Monstrosity and Performance on the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Stage

Juliana Beykirch

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Abstract

This PhD thesis offers a new approach to the study of early modern monstrosity. It does so by introducing the notion of 'extraordinary embodiment' – a capacious conceptual category encompassing characteristics including disability, gender identity, religion, foreignness, and ethnicity – and examining theatrical performances in which monstrous characters are portrayed by extraordinarily embodied performers. In doing so, it highlights the intersectionality central to early modern attitudes towards monstrosity.

This thesis contains three case studies highlighting the contributions of extraordinarily embodied performers to three distinct performance traditions, in performance modes which engage audiences in diverse ways, hold different cultural status and take place in different physical spaces. In doing so, it puts seventeenth- and eighteenth-century performance traditions in dialogue with each other, challenging existing period boundaries. It begins by reconstructing the performance career of Jeffrey Hudson (1619-1682), court dwarf and masque performer at Charles I's court; it then examines the impact of late-seventeenth-century fairground performers like, the gigantic Dutchwoman Mrs Saftry on the patent stage; before finally turning to the 'Swedish Giant' Daniel Cajanus (1702/3-1749) and his performances on stage and page.

Challenging monster theory's tendency to see monsters as readable metaphorical bodies providing insights into the cultures from which they emerge, this thesis looks *at* and *with* monsters, investigating how performing monstrosity and claiming 'monster' as a subject position enabled extraordinarily embodied people to negotiate and articulate what they meant to themselves. It highlights ways in which their performances created spaces which facilitated close encounters with extraordinarily embodied people and disrupted performer-audience relations by resisting being read as metaphors and instead speaking to their lived experience. Situated at the intersections of theatre history, cultural history and disability studies, this thesis positions extraordinarily embodied performers as active participants in and innovators of theatrical practice, highlighting their impact on generic change.

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Daniel Cajanus's poem "Daniel Cajanus Gewenschte Lofbazuine" ("Daniel Cajanus Wishes Praise"), printed in Haarlem in 1748.

Note on the Text

I consistently use the contemporary editions of the primary sources I examine in this thesis. I use page numbers where they are available and signature marks where page numbers are not available. I maintain my sources' original spelling.

Any translations from Dutch or German are mine. When translating from Dutch or German, including when translating the titles of works originally written in those languages, I maintain the original capitalisation.

I use New Style dates.

Introduction

On 21 January 1742, the members of London's Royal Society welcomed an unusual guest to the Society's headquarters in Crane Court: Daniel Cajanus, an extraordinarily tall Finn who had arrived in the city late in the previous year. Cajanus had just completed an engagement at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden, where he had played a giant[1] in the pantomime *Perseus and Andromeda; or, The Cheats of Harlequin*. Now, he had been paid to appear before the Society, whose members went about carefully measuring his height and the proportions of his body and interrogated his servant about his dietary habits. This was not Cajanus's first stay in London: in 1734, the performance of 'Mynheer Cajanus' as Gargantua in the pantomime *Cupid and Psyche* at Drury Lane had enchanted audiences, who flocked to the theatre, and enraged critics and theatre professionals who continued to discuss (and lampoon) his performance months, even years after his departure from the city. It must, therefore, have come as a surprise for these learned gentlemen, when the man they had recognised as Drury Lane's 'Mynheer Cajanus' declared that he was "brother to one of the same Name shew'd for a Sight in London some years ago," as an entry in the Society's Journal Book records (JBO/18, 329). This caused some confusion amongst the Society members:

> some of the Society were of [the] opinion that this Man was the very same person with the other formerly shown in London; there being a great resemblance in their Features, tho' this seemed more proportionally made: the Rev^{d}. Doctr. Pearce, who happen'd to be one of the tallest Gentlemen in the Meeting, said he had some reason to think otherwise; For that he had observed he could not reach higher than the other Man's forehead, yet he could reach about an inch above the forehead of this Man. (JBO/18, 328-9)

A note in the minutes of the Society's meeting in the following week, on 28 January, shows that Martin Folkes, the Society's president, was so confused by Cajanus's statement that he continued to discuss it with his peers before recording that "he had been since inform'd from Mr. Hogarth the Painter and others, that this Man was undoubtedly the very same Man, and not, as he pretended, a Brother to him who was shewn in London a few years ago" (JBO/18,

[1] Throughout this thesis, I use the terms giant and dwarf to refer to extraordinarily tall and short individuals, as that is the language both contemporary sources and current scholars tend to use when describing them. When referring to extraordinarily short individuals who, like Hudson, lived at court, I refer to them as court dwarfs. I omit scare quotes for ease of reading.

[3]30). Cajanus's conduct during this episode is both revolutionary and transformative. Having subjected himself to being measured and examined by Society members, he speaks back, pretending to be his own brother and transforming a static scientific examination into a dynamic theatrical performance. He refutes the Society members's readings of his body, hinting at features of himself – such as his family – which cannot be determined by simply looking at him. Thereby, Cajanus refuses to act as a mere "Sight," an abnormal, passive, silent body whose dimensions can be recorded and whose workings can be understood, and instead positions himself as a performing subject. What Cajanus does in this moment – what this act of performance does for him – is nothing short of an assertion of his humanity and personhood.

This episode illustrates this thesis's central question: what happens when someone stops only 'being' a monster and starts playing at being one? That is, what happens when an individual whom their contemporaries consider to be monstrous starts complicating, subverting and appropriating that categorisation by playing a character who is designated monstrous? Here, performances like Cajanus's emerge as spaces in which encounters with extraordinarily embodied people occur, and in which performer-audience relations are disrupted, with stage monsters transcending their status as passive objects of a paying audience's gaze by taking control of the way in which their bodies signify and looking and speaking back. I position extraordinarily embodied performers as participants in theatrical practice who operated as performing subjects instead of exhibited objects, within the limits of the performance modes in which they engaged. This thesis makes visible the work done by and the skill of extraordinarily embodied performers, demonstrating that what made them successful was not just their embodiment, their being, but also their doing, their performances, which frequently served as spaces for their self-fashioning. It both elucidates the strategies extraordinarily embodied performers employed for their self-fashioning and demonstrates their contribution to theatre history. To do so, I demonstrate that the popular success their performances enjoyed directly contributed to generic change, which I position as one of the most tangible pieces of evidence for these performers' lasting impact. In her monograph *Big and Small: A Cultural History of Extraordinary Bodies*, Lynne Vallone begins her exploration of "The Dwarf in High and Popular Culture" with the question "what does the dwarf mean? Not to himself, of course, but as a cultural sign or marker of something other, or something more, than small size" (60). In this thesis, I am asking this question Vallone rejects: how did performance, specifically performing monstrosity, enable extraordinarily embodied people to

take control of the way in which their bodies signified, to negotiate and articulate what they meant to themselves or how they wanted to be perceived by others? How do their performances resist being read as metaphors and instead speak to their lived experience?

I highlight the contributions of extraordinarily embodied performers to three distinct performance traditions which engage audiences in diverse ways, hold different cultural status and take place in different physical spaces. I begin the thesis by reconstructing the performance career of Jeffrey Hudson,[2] Charles I's court dwarf, who joined the Caroline court as a child and performed monstrous parts including dwarfs and devils in masques, the elite entertainments staged at the Stuart court, over the course of a fifteen-year-long performance career. This first chapter focuses on three masques, staged between 1631 and 1638, in which an appearance by Hudson is either recorded or likely: the Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones co-production *Chloridia* (1631), Aurelian Townshend's *The Ante-Masques* (ca. 1635) and *Britannia Triumphans* (1638), designed by Jones with a libretto by William Davenant. I demonstrate both that what I describe as Hudson's authentic extraordinary embodiment stood at the centre of his masque performances and that, as Hudson matured as a performer, the masques in which he appeared evolved around him to create spaces in which he could display his considerable talents in increasingly prominent parts, resulting in significant generic change.

The second case study examines how a broad range of the population of late seventeenth-century London encountered monstrosity and supposedly monstrous performers. This chapter explores what I will call monster culture, a distinct performance culture associated with the London fairgrounds and encompassing various modes whose common and defining feature was the spectacular display of bodies which were deemed extraordinary due either to an impairment such as extreme height or exceptional capabilities, as in the case of Mrs Saffry, a giant Dutch rope-dancer and fairground booth proprietor whose career I trace. This chapter further highlights the impact extraordinarily embodied performers and the popular modes of performance they engaged in had on the commercial theatre, its makers and its audiences by reading evidence of monster culture in dialogue with Behn's *The Second Part of The Rover* (1681),[3] and positioning *II Rover* as Behn's response to, and, potentially, collaboration with, female fairground performers. Here, I particularly focus on Behn's

[2] The spelling of Hudson's first name in contemporary sources varies widely, with variations including Geffry, Jeffery, Jeffry and Jeffrey. For the sake of clarity, I have adopted the latter spelling throughout this thesis.
[3] Subsequently, I will refer to *The Second Part of The Rover* as *II Rover*.

portrayal of two female 'monsters,' the Jewish, Mexican Giant and the Dwarf, who, I argue, were likely played by two of the extraordinarily embodied performers who entertained audiences on London's fairgrounds: either by the extraordinarily tall or short performers appearing in often complex, dynamic, and fundamentally theatrical fairground performances or, in the case of Behn's Giant, by a pair of acrobats like Mrs Saffry.

The thesis's last chapter reconstructs Cajanus's performance career, focusing on three distinct moments and starting with his first London stay in 1734 and his immensely successful appearances as a pantomime giant. It then examines his second London stay of 1741/2, when he began to engage in elaborate, highly theatrical performances, during which he displayed his body to paying spectators. During that time, Cajanus emerges as an active participant in the formation of his highly contradictory public image, utilising a performance strategy which I call oscillating overexpression. Lastly, the chapter turns towards the poetry which Cajanus produced during his time in the Dutch town of Haarlem and in which he applies remarkably similar performance strategies to those he had employed during his exhibitions.[4] I read these poems as further evidence of his self-fashioning, and, indeed, his voice.

