is socially determined.

Shakespeare's learning up to the establishment of the Lord Chamberlain's Men is rapid and highly intensive. It has multiple focus points that are gradually eliminated as avenues for future development, as Shakespeare develops a clarity of purpose and direction for his work activity and receives incremental approval from his professional peers for the outputs from the performance of his work roles. All this is highly ambitious and the suggestion is that this resulted in conflict, ambiguity and consequent shifts in direction is supported by Role Theory and the application of anticipatory socialisation.

While the establishment and gradual socialisation of the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men has long been significant to theatre historians, the above analysis shows it also to be significant for theatre's emergent institutionalisation from a Role Theory perspective. The growing reliability of the company arguably did not result in linear progression for Shakespeare's career beyond the initial establishment of the role positions of sharer and principal playwright. Rather that stability gradually (certainly by 1599) crystallised the expectations from these positions in such as way as to enable Shakespeare's work based learning to be focused on the production of his works that integrates play-scripts with outputs from the work role of sharer. What it did result in was cumulative financial gain and cumulative creative risk taking and experimentation in the production of new types of works. Again in modern terms, the production of these works, whether play-scripts or products arising from the performance of work role of sharer over time created a repository of combined expert knowledge and experience across

the entire company, that we might now term its 'intellectual capital' (Edvinsson and Malone, 1997).

Conceptualising what this means in terms of the company's development and emergent institutionalisation becomes ideologically interesting. In general terms one of the reasons for the long term success of the company is as a result of their detailed familiarity with the playhouses they owned and occupied and this enabled Shakespeare and Burbage not only to tailor the plays and acting to company members but also to the physical resources available. Using the analytical framework it is possible to take this argument yet further. That is, especially through the analysis of Questions 6, 7 and 9 - 11, the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men developed their own organisational infrastructure that was directly responsible for their success and longevity. Gradually and through the implementation of a planned succession scheme for sharers and playwrights, and the performing of their increasingly differentiated work roles, this infrastructure became ingrained within the company philosophies of practice (their theory in use, to follow Argyris and Schön, 1978). Combining this language with that of Dollimore (1984) and Williams (1971), shows that the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men were able to develop and implement their own hegemonic traditions that over time automatically became institutionalised. That the institutionalisation was automatic is arguably because it was deliberately sought. It was deliberately sought because the original sharers, having invested so much, had taken care to achieve, develop and practice highly differentiated areas of expertise within their work roles of sharers. On seeing this effect on their individual and collective endeavour they put in place systems for coaching and probably rehearsing that enabled these areas of expert knowledge and ability to be passed to succeeding generations of company sharers. While this supports Gurr's (1993 and 1996) argument for the company being hand-picked, it also supports the work based learning concept that, once one knows the strengths and individual responsibilities of one's professional peers when these are focused on common goals and values, one is far more enabled to work autonomously as well as collectively because of the clarity of work role definition and differentiation.

What does this mean for an overall analysis of Shakespeare's knowledge as acquired from his work based learning? That Shakespeare made a significant, long-term contribution to the organisational, financial and creative success and status of the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men is axiomatic. He did this by demonstrating how the established work role of sharer and the non-established work role of principal playwright could work reciprocally, and ultimately causally. For while acknowledging the primacy of the former over the latter in traditional terms, his success as principal playwright was strongly dependent on and integral to the use he made of his insider knowledge of the organisational needs of the company. Such knowledge would not be available to a playwright who did not have a sharer work role. He acquired and developed this knowledge collaboratively with his peer group of sharers, all of whom pooled their previous, and often traditional, work based knowledge, synthesised it into what Eraut (1999: 32) calls 'distributed cognition', and applied it to their new situation. As Shakespeare's, and the other sharers, confidence grew as a result of success so they were able to experiment, consolidating that newly applied knowledge into a transforming process relevant to the innovative status of the company. Arguably it is the operational distancing of the specialist areas of expertise held by individual company sharers in performance of their work roles and the collaboration of aspects of this combined expertise when they came together as sharers that is fundamental to their success. The Role Theory terminology of 'insulation from observability' does not do justice to the work based learning complexity and intensity of this situation, and indicates that, as stated above, there is a need for research about the work based learning of groups that is organisationally situated and takes cognisance of the interpersonal components of work based learning.