Disability/Monstrosity/Extraordinary Embodiment

Despite the diversity of the time periods and social and cultural contexts in which they operate, the performers at the centre of this thesis possess two major similarities. The first is the extraordinariness of their embodiment, while the second lies in the kind of parts they played, namely those of 'stage monsters'. This particular constellation, however, results in a kind of conundrum posed by the significant differences between early modern and contemporary perceptions of disability and monstrosity. At the centre of this thesis stand performers whose extreme heights would today be described as disabling impairments.[5] In making this distinction between impairment and disability, I rely on the American cultural or material model of disability, which distinguishes between "impairment, which can be thought of as a socially if not physically neutral state, and disability, which is a social identity constructed by the limits and assumptions placed on impairment by culture" (Bearden 8). The cultural model of disability "attends to the ways lived particularity interacts with environment,

[4] I discuss my employment of this term in detail in this thesis's second chapter.

[5] In this thesis, I generally do not attempt to diagnose the performers at the centre of my case studies, as in most cases, such posthumous diagnoses do not contribute to our understanding of how their contemporaries, or, indeed, they themselves, perceived and engaged with their embodiment. In the second chapter, I do, however, discuss the specific nature of Jeffrey Hudson's impairment, as it helps illuminate the unique position he held at Charles I's court.

and it especially understands the meanings and consequences of disability as determined by embodiment's interface with cultural narratives, language, and representations" (Hobgood and Wood 5). However, while today, the extreme heights of the performers I examine would be considered impairments, their contemporaries would have perceived them as markers of monstrosity. Hudson's contemporaries, for instance, did not describe his body as ill or impaired but as monstrous: William Lithgow, for instance, calls him "strenuous *Ieffrey*, that *Cyclopian* creature," mocking his "monstrous smalnesse" (45). Seventeenth-and eighteenth-century pamphlets and newspaper notices, too, advertise performances by individuals whom they describe as monstrous. A pamphlet printed in 1685, for instance, announces a "Prodigious Monster" to be seen in Bartholomew Fair ("In Bartholomew Fair, at the Corner of Hosier-Lane, and Near Mr. Parker's Booth there is to be seen a Prodigious Monster"). What is more, these performers played characters who are not presented as disabled – that is, their physical anomaly is neither pathologized nor depicted as disabling, as constituting an obstacle to performing certain actions – but as fantastical, even explicitly monstrous. While Hudson played devils and fairies in Stuart antimasques, Behn's Giant and Dwarf, characters which were likely played by extraordinarily embodied fairground performers, are designated monsters by *II Rover*'s dramatis personae and its characters. Decades later, Cajanus played Gargantua, a character named after François Rabelais's comic giant. Hudson, Cajanus, Saffry and the unnamed performers appearing on Bartholomew Fair played monsters because they are uniquely *able* to do so – not only because their extraordinary embodiment corresponds so closely to that of the characters they play that they have no need of performance aids such as prosthetics but also because, due to early modern and eighteenth-century perceptions of physical abnormality, their extraordinary bodies were considered monstrous both on and off stage. This constellation requires careful consideration – both with respect to the language I use to describe the performers at the centre of this thesis and with respect to the theoretical framework utilised in my analysis.

In the early modern period, 'monstrosity' was a broad identity category which provoked an equally broad range of reactions. From the sixteenth century onwards and partly enabled by oceanic exploration and colonial expansion, 'real-life monsters' reached the centre of communities, as large parts of the public were able to see monsters ranging from "malformed humans to non-European others (notably Native American Indians) to exotic or deformed animals and aquatic creatures" in cabinets of curiosity or fairs (Davies 63-73). Perceptions and interpretations of those monstrous bodies, however, continually shifted

during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with different approaches coexisting. Katherine Park and Lorraine Daston track three separate complexes of interpretations of monsters – either as supernatural prodigies, natural wonders or objects of scientific inquiry – which "overlapped and coexisted during much of the early modern period" (176). Similarly, Stephen Pender argues that "there was no clear sequence of historical development in the reception of deformed bodies," with the meaning of monsters being continually renegotiated: "the dynamic attempt to naturalize the monster through the discourses of science ran parallel to, and in some instances ratified, the continued proliferation of accounts of terata as miraculous, strange, and portentous" ("No Monster" 146). He continues, "[t]he marvellous and the scientific coexisted in the reception and study of monsters and continued to do so long after the monster's absorption by 'legitimate' scientific discourses in the eighteenth century" ("No Monster" 150). Early modern monsters thus evoked a range of reactions, including horror and repugnance as well as pleasure, curiosity, and wonder. The breadth of interpretations of and emotional responses to monstrous bodies outlined by scholars such as Park, Daston and Pender corresponds to the diverse responses to the performers and characters at the centre of this thesis. While Lithgow's description of Hudson is characterised by barely veiled disgust, other contemporaries appeared to derive pleasure from looking at him and repeatedly praised his prettiness: while John Taylor, in the dedicatory poem of his treatise *The Olde, Old, Very Olde Man* (1635), calls Hudson "a Pretty Creature," the author of the pamphlet "The Three Wonders of this Age" (1636), calls Hudson "one of the pretiest, neatest, and well-proportioned small men that ever Nature bred". In late seventeenth-century London, meanwhile, monstrous births were both discussed in *Philosophical Transactions*, the scientific journal published by the Royal Society, and exhibited to paying audiences in inns and on fairs, where they were frequently advertised as 'wonders of nature'. That this coexistence of diverse perceptions and emotional responses continued long into the eighteenth century is illustrated by the case of Cajanus, who exhibited his body both to curious spectators who had been attracted by advertisements which called him a "Prodigy in Nature" (*London Daily Advertiser* 11 February) and to members of the Royal Society who treated him like a medical specimen. What unites these modes of making sense of supposedly monstrous bodies is the way in which they urge spectators to encounter monsters by gazing at and reading their bodies – whether it be in order to determine the religious, or scientific reason for their embodiment or to derive enjoyment from their gazing. This mode of engaging with monsters is hinted at even in the word's etymological roots: the word 'monster' has been associated

with the Latin derivations "*monstrum*, meaning portent, prodigy, or unnatural thing" (Geil 259) as well as "*monere* 'to warn' and *monstrare* 'to show' . . . [t]hus, a monster is something put on display as a warning" (Lee Six and Thompson 237). As I demonstrate, in all the performance traditions I examine, extraordinarily embodied performers complicate and challenge this static, one-sided gazing at and reading of monsters.

The difference in early modern and contemporary attitudes towards physical impairment has led to scholarly debate about how to best engage with early modern accounts and artistic depictions of anomalous bodies. While scholars like Lennard Davis have argued that the category of 'disability' as we understand it today only "became relatively organized in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries" (3), Hobgood and Wood posit that "the notion of early modern disability is not anachronistic because human variation, though conceived of and responded to diversely, has always existed" (7). Therefore, early modern "[r]epresentations of non-normativity . . . serve for us as viable mechanisms for recreating, interpreting, and understanding a historically remote cultural imagination of disability" (Hobgood and Wood 7). As Bearden puts it, "[u]nderstanding how early modern writers normed, located, and related disability not only provides us with more accurate genealogies of disability, but also helps us to nuance current aesthetic and theoretical disability formulations" (4). While Hobgood and Wood argue against "conceptualizing the marvelous, monstrous, and deformed . . . to describe early modern bodily difference" (7), urging scholars to utilise disability methodologies in order to "transcen[d] static readings of disability in its premodern iterations — via stark categories such as 'monster'" (8), scholars like Tory V. Pearman highlight both the promises and the dangers of approaching disability from the angle of monstrosity. Pearman argues that while "monstrosity is not equivalent to disability . . . the social construction of monsters certainly shares interrelating characteristics with the social construction of disability" (v). Bearden further highlights how productive "the broadness of monstrosity in its positive and negative valences" can be for the examination of early modern disability, arguing that it "provides disability with a representational history that is copious enough to comprehend and respond to society's oscillations between sanctification of and discrimination against people with disabilities" (6).

Nonetheless, as Pearman argues, bringing together the discourses of monstrosity and disability requires great care because the very terms 'monstrosity' and 'disability' "are particularly charged, since they do not merely characterize pre-existing phenomena, but

instead they create the conceptual categories they simultaneously populate" (Godden and Mittman 4). While "neither disability nor monstrosity has any ontological status" as a state of being (Godden and Mittman 11), "the category's 'real-ness' is less important than the reverberations of the designating term, that creates real, lived experiences and effects in socio-cultural settings" (Row 90). Thus, acknowledging that the performers whose careers I examine were designated monstrous is significant – not only because it indicates how their contemporaries engaged with them, but also because it impacted both their lived experience and the parts they played on stage. This approach informs my own use of the words 'monster,' 'monstrosity' and 'monstrous' in this thesis.[6] I use these terms to acknowledge that performers were associated with that category specifically in its early modern multiplicity, which allowed both positive and negative associations and reactions. Further, as I demonstrate, it is precisely this categorisation as monstrous which these performers engage with, subvert and appropriate in the performances in whose production they were involved.

In addition to their explicit categorisation as monstrous, the performers at the centre of my case studies as well as the characters they played possess another commonality: their supposed monstrosity is not due exclusively to their physical impairment but also depends – to varying degrees – on other markers of physical otherness. In order to reflect this intersectionality and complexity, I introduce the notion of 'extraordinary embodiment' – a capacious conceptual category encompassing characteristics including disability, gender identity, religion, foreignness, and ethnicity. When discussing the bodies of performers and characters who were designated monstrous, I will refer to them as extraordinarily embodied instead of disabled or impaired. Correspondingly, I will call individuals whose bodies are not perceived as extraordinary normatively embodied. The introduction of the conceptual category of extraordinary embodiment is particularly significant as early modern perceptions of monstrosity and disability intersected but were not co-extensive. While some bodily anomalies were frequently read as markers of monstrosity, crucially, not every condition that would be labelled an impairment today was perceived as monstrous. Amongst the conditions which marked a body as monstrous were impairments such as missing or additional limbs,[7]

[6] For ease of reading, I have omitted scare quotes with respect to these terms in the thesis as a whole.
[7] For an account of the performance career of one such performer, see Godden and Mittman's description of the exploits of Matthias Buchinger, a German born in 1674 without hands, feet, or thighs, who advertised himself as 'a monster without hands or feet' (Katritzky *Women, Medicine, and Theatre* 109). In front of paying audiences, Buchinger displayed his body, as well as "performing actual magic tricks and card tricks, playing numerous musical instruments, dancing, bowling ninepins, performing trick-shots with a pistol and rifle, building miniature models in bottles" as well as his skills as a calligrapher (Godden and Mittman 29; 27-31).

hirsuteness, or pathological hair growth,[8] obesity,[9] hermaphroditism,[10] the presence of a conjoined or parasitic twin,[11] or, as was the case for many of the performers at the centre of this study, dwarfism or gigantism. In addition, the notion of extraordinary embodiment helps account for the fact that in the early modern period, monstrosity was a highly contingent and contextual category, which could include both disabled and non-disabled individuals. Pamela Allen Brown and Peter Parolin, for instance, describe how prior to the Restoration, female actresses and acrobats, often members of continental European touring troupes, were met with accusations of unnaturalness and monstrosity (2-3), while in England's cabinets of curiosity and on London's fairs, non-disabled non-European people were exhibited alongside Britons or Europeans with physical impairments, with both being described as monstrous (Davies 73).[12] The capaciousness of extraordinary embodiment as a category helps account for the complexity and intersectionality of early modern attitudes towards bodily difference.

Hints at this kind of multi-faceted extraordinary embodiment are present in the contemporary discourse surrounding all the performers I examine. Hudson played characters who were far from merely particularly short but were also marked as foreign or hyper-sexual. In Inigo Jones's costume sketches for *Chloridia*, for instance, Hudson's character, which the script describes as the "Dwarf-Post from Hell," is designated the "Dutch-Post" (Orgel and Strong 434, no. 170) while in *Salmacida Spolia* (1640), he played the part of the "little Swisse" (C3V). In *The Ante-Masques* (ca. 1635), Hudson does not only play a part whose name, the "Pigmee," hints at remote origins and ethnic otherness, but delivers a speech whose sexual frisson derives from hinting at how his short stature – his height is described as "Not much above a Ladies knee" – might afford him access to the bodies of courtly women of the Queen's household. Decades later, advertisements promoting the appearances of late

[8] For a study of early modern perceptions and depictions of, as well as responses to hirsuteness, see M.A. Katritzky, "'A Wonderfull Monster Borne in Germany': Hairy Girls in Medieval and Early Modern German Book, Court, and Performance Culture".
[9] Vallone, for instance, discusses the case of Eugenia Martínez Vallejo, nicknamed 'La Monstrua' due to her obesity (248-50). In 1680, Vallejo was brought to the Spanish court, where the court painter Juan Carreño de Miranda created one painting showing her clothed, and one depicting her nude body.
[10] Ruth Gilbert has produced a detailed exploration of perceptions of and responses to hermaphroditism in the early modern period in *Early Modern Hermaphrodites: Sex and Other Stories*. For detailed discussions of perceptions of hermaphrodites as monstrous, see chapters one and five.
[11] For a discussion of early modern perceptions of conjoined twins, see Pender, "'No Monsters at the Resurrection': Inside Some Conjoined Twins".
[12] This practice endured into the eighteenth century. During the 1740s, Cajanus, for instance lodged in an Amsterdam inn called "Blauw-Jan," which Jan Barentsz Westerhof, the inn's first proprietor, had transformed into a kind of cabinet of curiosities housing exotic birds and animals as well as people with gigantism, dwarfism, or other disabilities, acrobats and non-European people like Tartars or Inuit (Sliggers 16).

seventeenth-century fairground performers do not only highlight their physical impairment but also comment on features such as foreignness, religion, ethnicity, or gender identity. A 1685 pamphlet, for instance, promotes appearances in Bartholomew Fair by a "Prodigious Monster . . . from the great *Moguls* Countrey; being a Man with one Head and two-distinct Bodies, both *Masculine*; there is also with him his Brother who is a Priest of the *Mahometan* Religion" ("In Bartholomew Fair, at the Corner of Hosier-Lane, and Near Mr. Parker's Booth there is to be seen a Prodigious Monster"). In *II Rover*, Behn replicates this piling on of markers of otherness by staging monsters not only defined by their extreme heights, but further 'othered' by their foreignness, their ethnic and religious difference and, particularly in the case of the Giant, by the threat of excessive sexuality her body seems to hold. Similarly, advertisements promoting Cajanus's performances consistently describe him in terms that emphasise his foreignness as well as his tallness ('Swedish Giant,' 'Mynheer Cajanus,' 'Tall Man from Findland'). The performers' categorisation as 'monsters,' then, is due to their extraordinary embodiment, a category which encompasses physical impairment as well as features such as sexuality, foreignness or ethnicity – characteristics that manifest themselves physically in some way but constitute neither a physical impairment nor a disability.

As outlined above, in this thesis, I examine performances of monstrosity which were produced by extraordinarily embodied performers whose contemporaries considered them monstrous both on and off the stage. To make sense of this dynamic, I employ the concept of authenticity in two specific ways. Firstly, I demonstrate that the performances at the centre of my case studies were perceived as particularly authentic because the embodiment of the performer closely corresponded to that of the character they were playing, meaning that the performer in question did not, for instance, have to use prosthetics in order to achieve their height. Secondly, I identify what I call 'authentic extraordinary embodiment' as a central element of performances produced by extraordinarily embodied performers. At its core, authentic extraordinary embodiment makes the metaphorical both literal and specific, and thereby resists metaphorical signification. When a giant plays a giant, or a monster plays a monster, the signifier is the signified. Instead of invoking abstract metaphorical or allegorical meanings, or signifying something other than themselves, the performances produced for and by extraordinarily embodied performers communicate information about the specific performer's identity and their lived experience. When Hudson, for instance, appeared on stage – dressed in expensive clothing bought by the Queen, displaying performance skills he had learned from the royal dancing master, delivering speeches so subversive that he, the Queen's

favourite, might well have been the only performer able to utter them with impunity – he, unlike his fellow antimasque-performers, did not signify an abstract metaphorical concept, but rather himself and his unique status at court. The authentic extraordinary embodiment of performers like the ones I examine in this thesis is both what prevents their performances from being read as metaphorical signs, and the main characteristic that distinguishes them from performances of anomalous embodiment by normatively embodied performers.

Theoretical Intervention

While I utilise monstrosity as a critical lens, I simultaneously draw on methodologies which are informed by disability studies in order to critique monster studies and its way of approaching and making sense of monsters. Specifically, I challenge monster theory's somewhat paradoxical tendency to look *through* rather than *at* monsters. In "Monster Culture: Seven Theses," one of the discipline's foundational texts, Jeffrey Jerome Cohen describes monster theory as a "method of reading cultures from the monsters they engender" (3). Mittman elaborates on this, identifying as monster theory's primary area of interest the process whereby those who are perceived as 'other' in terms of sexuality, gender identity, ethnicity, religion or disability are 'monstered': "Monster theory can be . . . a means of understanding and describing tools used to abject, to reject and exclude people" from society (8). According to monster theory, then, monsters are not born, but made. There are no traits that are inherently monstrous; instead, monstrosity is always a sociocultural construct. As Cohen states, "[t]he monstrous body is pure culture . . . the monster exists only to be read" ("Monster Culture" 4). Monster theorists use monsters as a kind of lens – a transparent object through which one gazes to examine something else. This is, undoubtedly, a productive approach in many contexts.[13] Indeed, it is an approach I have, at times, taken in this thesis. As I outline in my discussion of *II Rover*'s Giant and Dwarf, for instance, the Cavaliers' 'monstering' of the Jewish Mexican sisters reveals much about the period's antisemitism as well as its attitudes towards race, disability and female sexuality. At the same time, however, this approach, which looks through monsters at the cultures that have produced them, reduces the monster in question to a metaphorical object that holds no meaning in itself. In *Of Giants*, Cohen writes, "The monster is definitionally a displacement: an exhibit, demonstrative of something other than itself. . . As sheer representation, it follows that the monster should have

[13] By looking through 'monsters,' scholars have explored historical attitudes towards gender (Nussbaum *The Limits of the Human*), sexuality (Cohen *Of Giants*) and race (Higgs Strickland).

no life outside of a constitutive cultural gaze, outside of its status as specular object" (xiv). Such an approach both objectifies and erases the people who, historically, were designated real-life monsters.

In this thesis, I move beyond reading monsters solely as signs standing in for something other than themselves. Instead of looking *through* them, I firmly look *at* the monsters in question – both at 'stage monsters' and at the supposedly monstrous performers for whom and by whom these parts were created. This is not intended to replicate the one-way gaze constructed by monster theorists, which an active reader directs towards a passive, objectified, legible monster. The mode of looking I am proposing instead draws on Rosemarie Garland Thompson's notion of the stare, which she distinguishes from the gaze, "which has been extensively defined as an oppressive act of disciplinary looking that subordinates its victim" (*Staring* 9). Garland Thompson defines staring as a dynamic visual exchange that creates meaning (*Staring* 9) and functions as "a conduit to knowledge . . . staring becomes a starer's quest to know and a staree's opportunity to be known" (*Staring* 15). It is further informed by the disability scholars' Hobgood and Wood's proposal of "ethical staring" as a mode of encountering bodily difference which "does not condone detached gazing but instead insists upon productive looking" (1). In this thesis, I aim to highlight the performers' efforts to take control of the way in which their bodies signify, asking what they might reveal about their lives "outside of the constitutional cultural gaze," as people rather than "sheer representation" (Cohen *Of Giants* xiv). While monster theorists like Cohen think of monsters as "exist[ing] only to be read" ("Monster Culture" 4), I ask what happens when monsters themselves start actively reading both their own bodies and those of the people gazing on them. Looking *at* monsters, then, also means looking *with* them.

This requires a change of focus away from the process of 'monstering,' while still acknowledging that monstrosity is a sociocultural construct. Consequently, this thesis's primary focus does not lie in asking what the 'monstering' of these specific performers and the characters they played says about the society in which it occurs. Instead, I acknowledge that this categorisation has been made and that it shaped contemporaries' perception of these performers and the parts they played, before focusing on what the performers in question do with that categorisation – both on and off the stage. While the first and third chapters of my thesis reconstruct how specific, named performers contributed to theatrical practice by critically engaging with their own supposed monstrosity, the second chapter traces how

performers about whose individual careers less is known managed to bring their experience and voices to commercial theatre and changed it in the process. By focusing on their engagement with, their subversion, complication and appropriation of the term 'monster,' I foreground their experience and their voices. When examining their theatrical performances, I particularly highlight moments in which performances and performers resist presenting monsters as abstract, two-dimensional metaphors. This erosion of monster theory's analytical distance between monster and spectator, between a sign and its reader, occurs due to firstly, their physical presence on stage and, secondly, their speech. As a result, extraordinarily embodied performers operate not as metaphorical exhibits but as subjects, specifically as subjects actively involved in performances of monstrosity in which they resist attempts to read their bodies as metaphors. Thereby, they present a challenge to monster theory's fantasy of total legibility and, in doing so, point to a theatre that can deploy more expansive understandings of subjectivity.