In terms of critiquing the analytical framework, it can be seen that all aspects of the model have been drawn upon. However it also emerges that while all four of its 'corners' have been used to interrogate William Shakespeare's work based learning at the heart of the model, detailed segments of the four 'corners' can be differentiated and now given more weight and significance than others.

It is interesting to start with Question 6 that relates to the social and cultural context for work based learning and look at it in terms of time-lines 7 and 8 of the Time Chart which are the ones that contain the State and local governmental legislation, and incidents at the macro level of the historical, social and cultural environments. While the importance of these factors is vital in situating the work based learning of those living within that cultural context, in terms of the lived culture these features must also be taken as non-negotiable givens. Role Theory, as has been seen, shows that the sanctions for transgression of the norms of role performance when they confront the hegemonic features of the dominant culture are the most punitive. Evidence shows that Shakespeare as an intellectual rather than political radical never appears to have transgressed these macro norms. However there is overwhelming evidence from a work based learning perspective of Role Theory that Shakespeare and his peers in the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men continuously and vigorously both mirrored and challenged the gradual changes in all aspects of theatre practice that became first emergent and subsequently dominant in cultural terms.

This indicates that Shakespeare's own work based learning cannot be understood without understanding the work activities of his immediate peers and other creative artists practising at the time, and the knowledge and abilities that enabled them to perform their own work roles. Privately held knowledge is insufficient for effective work based learning; it is how that learning is used that is important. Time-lines 1, 2 and 4 that relate to Shakespeare have to be examined in exceptionally close relationship to the in-depth content of time-line 5, which contains the surface information about the outputs of those other creative practitioners. This close examination led to the necessity of re-formatting the wording for Question 11, and thus to its analysis. While much Shakespearean scholarship rightly pays attention to what written, even published, source materials William Shakespeare drew on (notably Bullough, 1973), the analysis of Question 11 shows that the work based learning approach provides evidence for a more fluid, informal, interpersonal, even sporadic and fragmentary means by which knowledge is treated in practice. Put simply and in modern terms, given that work is a social activity, one cannot perform effectively without

knowing in general but often specific terms what knowledge and ability one's colleagues are using to perform their work roles.

The Map of Role Sets has been effective in showing how some of these often irregular patterns of work role activity occur, and has been key in looking at the acquisition and development of work based learning practice for actors', sharers' and playwrights' work roles. In terms of the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men it has enabled Questions 1, 2, 3, 5 and 7 to be analysed by cross-referring to 'corner' III of the framework, Role Voids, Intensity, Projects and Speculation. However, the Role Sets Map in its current format does not contain the information that was found in time-line 5 of the Time Chart to deal with Question 11, and clearly could do so, if a means of presenting this in a necessarily more complex and three-dimensional format was determined.[2] Individual Role Sets need to be shown at the nexus of a three-dimensional web that ripples and radiates outward at any one point in time to both overlay and be overlain by a time chart. If such a map of role sets were to be developed it could further challenge some of the prevailing aspects of Role Theory that arguably creates artificial boundaries around the understanding inherent in work role positions from the work based learning perspective.

In terms of Shakespeare's work based learning, much of his knowledge acquisition is related to the intersection of time-lines 1, 2, 4, 5 and 12 with Questions 7, 10 and 11, the two patronage questions 4 and 8 and Role Intensity and Projects. While it would be inappropriate to think of the work role of patron in the modern terms of 'employer', the enabling and disabling functions of patronage are so significant for creative artists in the Shakespearean period to be effective in the performance of their work role that such a juxtaposition of terminology should not be dismissed out of hand. It is therefore suggested that while a patron could not be held responsible for the networking of creative artists who received his patronage, it is conceivable that the conjunction of that patronage, with the time-lines and Questions probably facilitates the circulation of work based learning knowledge and ability. One of the ways patronage achieves this facilitation is by commissioning and actively supporting works.