By definition, monsters in performance – literal, moving bodies on a stage – resist being read exclusively as two-dimensional metaphors. As Katherine Schaap Williams argues, "[i]f the rhetoric of monstrosity displays a 'flight into metaphor' in the fixed print of narrative accounts, theatrical form affords no such dematerialization" (189). The performances I examine do not rely on metaphorical monstrosity but place the literal, physical presence of an extraordinarily embodied performer on stage at their very centre. Hudson routinely appears alongside normatively embodied performers from whom he is distinguished by his authentically extraordinary embodiment, his particularly elaborate costumes and the kinds of actions he performs – he, for instance, is routinely the only antimasque performer with scripted lines. In *II Rover*, Behn makes literal what has remained metaphorical in her source material, Thomas Killigrew's *Thomaso*, staging the Giant and Dwarf who had remained absent from the stage in Killigrew's play. In his pantomime performances, Cajanus enters the stage via the trapdoor, ensuring his gigantic frame is displayed in as spectacular a fashion as possible. What is more, the entertainments I examine frequently facilitate, indeed, revolve around, close physical contact between 'stage monsters' as portrayed by extraordinarily embodied performers and both their fellow actors and their audiences. Hudson performed in venues and in entertainments whose genres did not allow for a clear separation between stage and auditorium, between (extraordinarily embodied) performer and (normatively embodied, courtly) spectator. Late seventeenth-century encounters with supposedly monstrous performers in London's fairs, too, often involved a great deal of close physical contact. When

writing about his 1669 encounters with a Dutch giantess, for instance, Samuel Pepys describes measuring her and, perhaps more importantly, measuring himself against her by "stand[ing] under her arms" (9: 407). In her play, Behn replicates this spectacular display of the contrast between tallness and comparative smallness when she has her hapless Cavalier Fetherfool scale a ladder to greet his gigantic bride, who might have been played by one of the very fairground giants under whose arms Pepys used to walk. According to his biographer Thomas Boreman, Cajanus, too, staged almost overwhelmingly sensuous performances during which spectators were able to gain intimate insights into his body – to gaze at his movements, to listen to his booming voice, to touch and measure him, even to smell his farts (Boreman 103-6). Through their physical presence on stage, monsters in performance collapse the analytical distance which allows their reduction to metaphors and instead force their audience to confront their literal physicality.

When combined with the monsters' speech, their physical presence on stage does not only erode the barrier between readable monster and reading spectators, but also works to position the monsters in question as subjects – a possibility which monster theory does not consider. Schaap Williams argues that "[s]taged monstrosity challenges the distance on which disability's othering depends, threatening to speak back across the gap between spectator and objectified form" (190). The 'stage monsters' I examine in this thesis fully realise this threat: despite the emphasis placed on the spectacle created by their extraordinary embodiment, their performances are rarely fully mute (Cajanus's exploits in pantomime, a genre that generally prioritises physical over verbal modes of expression, constitute an exception here). Their speech both forges connections between the performer and their audience and cements their subject status through references to their lived experience. The witty, suggestive monologues uttered by Hudson during his antimasque performances reflect his status at court, while also building a relationship with his audience by referring to shared experiences. The extraordinarily embodied performers on London's fairs, on whose performances Behn likely drew when writing her Giant's rhetorically complex speeches, regularly built conversations with their audiences into their exhibitions, thus resisting the formation of the analytical distance which monster theory tends to construct. Cajanus's London exhibitions worked in a similar way, while in his poetry, written in his own voice, Cajanus paints a rich and varied picture of himself, highlighting his learning and his faith, his linguistic artistry and his patriotism. These links between stage monsters and the extraordinarily embodied performers who created these parts demonstrate that stage monsters were not abstract cultural creations

but products of the work of extraordinarily embodied individuals who were, to varying degrees, directly involved in the creation of parts that primarily signify themselves. Here, both what the performers say and how they say it is significant: as becomes apparent in all three case studies, it is difficult to react with horror and repulsion to a character like Behn's Giant, whose speeches are infused with both humour and pathos or to performers like Hudson or Cajanus, who address their audience in rhyming verse. What is more, the monsters whose performances I examine do not only deliver speeches but use them both to acknowledge their audiences' reading and 'monstering' of their bodies and to expose them as erroneous. In *Britannia Triumphans*'s 'Mock Romansa,' an antimasque segment which features performances by Hudson and the gigantic Welsh porter William Evans and thematically revolves around extraordinary embodiment, a monstrous Giant emerges as an accurate reader able to look beyond facades of respectability at the moral decay they conceal. In *II Rover*, meanwhile, Behn presents a Giant who challenges her suitor's categorisation of her body as monstrous, praises her own beauty and designates her English suitor physically inferior and sexually unattractive. Cajanus's conversations with his audiences, during which he constructs a public image that plays with spectators' perceptions of him and is characterised by impossible contradiction, occur not only during his London exhibitions, but also in the poetry he writes during his Haarlem retirement. In the performances which I examine in this thesis, extraordinarily embodied performers consistently use the combination of their physical presence on stage and their speech to assert their subject status.

I employ two major strategies to position these performers as complex, active subjects who used creative agency to stage monstrosity. Firstly, I attempt to produce as complex a picture of these performers as possible by examining a broad range of sources providing insights into their lived experience without reducing them to their embodiment. This, of course, is considerably easier when sufficient biographical information on the performers in question is available, as is the case for Hudson and Cajanus. For instance, I explore the education and training in performance skills Hudson would have received at court, attempt to reconstruct the material circumstances in which he lived by drawing on bills for custom-made clothing and items of furniture, or discuss his close relationship with Henrietta Maria. Similarly, I position Cajanus as a performer, as a businessman and as a poet by examining diverse sources ranging from accounts of and newspaper notices advertising his performances to the contracts he signed with his business partners and the poems he wrote and published during his retirement in Haarlem. While there is little biographical information available

about fairground performers like Mrs Saffry, in this thesis's second chapter, I attempt to reconstruct some sense of their individuality by highlighting the distinct features of their performances hinting at individual skills and talents, while also recovering the voices of those who, like Pepys, or Evelyn, encountered the performers I discuss. Secondly, this thesis highlights the work extraordinarily embodied performers themselves do in their performances in order to challenge oversimplified readings of their bodies and create dynamic encounters with their audiences. I highlight the dynamism of Hudson's masque performances, in which he creates a relationship with his audience by referring to shared experiences or by using innuendos based on his audience's knowledge of his position at court. As I demonstrate in this thesis's second chapter, the performances involving extraordinarily embodied performers which took place on London's fairgrounds were similarly dynamic, and included not only the performers' display of a range of diverse skills, but also facilitated close physical contact and even intellectual exchange between performers and their audiences. I argue that it is these performances' dynamism and the challenge they pose to ways of encountering the extraordinarily embodied that Behn draws on to create the parts of the verbally dextrous Giant and Dwarf. Lastly, I elucidate that Cajanus built complexity and contradiction into his performances, whether they took place on a stage or in his poetry.

My methodology of looking *at* and *with* instead of *through* monsters is informed by disability studies' interest in "politiciz[ing] and historiciz[ing] textual representations of disability" (Garland Thompson *Feminist Disability Studies* 1564). Insisting on identifying the "connection between word and world," disability scholars transcend reading "textual figures of disability" merely as metaphors, instead exposing how "textual figures of disability both register and materialize social patterns of bias and exclusion based on ability norms that operate similarly to gender and racial systems" (Garland Thompson *Feminist Disability Studies* 1564-5). Connecting studies of disability and monstrosity allows a focus on "expos[ing] not only the cultural fictions that produce notions of the body, ability, monstrosity, but also highlight the very material experiences of one whose Otherness is embodied" (Pearman vii). As a consequence, "[e]arly modern representations of disability not only function toward metaphorical ends . . . but rather offer insights into the material, lived experiences of disabled individuals in the distant past" (Hobgood and Wood 7). Informed by this approach, my readings of Hudson's masque performances, for instance, are not limited to examining the functions or potential metaphorical meanings of his parts within an entertainment, but always inquire into what the specific nature of a part might say about

contemporary responses to those who are extraordinarily embodied. When Hudson plays the 'Dwarf-Post' and the 'Prince of Hell' in *Chloridia*'s antimasque, then, I do not only ask what the appearance of an extraordinarily embodied 'devil' might symbolise within the context of the masque, namely the antimasque's disorder which is resolved by the appearance of the (normatively embodied) Queen. I argue that the fact that he appears "richly apparrel'd, as a *Prince of Hell,* attended by 6 infernall *Spirits*" (Bv-B2r) before dancing elegantly, provides insights into the aesthetic appreciation with which early modern audiences responded to extraordinary bodies. The case studies I examine in this thesis are particularly valuable in this respect, as they highlight performances of monstrosity which were created for, and frequently by, as well as executed by extraordinary embodied performers. As a result, their performances are (auto-)biographical, frequently containing parallels, even direct references to their concrete lived experience. An examination of these performances and performers in particular therefore not only helps illuminate a "historically remote cultural imagination of disability" (Hobgood and Wood 7) but provides insights into ways in which extraordinarily embodied performers themselves worked to shape that cultural imagination.

Performance and Performers

Notions of performance and performing stand at the centre of this thesis, but my understanding and use of these terms requires some elaboration. As outlined above, I examine a variety of performance modes. While Behn's *II Rover,* for instance, follows a plot that is fixed in a script and features actors playing fictional characters, masques like the ones in which Hudson participated did follow a plot but featured performers whose disguises were 'transparent' rather than entirely fictional and took place in a location that blended stage and audience space. Fairground performances or Cajanus's appearance before the Royal Society, meanwhile, were highly theatrical but did not feature a plot with fictional characters. Instead, they revolve around performers who are seemingly just 'being themselves'. In addition, in this thesis's third chapter, I argue not only that Cajanus's poetry can be read as a 'performance of self,' but also that it relies on many of the performance strategies he had employed in his stage performances. This understanding of performance is informed by Richard Schechner's definition of performance in two major ways. Firstly, Schechner argues that, while "[t]here are limits to what 'is' performance . . . just about anything can be studied 'as' performance" (38). Thus, while "[s]omething 'is' a performance when historical and social context, convention, usage, and tradition say it is" (38), "[a]ny behavior, event, action, or thing can be studied 'as' performance" (41). Secondly, Schechner argues that what stands at the centre of

every kind of performance, what must be present so something can be studied 'as' performance, is what he calls 'restored behavior' – behaviour that is prepared or rehearsed (29) as well as marked, framed, or heightened (35). Restored behaviour is not a 'natural' expression of self – as Schechner puts it, "[r]estored behavior is 'out there,' separate from 'me'" (34). According to Schechner, performance is essentially a *doing*, or, more specifically, 'showing doing': "pointing to, underlining, and displaying doing" and thus separate from *being*, existence itself (28). Schechner's definition of performance as an embodied practice makes it particularly useful for my study, which places the extraordinary body at its centre. Following Schechner, in this thesis I understand performance as a *doing* that is decidedly separate from *being* – as a process which requires work on the part of a person who engages in behaviour that is not merely an expression of self but prepared or rehearsed as well as marked, framed, or heightened (Schechner 29, 35).

The individuals I examine in this thesis engage in restored behaviours with various degrees of obvious theatricality and performativity. During his masque appearances, Hudson, for instance, performs actions – the recital of rhyming lines, the performance of previously rehearsed, complex dances or the wearing of an elaborate costume – that are clearly identifiable as 'restored' and thus constitute a performance. The same is true for the extraordinarily embodied performers playing Behn's Giant and Dwarf, who speak lines and perform movements according to *II Rover*'s script, and for Cajanus's performances as a pantomime giant. Those same individuals' fairground performances and exhibitions, however, are less obviously performative, as they often include activities that are altogether more mundane and might not even be perceived as doing but rather simply as being. In this thesis, I argue that even such supposedly ordinary behaviours can be 'restored' and thus constitute performances. Here, I follow Schechner's description of performance as a continuum, which includes play, games, sports, pop entertainments, and the performing arts, as well as daily life and ritual more generally (49). Thus, Jeffrey Hudson's elaborate dances at court are just as much of a performance as the whistling of a girl with dwarfism on Bartholomew Fair, or as Cajanus drinking wine, singing, and farting in front of his London audience.

Adopting such an approach, which enables me to read plays, masques, conversations between extraordinarily embodied performers and audience members as well as Cajanus's poetry as performances has a significant impact on the range of sources I examine in this thesis and on the methodological approach I take when examining those materials. As Susan

L. Anderson argues, "drama foregrounds the body — or rather, a range of bodies — as the very medium through which it makes its claims" ("Introduction" 147). The same is true for the performances I examine in this thesis. Therefore, when attempting to reconstruct those performances, I focus particularly on examining how they foreground the extraordinary body and how embodiment plays out before an audience, often by reading a range of dramatic, literary and non-literary texts in dialogue with each other. Doing so is pivotal because, as Cameron Hunt McNabb argues, "[r]eading dramatic depictions of disability as literary texts, rather than embodied performances, flattens the semiotic work they do". This becomes particularly crucial when the textual record of such performances is sparse. For instance, while a short description of *Cupid and Psyche*, the pantomime in which Cajanus appeared in 1734, does survive, it provides little insight into the overall effect of the entertainment and of Cajanus's performance in particular. For Cajanus's exhibitions, no script survives, mainly because they appear to have been built around interactions with the audience and therefore were highly variable. In order to reconstruct his performances, and recover a sense of them as distinctly embodied, I draw on non-dramatic texts, such as newspaper advertisements, images of Cajanus, commentary by contemporary theatre professionals, business contracts, Thomas Boreman's semi-fictional biography of Cajanus and the work purporting to be Theophilus Cibber's autobiography. Even in performances which do not directly involve the body, such as Cajanus's poems, I examine how the body is invoked, for instance through references to biblical or historical giants. I adopt this approach throughout, drawing on a wide variety of literary and non-literary sources – including play scripts that primarily record dialogue, performers' self-descriptions, audience responses to performances, and miscellaneous other texts associated with the entertainment industry, such as newspaper notices – reflecting on the methodological implications of doing so, for instance when it comes to determining the degree of performers' involvement in the creation of specific sources, in the individual chapters. Doing so enables me to both produce as complete a picture of the performances at the centre of this thesis as possible and to foreground embodiment.

Drawing on Schechner to define performance as engagement in 'restored behaviour' positions the performer as an active doer whose performance is the result of work and is not merely an expression of their self, their being. In the case of the extraordinarily embodied individuals I examine in this thesis, positioning them as performers actively engaging in 'restored behaviour' is particularly significant because it challenges how critics have previously written about them: as passive objects. This is particularly true for discussions of

those extraordinarily embodied individuals whose performances took place on fairgrounds. In her discussion of ways in which portrayals of disability and monstrosity on the early modern stage worked to 'unfix' disability, for instance, Schaap Williams contrasts seeing a real-life monster at a fair with watching a normatively embodied actor's portrayal of a stage monster at the theatre:

> While the promise of viewing a monstrous body at the fairground depends on a claim to singularity ('pay to see what you've never seen before'), by necessity, every monstrous character is also replicable . . . the theater builds iteration into its practice . . . When the theater stages monsters, the fact of the role's reproducibility hollows out the claim to authenticity that makes the monster so appealing. At the same time, because no performance ever happens the same way twice, the theatre offers a monster that is uniquely singular because it is temporary, produced at the intersection of actor's body and monstriferous properties. (190)

Here, Schaap Williams constructs the image of a static, seemingly unchanging fairground monster, contrasting it with dynamic, infinitely variable stage monsters as portrayed by non-disabled actors. This dichotomy reduces what the real-life monster does to simple *being* while a normatively embodied actor's portrayal of monstrosity is the result of complex *doing*. The passive objectified fairground monster is exhibited while the active normatively embodied performer performs. While Schaap Williams does argue that early modern performance did engage with monstrosity as a category, she positions the individuals who were perceived as belonging to that category as excluded from active performance. As I demonstrate in this thesis, this is an oversimplification which is not supported by evidence. While Londoners were able to view objectified, entirely passive fairground monsters, namely the preserved bodies of 'monstrous births,' infants born with birth defects, in this thesis, particularly in its second and third chapters, I present contemporary evidence that suggests that many of the living monsters who exhibited their bodies to paying spectators were far from silent objects but instead engaged in a wide range of restored behaviours. Their audiences were not content with simply witnessing someone exist within a supposedly monstrous body: instead of static displays, handbills and newspaper notices promoting these performers' appearances advertise complex performances, meant to demonstrate the performers' intellect and showcase their extraordinary skills – their dancing and whistling, their reading and their ability to make conversation, in short, their *doing* – as well as their extraordinary bodies. Therefore, in

accordance with Schechner's definition of performance, I explicitly position extraordinarily embodied individuals as performers, specifically as performing subjects who, through their performances, were able to engage with their own categorisation as monstrous.

Ethics and Agency

In this context, the question of these performers' agency – their ability to freely consent to performing and to determine the parameters of these performances – inevitably arises. I approach this question through a dialogue with critics working on nineteenth-and twentieth-century 'freak shows' – a mode which, like the performances I examine, involves performances by extraordinarily embodied performers and thus poses similar questions about the ethics of such performances and the agency of the performers involved. In his monograph *Freak Show: Presenting Human Oddities for Amusement and Profit*, the picture Robert Bogdan presents of this cultural institution is defined by a complexity which is shaped by the data he encountered in the archive (viii). The evidence examined by Bogdan highlights the social constructedness of the category of 'freak' (*Freak Show* x-xi, 10). He argues that 'freak shows' were frequently complex performances (*Freak Show* 114-6) and that many of the extraordinarily embodied individuals participating in them viewed themselves as performers. While he acknowledges that many 'freak show' performers were exploited, abused, or participated in the 'freak show' involuntarily, some did so voluntarily, and managed to achieve some success, particularly in terms of earnings (viii). Bogdan's monograph was met with criticism by David A. Gerber, who, in a response to the book, presents a detailed discussion of 'freak show' performers' agency informed by moral condemnation of the 'freak show' as an institution. Gerber bases his objection on two assumptions. Firstly, he claims that the extraordinarily embodied individuals around whom 'freak shows' revolved were objectified completely with neither the opportunity nor the ability to perform (38, 46, 51). He argues that while some 'freak show' performers might have perceived their activities as part of a career – defined by Gerber as "a worthwhile pursuit that enhances [their] status" – in reality, they were "human exhibit[s] . . . exploited for possessing qualities that the audience regards as grotesque" (38). Secondly, Gerber sets up a list of criteria that determine 'significant preconditions for effective choice and consent,' which include, for instance, that one must have "a significant range of meaningful choices" and "sufficient time and physical and mental security to evaluate options" (42). He argues that few – if any – 'freak show'

performers fulfilled these criteria and thus meaningfully consented to taking part in such displays.