Finally, the new terminology of Role Voids, Intensity, Projects and Speculation has sought to find a valid means of analysing work based learning where knowledge from primary and secondary sources reveals the partiality of and gaps between the recorded and lived cultures. There is more work to be done to investigate the validity of this and its value, but the analysis suggests that at this stage Role Intensity and Projects are particularly useful in looking at how the concept of significant others manifests itself in the processes of work based learning, while Projects help explore how that intensity of process relates to outputs or works.

This chapter has analysed the data presented in the Time Chart and Map of Role Sets using a new analytical framework, that is shown to be useful. In so doing features about Shakespeare's work based learning have emerged in two ways. Firstly, giving new insights to aspects of his professional career that were previously known, such as his working relationship with Richard Burbage and patronage networks. Secondly, providing insights that are more original, specifically because they have been approached from the work based learning perspective. The arguments presented here about Shakespeare's working with other playwrights and the acquisition of knowledge about the practice of other creative artists are not intended to be controversial, but as liberating means of learning about the work based learning of creative artists. That these means are transferable to other creative artists' practice, and relevant to the work based development of contemporary artists is the subject of Chapter 8.

Notes

1. This is an excellent example of how the surface meaning of the Analytical framework can yield deep meaning through very detailed and concentrated research. The section on Shakespeare's knowledge of theory and practice in the visual arts has multiple sources, both in modern scholarly sources and primary sources from the Shakespearean period. Sources therefore for this section include Auerbach (1961) which is still the detailed critical biography of Nicholas Hilliard, and needs to be read in conjunction with Norman's edition of Hilliard's

manuscript 'A Treatise concerning the Art of Limning' (n.d.). Fairchild (1937) and Merchant (1959) look at aspects of Shakespeare's knowledge about the visual arts, which although interesting is grossly out of date, while theatre and literary scholars such as Frye (1965), Hagstrum (1958), Wells (1966) and Wickham (1973) all look at how Shakespeare uses concepts of art for the purposes of dramatic representation. None of them are sufficiently modern to deal with the potential importance of the work based learning perspective. Finally, in addition to the texts quoted in the main body of this section of the thesis, the following were extremely helpful in looking at how oral communication amongst practitioners about their work based learning might have circulated between Italy and England, and then amongst English artistic circles: Baxandell (1972), Blunt (1975), Carden (1911 - 1912), Freedberg (1971), Haydocke (1598/1970), Lee (1967), Panofsky (1968) and Shearman (1977). It is important to note that much of this section returns to the significance of the Time Chart, itself drawing on Strong's (1969a) art history methods as discussed in Chapter 6. The methodological approach here is transferable to others aspects of work based knowledge acquisition.

2. This would be best formatted to a 'virtual' environment, but is clearly beyond the scale and scope of this thesis, but is planned as part of further research.

SHAKESPEARE'S WORK BASED LEARNING. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Introduction

This chapter draws together the themes, content and analysis of the thesis by considering what conclusions may be made in advancing work based learning theory, critiquing the methodology employed in the thesis and what has been learnt about Shakespeare's work based learning. Each of these areas is considered and leads to the implications for further research into the work based learning of contemporary and historical creative practitioners.

The conclusions and implications will therefore be of professional concern to the three groups identified in Chapter 1 as being those, not mutually exclusive audiences to whom this thesis is addressed. These are:

1. Academics and scholars from the visual and performing arts, humanities and social sciences and work based learning practitioners from any discipline.
2. Practitioners / workers in the performing arts and work based learners.
3. Professional organisations and individuals involved in designing and delivering the education, training and development of these occupation areas.

In order to embed the conclusions firmly in the overall purposes of the thesis, the research question is re-stated for ease of reference:

As a creative artist, practising in an evolving occupational area in a period itself fraught with social change and questions about the nature of work, social status and the performing arts, what was the relationship between Shakespeare's work roles and the production of his works. What was the nature of his work based learning?

As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 this research question was developed in order to enhance understanding about Shakespeare's professional career, develop the argument for work based learning as a field of studies and investigate the relevance of the approach in researching the work based learning of historical and contemporary creative practitioners. This chapter concludes what has been achieved.

Role Theory methodology and the contribution to theorising about work based learning

The impact of the entire methodology used in this thesis, the work based learning application of Role Theory, has been significant because Role Theory, when deeply contextualised to the Shakespearean period has been enormously helpful in analysing work roles and work activity against the prevailing social structures. However Role Theory on its own cannot identify learning from work roles and the Time Chart, Map of Role Sets, the new terminology and the analytical framework were invented to identify and analyse the learning from the performance of work roles and the production of works. It is especially notable that many of the Role Sets are the same as membership of the theatre companies. This original methodological innovation is both radical and important because it proves it is possible to analyse a historical work based learner's entire career that does identify the relationship between work roles and the creation of works and adds to our interpretation of the recorded culture.

Indeed it can be claimed that the relationship between work based learning and Role Theory will contribute to new theoretical understanding because the full methodology can mediate between individual learning, organisational practice and the larger scale social environment. Moreover, in relating the performance of work roles and the production of works this approach fully appreciates that a particular feature of creative artists' careers is the development of theory from practice. Thus, this approach has radical potential because it clarifies the relevance of work based learning methods to performing arts processes. It

asserts that at the heart of both these epistemologies is a precept that practice influences theory as well as *vice versa*.

Therefore it is possible to contend that work based learning using Role Theory makes an innovative, original and valuable contribution to understanding the relationship between Shakespeare's work and works. In illuminating the validity of the approach to Shakespeare we can see that work based learning as a field of studies has especial and specific application to other creative practitioners, and artistic disciplines. This is because work based learning becomes explicit when what professional knowledge is necessary and how it is acquired, practised and developed are defined and articulated by the needs and specific context of the workplace. As such Kolb's (1984) generic theory of experiential learning together with Schön's (1987) grounded theory of the reflective practitioner make major contributions to work based learning theory when contextualised by the work roles, practices and works of creative artists. What we therefore have here is a methodology that offers the potential to relate empirical data to speculation; namely to explore the complexities of grounded theory (Portwood, 1995: 4).

Shakespeare's work based learning

The research question was seeking to discover whether the new work based learning approaches to problems inherent in the study of Shakespeare as a professional creative artist could be revealing and helpful. The approach has been successful in two ways. Firstly the work based learning approach has helped add new dimensions to previous research approaches and findings. An example of this is Honigmann's (1985) and Wilson's (1999) interpretation of the so-called lost years, where the work based learning application of Role Theory and the full analytical framework tentatively suggests support for their arguments. The analysis in Chapter 7 adds impetus to Gurr's (1993 and 1996) research about the re-organisation of the theatre companies in 1594, because the patterns of work role activity can be explained by Role Theory. Secondly, the approach illuminates possible aspects of Shakespeare's learning by diminishing what was discussed in Chapter 1 as the 'domain of "knowledgeable

ignorance"...our knowledge of what we do not know' (Eraut, 1999: 1). This has particularly been the case by acknowledging the relevance of cultural context through application of Williams' (1977) theories to work based learning. An example of this has been in postulating specialist knowledge and work roles held by the sharers within the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men and the major contribution this could have made to their organisational success. The analysis of company practices from the work based learning perspective has been especially revealing in two ways. Firstly in indicating the innovative and radical (quixotic even) nature of the company's infrastructure that firmly locates Shakespeare's work based learning within a defining organisational environment, and secondly in its congruence with elements of contemporary practice.