In this thesis, I take a different approach. Firstly, I do not attempt to determine to what extent the extraordinarily embodied performers I examine were able to exert agency – mainly because that is an impossible task. The scarcity of sources, particularly about their early lives, for instance, makes it impossible to determine which of Gerber's preconditions for effective choice and consent might have applied. I do not know what their family dynamics and their socioeconomic circumstances were really like, or whether there was any alternative way for them to make a living. Cajanus's case is the exception here, but only to some degree: evidence contained in legal documents detailing his business relationships suggests that at least for the later part of his performance career, he appears to have been in control of the terms on which he performed in addition to being able to keep most of his earnings. For the other performers I examine in this thesis, the existing evidence suggests that their agency was limited. Hudson started his career as a child performer and was thus unable to meaningfully consent to taking part in court entertainments. In addition, his status as courtier and intimate favourite of the Queen was precarious, not only because of his extraordinary embodiment but also because of his humble background as the son of a servant. Therefore, while he likely was able to exert influence on the content of his performances, refusing to participate in court entertainments was likely not a realistic option for him. In the case of the performers exhibiting their extraordinary bodies on London's fairs, the question of agency is even more difficult to determine, because frequently we know neither their names nor any detailed biographical information. A significant number of London's extraordinarily embodied fairground performers – many of whom were children – were likely forced into exhibiting their bodies due to a lack of alternative means of earning a living. While there are some extraordinarily embodied fairground performers who were able to set up their own entertainment businesses – amongst them Mrs Saffry, who managed a large group of acrobats and became the proprietor of her own fair booth (Highfill et. al. 13: 166-7) – there were undoubtedly some who were coerced into performing and exploited and treated inhumanely during their careers. What becomes apparent through these examples is that the question of agency is highly individual as well as contextual and impossible to answer without detailed biographical information – information that, in the case of most performers I examine, is not available. In addition, in the time period I examine in this thesis, only a minority of the normatively embodied population was able to freely choose their profession according to the

criteria Gerber lays out or was able to view their career as "a worthwhile pursuit that enhances [their] status" (Gerber 38). To name but one example, domestic servants, "the largest occupational category in mid-eighteenth-century England" (Steedman 3), were understood to be subject to a contract between them and their masters "that gave the master full control of the servant's time and labor" (Hunt 84). Therefore, it does not seem appropriate to expect extraordinarily embodied performers to enjoy more rights than a significant part (if not the majority) of their normatively embodied contemporaries.

In this thesis, I argue that dismissing modes of performance because they are considered unethical, or because the performers engaging in it were mistreated or doing so involuntarily, erases the work done by performers. This approach is informed by Bogdan's response to Gerber's criticism, in which he states that acknowledging the complexity of modes like the 'freak show' does not mean endorsing the practices involved in their production ("In Defense of Freak Show" 93). Instead of attempting to determine the exact degree to which specific extraordinarily embodied individuals were able to exert agency in terms of their performances, this thesis focuses on prioritising performers' voices and centres the performances themselves, highlighting the work and skill involved in their production. This does not mean denying that for a large number of performers, appearing in types of entertainment which revolved around audiences paying to see extraordinarily embodied people, be it nineteenth-century 'freak shows,' or seventeenth-century fairground performances, went along with financial exploitation or other kinds of mistreatment and abuse. I also do not intend to present the 'freak show' or early modern exhibitions of the extraordinarily embodied as morally defensible or even as a source of 'empowerment' for the individuals involved. I do, however, argue that even though such modes of entertainment may be morally reprehensible, the work that went into their production, specifically the work done by extraordinarily embodied performers, should not be disregarded. Indeed, as outlined above, it should be categorised as work, as performances which involve restored behaviour and are separate from existence itself. This applies regardless of the prestige of the performance mode in which an extraordinarily embodied individual engages, the venue in which that performance occurs, or the performance's perceived sophistication. Thus, I position extraordinarily embodied performers as skilful performers and not as passive objects, while acknowledging that their agency might have been limited and that their actions might not have been entirely voluntary.

Rewriting Theatre History

In this thesis, I do not only present extraordinarily embodied individuals as performers but also argue that they had significant impact on contemporary theatrical practice. In endeavouring to amplify the voices and identify the contributions of those who have previously been excluded from historical narratives, I am participating in a recent movement in theatre history which has aimed to "look beyond, through and past dominant historical narratives to find the counter-narratives and alternative subject positions, as well as the discrepancies and absences that mark the official record" (Cochrane and Robinson 77). In order to identify these counter-narratives and highlight extraordinarily embodied performers' contributions, I adopt an intertheatrical approach. Jacky Bratton describes intertheatricality as the "mesh of connections between theatre texts and between texts and their creators and realisers" (15). Adopting an intertheatrical approach means understanding theatre production as a collaborative effort. As Bratton puts it:

> real plays are not inviolable, single-authored creations. Their collaborate and multiple creation is integral to them, and includes not only borrowing from play to play, rewriting night by night, but also more dimensions: the non-verbal systems of spectacle and sound, the other items on the bill, who is in the audience, and the presence in performances of the actors and their own personae, with their remembered other performances in this role, their known other roles, their rumoured private lives. (20-1)

An intertheatrical approach thus acknowledges that the dramatist cannot "operate fully without the co-operation of other creative artists, and their work will be not only be added to, but transformed, by the actor, the scene-painter and others" (Bratton 9). Identifying these intertheatrical connections therefore means "challeng[ing] the way in which plays are read as literature" (Bratton 10) and instead "address[ing] the dramatic text from the alternative perspective of performance" (Bush-Bailey 16). Feminist critics like Bratton and Gilli Bush-Bailey have used intertheatrical approaches to highlight the contributions of female theatre professionals to theatrical practice. Bush-Bailey, for instance, examines the creative contribution of early English actresses, arguing that Behn's creative partnerships with various of the Duke's Company's prominent actresses significantly contributed to the success of her plays. In this thesis, I take a similar approach, highlighting instances in which the unique talents of extraordinarily embodied performers shaped the plays, and, indeed, the genres they

appeared in, tracing, for example the profound impact the performances of fairground monsters had on the commercial Restoration stage – particularly with respect to the emergence of theatrical modes centred around spectacular physicality like pantomime. Here, I argue that these moments of generic change constitute proof of these performers' impact.

Positioning extraordinarily embodied individuals both as performers and as contributors to and innovators of theatrical practice affords them a place in theatre history and counters narratives which argue that while early modern theatrical practice thematised and utilised extraordinary embodiment in various ways, it excluded extraordinarily embodied individuals from participation in that practice. In doing so, this thesis closes a gap in the existing scholarship. While in recent years in particular, a great number of rich studies of early modern dramatic depictions and performances of monstrosity and disability have emerged, the contribution of extraordinarily embodied performers to the production of these depictions and performances has not been acknowledged. Instead, existing scholarship examines, for instance, the use of disability as a metaphor or a dramaturgical device in early modern drama. Referring to one of the most famous disabled characters from the early modern period, Tobin Siebers states, for instance, "Shakespeare's Richard III is a hunchback, but his disability represents deceitfulness and lust for power, not a condition of his physical and complex embodiment" (48).[14] Katherine Schaap Williams and Genevieve Love, meanwhile, argue that early modern stagings of disabled characters as embodied by normatively embodied actors do not necessarily contain insights into perceptions or experiences of disability but rather reveal much about the nature of early modern theatre itself. Love states that "early modern plays use the prosthetic disabled body to meditate on the question of theatrical personation, the technology of the actor's body" (3), while Schaap Williams argues "that representations of disability point us, counterintuitively, to social formations and cultural problems that do not seem to be about disability" and that "disability operates as a formal aesthetic for the early modern theatre" (2-3). Schaap Williams argues that when dramatic depictions of extraordinary embodiment and disability drew on real-life encounters with the disabled, they frequently merely served to create comic relief: "The theater's real-world links with actual disabled people, when we have been able to trace them . . . frequently appropriate incapacity for jokes" (8).

[14] For another example of work which explores the use of disability – as performed by normatively embodied actors – as a metaphor in early modern drama, see Susan Anderson's "Limping and Lameness on the Early Modern Stage".

All these studies exclusively examine how the early modern stage depicted extraordinary embodiment through the medium of the normatively embodied actor. When the contribution of extraordinarily embodied actors is invoked, it is usually in the context of present-day actors engaging with and challenging both depictions of disability in early modern dramatic texts and performance traditions connected to those texts. The 2020 anthology *Performing Disability in Early Modern English Drama*, for instance, is structured around the three meanings of disability performance which Carrie Sandahl and Philip Auslander identify in their anthology *Bodies in Commotion:* "disability as a performance of everyday life, as a metaphor in dramatic literature, and as the work of disabled performing artists" (qtd. in Dunn 7). While the essays in the volume's first two sections examine performances of disability in early modern plays, the third section on the work of disabled performers exclusively examines the work of "d/Deaf and disabled actors who perform Shakespeare today," arguing that "the interventions of Deaf and disabled actors in Shakespearean performance traditions not only challenge us to think about Shakespeare and disability differently; they also reveal what has changed—and what hasn't—between early modern attitudes towards disability and our own" (Dunn 20). While all these approaches do vital work in reconstructing and interrogating early modern attitudes towards disability, this thesis demonstrates that if one looks beyond the canon at ephemeral modes like the masque, fairground theatre or pantomime, it becomes clear that extraordinarily embodied performers were involved in the creation of disability performances which challenged contemporary approaches to encountering physical difference, and that their interventions significantly impacted performance practice in general.

The disability representations which I examine in this thesis and which were produced entirely or in part by extraordinarily embodied individuals further complicate the dichotomy critics tend to construct between what Hobgood and Wood term "disability representations" – which, in the early modern context, primarily consist of normatively embodied actors' portrayals of disabled characters – and "disability histories" (2) – contained particularly in subjective narrative accounts. This dichotomy is constructed, for instance, by Schaap Williams, who argues that "[e]arly modern dramatic texts productively complicate modern theories of disability identity, which have prioritized first-person narrative forms to recover disabled subjectivity" (6). Other scholars of disability have previously sought to erode this dichotomy. Hobgood and Wood argue, for instance, that "[e]arly modern representations of disability not only function toward metaphorical ends . . . but rather offer insights into the

material, lived experiences of disabled individuals in the distant past" (7). Similarly, in their discussion of filmic representations of disability, Chivers and Markotić argue that "[h]ow experience is represented textually and how that representation is projected onto and via audiences are both central aspects of the experience itself . . . the representation of disability does not exist separate from disability itself" (4). In this thesis I go further, arguing that in the performances which I examine, disability histories and disability representations intersect. This is both because evidence of the performances is evidence of the activities which extraordinarily embodied individuals engaged in – at times on a daily basis – in order to earn a living, and because the parts they played are frequently informed by their lived experience. This intersection between disability histories and representations does not reduce the significance of either: a disability representation is no less of a display of skill because it draws heavily on the disabled performer's lived experience while a piece of disability history is no less revealing or authentic because it takes the shape of a performance.