Shakespeare's work based learning might be understood as responses to opportunities for initiating works and activities that are intellectually and creatively, rather than politically, radical. The work role ambiguities, tensions, possible conflict and successes possibly inherent in the period 1588 - 1594 led to Shakespeare's achieving the work role position of sharer in the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men from 1594, and principal playwright. The former work role position had some precedents and we have seen how these could have been developed into an emergent company infrastructure that was radical and became dominant. The latter work role of principal playwright did not conform to any previous ideology of practice (although arguably Marlowe's and Munday's practice may have been influential), which gave Shakespeare's performance of this work role high prominence and visibility. Any outstanding opportunity for innovation that was not available to other playwrights could have led to acknowledged high work role status and achievement. Therefore a major contributing factor to Shakespeare's success as a playwright appears determined by his occupancy of the highly complex work role of sharer, in turn grounded by his prior achievements and opportunism. Such innovation is a hallmark of the work based learning of creative artists from a subject perspective, in that innovation and creativity in the arts can be causal. Given that role innovation is a feature of Role Theory, this supports an argument for a special application of work based learning to the arts. In revealing more about the company infrastructure the research suggests that Shakespeare benefited from a series of

critical friends throughout his career. The influence that people such as James Burbage and Christopher Marlowe had emerges as being peripheral to the Role Sets' analysed, but fundamental as putative role models for Shakespeare's development of his work roles and works.

This section shows the importance of the research because it indicates how the diverse expertise of individual professionals may contribute to organisational development in the theatre, applicable in a modern way as well as historically.

The work based learning of Shakespeare's contemporaries

How Shakespeare might have drawn on the work practices of other creative artists whom he knew was discussed in Chapter 7, and in understanding those creative artists as work based learners we enhance our understanding of Shakespeare's potential use of such practical influences. It was also argued that Shakespeare could have deliberately synthesised that knowledge to comment on occupational practice and, following Dollimore's (1984) similar ideological arguments, contribute to a mode of discourse prevalent amongst and attractive to other practitioners. Some outline examples of this will suggest how Shakespeare's work based learning might be clarified by understanding that of his artistic contemporaries.

In modern terms artists as different as Nicholas Hilliard and Inigo Jones spent their careers investigating the relationship of practice to theory and in addition to their artistic works also produced written critiques on their practice (see Auerbach, 1961; Harris *et al*, 1973 and Hilliard, n.d). In contemporary terms they debated, in their respective media, the age-old argument about the relative superiority of art over language. The work based partnership between Richard Burbage and Shakespeare has been much commented on in the thesis. Conversely that of Inigo Jones and Ben Jonson is an example where different types of creative practice lead to work role conflict when compromise cannot be reached about theory precisely because it cannot be reached about practice.[1] If we accept the argument for Shakespeare's knowledge about the visual arts given

in Chapter 7, then there are significant opportunities to increase scholarly knowledge about the recorded and the lived culture which give added impetus for a work based learning evaluation of aspects of Williams' (1977) concepts. Shakespeare's knowledge of the visual arts in practice could be further researched, as of course could other areas, perhaps linking to current practice at Shakespeare's Globe on Bankside.

Patronage networks in the Shakespearean period have been revealed to be of overwhelming importance from the work based learning perspective because analysis suggests how the opportunities within the patronage relationship had to mediate with its tensions, ambiguities and products. Interestingly it suggests that patrons' portfolios across the art forms differentiated patronage practice across those art forms. A major area for further research is to explore patronage practice. This acknowledges a dichotomy in the relationship between how patronage and commissioning may both stimulate creativity, but also creates issues of hegemonic control that are clearly political and probably relate to Portwood's (1995) paradoxical propositions discussed in Chapter 1. That Shakespeare may have sought to eschew involvement with the politicisation of patronage after initial exposure to it, because of its potential ordering of creativity, has been discussed in Chapter 7 and provides a rationale for his intentional non-involvement in accepting commissions of political writing for civic spectacle or Court masques.[2]   That the thesis suggests Shakespeare was adept at dealing with contradiction and paradox in terms of career development and the production of works is revealing; that this is may be a specific manifestation found in other creative artists is a speculation worthy of further research.[3]