My exploration of seventeenth-and eighteenth-century performances of monstrosity complicates boundaries of periodisation, thereby challenging dominant narratives in theatre history. I demonstrate the strength of enduring and ubiquitous interest in monsters and monstrosity across the entire period I examine in this thesis. In the seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries, interest in monstrosity reached into various areas of early modern everyday life, including religion, politics, medicine, and entertainment, and transcended class lines: monsters played central roles in the highly elite environment of spectacularly elaborate Stuart court masques, on London's fairs and in contemporary scientific discourse, engaging with Stuart courtiers, ordinary Londoners and members of the Royal Society. This enduring interest also manifested itself in continued artistic engagement with monstrosity, specifically in the development of performance modes revolving around 'stage monsters'. These modes draw on and refer to each other. Here, too, an intertheatrical approach makes visible those connections. As Jacky Bratton argues:

> The plays written and performed within a single theatrical tradition are more or less interdependent. They are uttered in a theatrical code shared by writers, performers and audience which consists not only of language, but of genres, conventions and memory – shared by the audience – of previous plays and scenes, previous performances, the actors' previous roles and their known personae on and off stage. (15)

Intertheatrical connections between these theatrical modes abound. In *II Rover*, for instance, Behn draws on seventeenth-century monster culture, participating in a tradition of increasingly intense creative exchange between the patent theatres and the London fairs. This creative exchange significantly contributed to the popularisation of pantomime. Pantomime, in turn, also drew on the masque, which continued to be performed both at court and at London's public playhouses in the 1690s and early 1700s (van Hensbergen 213, Walkling 27, O'Brien *Harlequin Britain* 41). O'Brien, for instance, points to the masque's bifurcated antimasque/masque structure as a precedent for the basic structure of eighteenth-century pantomimes, which were divided into comic and serious sections (*Harlequin Britain* 40). This influence becomes particularly apparent when *Harlequin Doctor Faustus*, one of the entertainments which started the pantomime boom of the 1720s, concludes with a "Masque of the Deities," replicating the masque's restoration of order after the antimasque. The connections between these seemingly disparate forms – the Stuart court masque, fairground theatre and performances of extraordinarily embodied individuals, Behn's late Restoration comedy and eighteenth-century pantomime – are illustrated most clearly by their shared characteristics, which, for instance, include elements of the European tradition of the *commedia dell'arte*. Indeed, as performances of monstrosity in the form of "'drolls,' short comic performances, often featuring dwarfs, trained animals, and persons with natural anomalies" (Semonin 77) continued even during the Civil War period, when the professional London theatres were closed down, performances of monstrosity help bridge the gap between Caroline and Restoration performance traditions. My thesis, then, traces the evolution of a performance culture which crosses period boundaries.

In addition to challenging period boundaries across the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, this thesis works to illuminate developments which occurred in the period that came after the one I examine. Ros Ballaster, for instance, has recently traced the emergence of a new aesthetics of presence in the mid-eighteenth century – an aesthetics which emerged from cross-media interrelations between theatre and the emerging novel. Ballaster describes presence as "the antithesis of its near synonym, representation. Representation re-presents. Presence is present. Representation communicates meaning. Presence does not communicate" (3). She argues that "the mid-eighteenth century is a particularly fertile time – precisely in the self-consciousness about the encounter between two media, two sites of 'making' Being (theatre and novel) – for the turn from Being as something to be 'known' through 'meaning' to Being as something to be 'experienced' through the

'senses'" (5). In this thesis, I demonstrate that these modes of understanding Being were already competing in the period immediately preceding the mid-eighteenth century – in the late-seventeenth-and early eighteenth-century performances of extraordinarily embodied performers. Authentic extraordinary embodiment, which I identify as a key component of the performances in which extraordinarily embodied performers engaged, has at its centre the rejection of representation, of the communication of meaning through legible signs. The performers I examine resist their bodies' reduction to metaphor and instead signify themselves through performances which are frequently highly sensual. The effect of Hudson's masque performances, for instance, relied not on their ability to transport abstract, metaphorical reading, to produce signs which might be read or known by audiences, but on the effect of Hudson's physical presence on stage. Similarly, by staging the monstrous sisters in *II Rover*, and by exploiting their spectacular presence and its impact on their English suitors for dramatic effect, Behn makes literal and thus experienceable what had remained metaphorical – and thus exclusively knowable – in her source material.

More broadly, embodied performance modes which were particularly associated with extraordinarily embodied performers, like pantomime, can be seen as particularly reliant on the effects created by presence. As Denise S. Sechelski puts it, "[p]antos were ostensibly irrational, because they appealed viscerally (rather than intellectually) to the audience through their emphasis on the body of Harlequin and the visual spectacle that occurred when the stage and the actors underwent multiple transformations" (375). That critics both described pantomime as a form whose success they feared would bring about the downfall of the intellectual achievements of British dramatic art and imagined Cajanus as its embodiment demonstrates the connection between presence, modes of performance which relied on spectacular physicality, and extraordinarily embodied performers.[15] In addition, potential precedents for the kind of transmedia presence which Ballaster traces in mid-eighteenth-century stage plays and novels can be found, for instance, in advertisements promoting Cajanus's turns as a pantomime giant and his exhibitions, as well as his performances on stage and page. All this suggests that what Ballaster identifies as the "fertile time" for a turn in how Being was understood in the mid-eighteenth century was preceded by a period in

[15] In an article published in February 1734 in *The Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal*, an author using the pseudonym Eucrates, for instance, laments that "*Harlequin*'s Sword draw[s] a larger Audience than all the *Magick* of *Shakespear*; his *Grimace* more captivating than the *softest Scenes* of *Otway*; and his *Agility* more pleasing than the *Wit* of a *Wicherley*, or a *Congreve*," stating that "Since Mons. *Harlequin* has conjur'd up his *Guaragantua* at *Drury Lane*, the Town have flock'd to that *Theatre* they just before *deserted*" (92).

which performances in whose production extraordinarily embodied performers were involved laid the groundwork for such a turn.

Lastly, adopting an intertheatrical approach further reveals that monstrosity and theatrical innovation are inextricably linked: both because supposedly monstrous performers contributed to it and because it resulted in the creation of genres which critics perceived as 'generic monstrosities'.[16] Hudson's rise as a masque performer did not only coincide with the masque's shift towards visuality but contributed to it. In response, Ben Jonson characterised the visually spectacular masques devised by Inigo Jones as just as monstrous as the extraordinarily embodied performers participating in them: in his satirical poem "To Inigo, Marquis Would-Be: A Corollary" (1631), he unflatteringly characterises Jones's work as masque designer as "paint[ing] a lane, where Thumb the Pygmy meets!" (lines 11-12). In the late seventeenth century, meanwhile, the spectacular, physical modes of performance in which fairground performers like Mrs Saffry engaged exerted significant influence on the patent stage. Playwrights like Behn increasingly drew on the aesthetics of fairground theatre, particularly its focus on spectacular embodiment, to produce innovative plays like *II Rover*. Critics responding to the increasing prominence of modes like farce used the language of monstrosity to attack them. In 1684, John Dryden, for instance, bemoaned that in London, "each Day / Some new born Monster [is] shewn you for a Play" (*Miscellany Poems* S5v). In the 1720s, the creative exchange between the fairground and London's commercial theatres culminated in the emergence of pantomime, a form which enabled fairground performers to exchange the fairground booth for the patent stage. Cajanus was associated so closely with pantomime, the form that emerged from this moment of transformation, that his name was invoked by critics who viewed him as the embodiment of pantomime's worst excesses and read his success as an omen foretelling the demise of British dramatic art. In her study of early modern monstrosity, Elizabeth Bearden describes the occurrence of a similar correlation between generic change and experimentation and extraordinary embodiment appearing in Renaissance literature: "experimental genres that diverge from neoclassical standards tend to make disabled figures central to their action" (5). This thesis presents case studies which can be read as further examples of this link between extraordinary embodiment and generic

[16] There is a long tradition of writers appropriating the language of monstrosity to rail against theatrical innovation or, indeed, the theatre itself. While Allen Brown and Parolin describe how actresses in particular were vulnerable to accusations of monstrosity, Schaap Williams describes how, more generally, "[i]n antitheatrical texts, the monster is a common pejorative for the actor engaged in the labor of transformation" (197).

experimentation. However, whereas Bearden argues that non-disabled playwrights employed disabled figures to facilitate generic innovation, I position the creative input of extraordinarily embodied performers at the heart of generic change. In "Monster Culture (Seven Theses)," Cohen argues that "the monster is the harbinger of category crisis" (6), referring specifically to the monster's tendency to resist easy categorisation. The case studies contained in this thesis demonstrate that rather than mere harbingers of a crisis produced by the clash of two extremes, monstrosity and those considered monstrous can act as contributors to the emergence of altogether new categories.

Thesis Outline

I develop my argument across three chronological chapters, with each chapter introducing a key concept – authentic extraordinary embodiment, monster culture, oscillating overexpression – which further elaborates and enriches the overarching notion of extraordinary embodiment and performed monstrosity. I begin by reconstructing the performance career of Jeffrey Hudson, tracing his progression from humble origins as the son of the servant to his spectacularly theatrical introduction to Henrietta Maria, during which he jumped out of a pie, to his extravagant life at court, his training in the arts of performance and activities as a masque performer. I demonstrate that Hudson's rise to prominence as a masque performer coincided with and indeed contributed to the development of the masque in the 1630s and its increasing reliance on visual signs as means of communicating meaning. In this chapter, I focus on three masques, *Chloridia* (1631), *The Ante-Masques* (ca. 1635) and *Britannia Triumphans* (1638). As Hudson developed and matured as a performer, he began to play increasingly substantial, complex parts, in which he was able to show both his extraordinary body and his considerable skill as a performer of both complex speeches and elegant dance moves to the greatest advantage. The antimasque entries in whose performance Hudson was involved further revolve around showcasing Hudson's authentic extraordinary embodiment. While Hudson consistently appears alongside normatively embodied performers whose bodies are made to signify otherness – for instance through the use of masks or costumes – Hudson's own body resists metaphorical signification; on stage, Hudson primarily signifies himself. Instead of invoking metaphorical or allegorical meanings, the parts played by Hudson refer to his lived experience, for instance through their references to the specificity and liminality of his status as an extraordinarily embodied member of Henrietta Maria's household, or through their position outside of the masque's typical bifurcated structure. This

process culminates in *Britannia Triumphans*, in which Hudson appeared alongside William Evans, an extraordinarily tall Welsh porter in the 'Mock Romansa,' a separate antimasque section with a self-contained narrative which puts authentic extraordinary embodiment at its centre, positions it as an indicator of truthful virtue and politicises it by connecting it to the body of the King.