Agenda for further research

Even at this early stage in research about the relationships between artists' work roles and the production of their works, discernible patterns begin to emerge that when analysed using the entire methodological framework yield enormous potential for further research. One of the major points arising from the case of

Shakespeare relates to one of Portwood's (1995) propositions about work based learning; namely that work based learning is highly opportunistic but fraught with ambiguity. We can now enrich that proposition by noting a specific application to artists. Dealing with ambiguity and opportunism are characteristic of creative artists' work based learning, because they are fundamental to artistic career development. What is critical is the use they make of expert peers' knowledge and experience as building blocks for immediate improvement and future development. As seen in Chapter 2 this occurs naturally in the rehearsal process in planned and incidental ways; in Chapters 2 and 7 we saw that this might manifest itself in mentoring or coaching that could be informal but planned, in ways that benefit the individual, company and audience for whom their works are being prepared. Investigating this from researching the learning of an entire theatre company during the rehearsal process would uncover how occupants of different work roles learn from one another.

The work based learning of arts practitioners is however not confined to rehearsal or studio processes, and every live performance or exhibition (whether public or private) presents opportunity for re-testing and re-applying knowledge and ability and subjecting it to critical acclaim that links to Schön's (1987) theory of the reflective practitioner. Linking work based learning research to existing research programmes about creativity in live performance has potential to exploit these issues. Work based learning methods can perhaps support performing arts practitioners in developing opportunities for experiential learning that improves the production of works. This has implications for the education and training of artists. Longitudinal and in-depth research about practice may help develop typologies of creative artists who are work based learners, starting by looking at how the production of works relates to different types of work roles across art forms. Any such grouping must question what types of expert practitioner knowledge mediate with what types of diverse practitioner experience for the creation of works. This is important and involves three main groups:

Directors, producers and conductors because they occupy leadership work roles that have to synthesise collaboration with occupants of different work role

positions. They are examples of how work role positions might interact with the patrons who commission, support and help the development of works.

Playwrights, designers and composers because their work roles necessitate significant solitary and concentrated application together with collaboration with occupants of different work roles. They highlight the importance of significant others, interpersonal learning and partnerships with particular groups and arts organisations.

Actors, musicians and dancers because they primarily work with occupants of the same work roles where the interaction between the rehearsal and performance processes will be critical in terms of how they learn with and from one another in a company setting and take direction. Their work roles involve technical proficiency and creative interpretation.

Separately and inter-related, historically and contemporaneously these groupings form the research agenda for the future because by investigating how their various knowledge and experience is acquired, developed and practised, we might reveal how, why and what new knowledge and practice is generated.

Research implications

At the end of Chapter 2, six features of the work based learning of contemporary creative artists were stated. These are now cast in a new light here because, following the analysis of a relationship between Shakespeare's work roles and works, these features could arguably be said to be as relevant to individual practitioners and theatre companies today as they were to Shakespeare and other members of the Lord Chamberlain's / King's Men. This is because these features and the methodology developed in this thesis appear to interact historically and contemporaneously.

1.   The existence, type, status and operation of patronage/sponsorship
        systems will critically influence playwrights' processes of and outputs

from work based learning; absence of such sponsorship/patronage in its broadest sense is likely to make occupational progression extremely difficult.

2.   Actors and playwrights are highly motivated by new opportunities for creative development, that are perceived as being met by the experiential learning inherent in participating in and initiating new productions and projects. Arguably they seek new learning experiences.

3.   Experiential learning is a norm of the rehearsal process, and the rehearsal process is an ideal environment for collaborative, experimental, reciprocal, planned and accidental work based learning to occur.

4.   Collaboration is a pre-requisite for theatre production, as is the solitary endeavour of actors and playwrights in preparation for that collaboration.

5.   The rehearsal process provides opportunities for learning from role models in the theatre practitioner's own occupational field and from those in other related fields; this will be enhanced when mutual understanding of the functions that differentiate theatre work roles is in place at individual and group level.

6.   Experimentation with new forms, genres and venues is likely to lead to new skills relevant to the theatre practitioner and may expose the practitioner to new and additional professional opportunities that may change the practitioner's perceived and actual status.

This leads to an aspect of work based learning that has not yet been considered. For creative practitioners, a fundamental objective is to do a perfect performance (to produce a perfect work) and initial instruction and preparation focuses on the techniques that will enable them to strive continuously for such perfection and improve on previous performance.[4] While literary scholarship (Hope, 1994 and Kermode, 2000) examines revisions of Shakespeare's play-scripts linguistically and textually (but by Shakespeare on his own and / or by the company, remains a

critical unresearched question), there appears to be no research to date that explores revision from the perspective of perfecting performance, something that work based learning is well placed to investigate. Much of this thesis has been about developing and applying methods to understand Shakespeare's work based learning and suggests that Shakespeare's work based learning could have some indicative affinities with contemporary artists' work based learning. If work based learning helps us understand creative artists, then the next challenge for work based learning as a field of studies is to learn from those creative artists. Aesthetics, technical and creative perfection and interpersonal aspects of learning are key to creative practitioners; work based learning practitioners could address this by learning with and from those creative practitioners.

In the final analysis this research presents exciting new opportunities. Namely that if the methodological approach is deemed effective and revealing in understanding Shakespeare's work roles and works within his social context then the new paradigm of work based learning as a field of studies cannot be ignored.

Notes

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1. Others of the Shakespearean period relating practice to theory as a result of being a practitioner include Samuel Daniel, Thomas Dekker, Thomas Heywood, Ben Jonson (and indirectly through Drummond of Hawthornden), Thomas Campion and Sir Philip Sidney. Daniel's *A Defense of Ryme* was published in 1603 as a direct response to Campion's *Observations in the Art of English Poesie* of the previous year. Both were heavily influenced by Sidney's *Apology for Poetry*, which was probably written in the early 1580s, circulated in manuscript amongst the Pembroke patronage network and published in 1595. Miller (1959) and Kastan, ed., (1999) contain a range of critical material on theories of writing and also publishing practices for professional writers in the Shakespearean period. Dekker's satirical *Gull's Hornbook* of 1609 and *Satiromastix* of 1601 comment on practice and Heywood's *Apology for Actors* published in 1612 is important in its reference to theatre practice and its defence against Puritan attacks. Jonson's *Discoveries* and *Conversations with William Drummond of*

Hawthornden of 1619 contain interesting ranges of commentary on his diverse creative practices. Most of the works referred to are readily available in both facsimile and edited editions.

2. The extremes of such politicisation of creative artists' work based learning and the production of works can be seen in the form of censorship, or where social conditions predicate against the production and public airing of works. Jonson suffered from this, and there are plenty of more recent examples. In more modern terms, there are clearly gender and race issues prevalent here as well as political. Conversely of course the power of the dramatic form is especially suited for conveying socio-political argument, as works by such playwrights such as Bond, Brecht or Hare demonstrate.

3. The literary use of paradox is well known. Paradox is an extensive feature of early seventeenth century writing, and to be found in the works of John Donne and his contemporaries. For further information about the concept of paradox see Hughes and Brecht (1975). An interesting and unusual example that has resonance with the Shakespearean period is Hugo von Hofmannstahl's 'Letter from Lord Chandos to Francis Bacon' written in 1902 and found in Hofmannstahl's *Selected Prose* (1952), Routledge and Kegan Paul, page 133*ff.*

4. This is an interesting and possibly contentious point. If the argument about the work based learning of creative artists is accepted, then further research about the nature of live stage performance as forms of active experimentation and testing would be worthwhile.

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