The second chapter does not include a detailed case study of a single performer's career but instead both works to bring out the richness and impact of a performance culture associated with extraordinarily embodied performers and highlights works which are expressions of and draw from that culture. In it, I examine how large parts of London society encountered monstrosity and supposedly monstrous performers by exploring what I will call late seventeenth-century 'monster culture' and its impact on theatrical practice. This distinct performance culture revolved around various modes of entertainment which centred performers who were perceived as extraordinarily embodied – either because of an impairment such as extreme height or because their bodies were capable of extraordinary feats such as acrobatics. I position the London fairs, particularly Bartholomew Fair, as significant sites of encounter with a wide variety of extraordinarily embodied performers and performances of monstrosity. These encounters occurred during complex, elaborately staged performances, in the course of which extraordinarily embodied performers often displayed a variety of skills. Using the case study of the gigantic Dutchwoman Mrs Saffry, the proprietor of her own fairground booth staging theatrical entertainments and acrobatics and likely a rope-dancer herself, I demonstrate the capaciousness of extraordinary embodiment as a conceptual category which encompassed performers with and without physical impairments. In order to demonstrate the importance of the London fairs as sites of generic experimentation and catalysts of generic change, I highlight traces of monster culture in Aphra Behn's 1681 comedy *II Rover*. I outline its employment of farce, physical comedy, and *commedia dell'arte* characters, modes of performance which critics deemed 'generic monstrosities' – and, most significantly, Behn's portrayal of the monstrous sisters, the Giant and Dwarf. I demonstrate that Behn's portrayal of monstrous women as complex characters with bodies and voices who challenge the ways in which others make sense of their bodies owes much to the complexity of the late seventeenth-century performances in which extraordinarily embodied individuals were involved. I position Behn's play as anticipating and participating in a process of generic change which culminated in the popularisation of pantomime in the 1720s, exploring what

this shift of the London theatre landscape meant for the extraordinarily embodied performers who had helped bring it about.

This third and final chapter examines the performance career of Daniel Cajanus and the performance strategies he applied in the course of it. It focuses on his two London stays in 1734 and 1741/2, and his retirement and activities as a poet in the Dutch town of Haarlem (1745-1749). In this chapter, I read Cajanus's career in the context of the emergence of eighteenth-century celebrity culture. I argue that, while he first earned celebrity status thanks to his extraordinarily successful stint as a pantomime giant during his first London stay, he only began to actively manipulate his public image when he returned to the city in 1741/2 and engaged in highly theatrical exhibitions. To reconstruct his performance career, and, indeed, his performances themselves, I examine a wide range of sources, including newspaper advertisements, visual depictions of Cajanus, commentary by contemporary theatre professionals, both in newspapers and in prologues and playtexts, contracts, Colley Cibber's autobiography and its parody, Cajanus's own semi-fictional biography, commemorative verses marking Cajanus's death and, most importantly, Cajanus's own poetry. Drawing on Julia Fawcett's work on overexpression as a performance strategy employed by eighteenth-century celebrities, I argue that from his second London stay onwards, Cajanus began to engage in a performance strategy I call oscillating overexpression – a process during which he highlights, even exaggerates contradictory features of his personality. The result is a public persona which is defined by its contradiction, as Cajanus oscillates rapidly and dizzyingly between presenting himself as an exaggeratedly 'other,' foreign, even frightening giant and as a civilised, learned and devout businessman. During his Haarlem retirement, Cajanus's 'performances of self' did not only acquire a new facet – Cajanus now displayed a pronounced, even aggressive Dutch patriotism – but also shifted from stage to page. In his poetry, Cajanus translates the excessive theatricality and the oscillating overexpression that had been the defining features of his London exhibitions into a distinct literary style, continuing the work of creating and maintaining his contradictory public persona which he had begun as an active performer. Regardless of whether they occurred on the premises of the Royal Society, in small venues in London's City, or in his occasional poetry, Cajanus's autobiographical performances continually expose themselves as performances – through their exaggerated theatricality and through the contradiction of the 'Christian Goliah' persona which Cajanus constructs by employing oscillating overexpression. By highlighting the

performativity of his intervention, Cajanus continually asserts his status as a performing subject, rather than an exhibited object.

This thesis's title connects the concepts of performance and monstrosity. This title hints at the constructedness of monstrosity as category – after all, there is nothing 'inherently monstrous' about a person with dwarfism, a person from Mexico or an actress playing a woman on stage. Monsters are not born, but created through acts of 'monstering,' a process whereby specific characteristics and behaviours are designated as monstrous. Once that categorisation has occurred, the monster in question can either resist it or play into it. In their performances, the performers I examine do both. Like performance itself, monstrosity, then, is not a state of being, but a collection of actions, both on the part of those who categorise an individual as monstrous and on the part of the monster itself. This thesis's title puts that act of performing monstrosity, of playing a monster, at its centre, pointing to its significance for the extraordinarily embodied performers who, through that act, determined and communicated what they meant to themselves and how they wanted others to perceive them. For these performers, their categorisation as monstrous held opportunity precisely because, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it prompted a breadth of interpretations and responses, ranging from fear and disgust to aesthetic appreciation and wonder. Above all, however, this categorisation prompts the spectator to look, to read the extraordinary body before them. The performers I examine in this thesis invite and meet their audience's gaze. They challenge spectators' readings of their bodies as wrong, and present alternative readings which highlight the complexity of their public personas. Their performances resist being reduced to metaphors, provide vital insights into their lived reality – and made theatre history in the process. Performing monstrosity enabled the performers at the centre of this thesis to transcend their status as an objectified exhibit, existing only to be gazed at, and to establish their status as a performing subject capable of looking back. Starting with the first chapter, I look *at* and *with* them.

Chapter 1. Signs that Speak and Monsters that Read: Reconstructing Jeffrey Hudson's Performance Career

Introduction

In the early 1620s, a banquet held by the Duke of Buckingham in honour of the young Queen Henrietta Maria took a spectacular turn when Jeffrey Hudson, a young child with dwarfism, burst out of a pie, to the astonishment of the assembled audience. In 1625, Hudson once again captured spectators' attention with the help of a foodstuff when he appeared in *The Fortunate Isles and Their Union* as Tom Thumb, sitting "in a pudding" (Cr) in what might constitute his first appearance in a court masque. In the meantime, the circumstances of Hudson's life had changed dramatically. While he likely had first been presented to the Duchess of Buckingham by his father, a rural servant, he now was a beloved member of the Queen's household and was putting into practice the first lessons in performance which he had received as part of his elite education. Hudson was not the only person with dwarfism in the Queen's household, nor was he the only one who performed in masques.[1] The records of the Lord Chamberlain's Office state that at an unknown Christmas masque in 1627, Hudson performed alongside "foure Dwarfs," who remain unnamed (332). In addition, Henrietta Maria's entourage also entailed a woman with dwarfism who, in court records including tailor's bills, is called 'little Sara'.[2] Hudson, however, distinguished himself both by being the Queen's particular favourite and by being the most accomplished performer amongst them.

Hudson's career as a performer in the elite entertainments staged at the Stuart court – always defined by his embodiment, like the entirety of his existence as a member of Henrietta Maria's household – would last for fifteen years. During his childhood and adolescence, his performance skills, honed by the sort of elite training usually reserved for aristocratic children, continually improved and were employed in a number of courtly entertainments. Hudson's career is the most well-documented performance career of an extraordinarily embodied actor of the early modern period. Still, despite the wealth of materials documenting

[1] Besides Hudson, the most famous courtier with dwarfism was Richard Gibson who was later active as a painter at Charles II's court and married Anne Shepherd, who also was a member of Henrietta Maria's household, in a lavish court ceremony in 1641 (Murdoch). This occasion was commemorated by the poet and politician Edmund Waller in his poem "At the Marriage of the Dwarfes".

[2] A bill sent to Henrietta Maria by the mercer Richard Miller for work done during the Midsummer quarter of 1629 lists fabrics used for both several garments which Miller created for Hudson, as well as for an "Italian gown" for "Sara ye Dwarffe" (National Archives LR5/64).

his acting exploits, he has rarely been acknowledged as a performer at all. This might be due to the turbulent nature of Hudson's later life – in the course of which he fought a deadly duel, was abducted by pirates twice and endured several years of forced labour in Africa – which, in conjunction with his extraordinary physicality has resulted in him being perceived primarily as an eccentric 'character' with little emphasis being placed on his considerable accomplishments as a performer. While in 2015, Thomas Postlewait provided an overview over Hudson's life as an entertainer, an in-depth study of his appearances and their impact has been missing so far. In this study of Hudson's acting career, I reveal what can be gained by examining intersections of what Hobgood and Wood term "disability histories" and "disability representations" (2). By putting accounts that detail the realities of Hudson's lived experience in dialogue with records of his performances, I demonstrate that each illuminates the other: Hudson's lived experience informed the parts that were written for him, while his extraordinary talent and skill as a performer shaped the masque as a genre.

In this chapter, I reveal that Hudson's arrival at court and his increasing prominence as a masque performer coincided with and indeed contributed to a fundamental shift in the nature of the masque, a movement towards the dominance of visuality over the spoken word. This shift transformed the masque into a form that relied heavily on visual signs, promoted and indeed required particular ways of gazing, but was also much more vulnerable to failures of reading. Contemporary textual and visual depictions of Hudson both positioned his body as a legible sign and complicated this image by imagining him as a subject taking control of the way in which his body signified by looking and speaking back at those who gazed at him. He thus fitted perfectly into the masque – a form which, during the 1630s, had at its centre the tension between using visual signs and speech as ways of communicating meaning – acting as a potential collaborator with both the authors of masques' libretti and their designers. In my analysis of Hudson's career as a masque performer, I focus on three masques, staged between 1631 and 1638, in which an appearance by Hudson is either recorded or likely: the Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones co-production *Chloridia* (1631), as well as Aurelian Townshend's *The Ante-Masques* (ca. 1635) and *Britannia Triumphans* (1638), which was designed by Jones with a libretto by William Davenant. As I will demonstrate, Hudson took on increasingly substantial parts which were specifically written for him and served to display his considerable talents as a performer able to both deliver complex speeches and execute elegant dance moves. These roles continually reference his lived experience as an extraordinarily embodied member of the Queen's household: they utilise both his striking embodiment and

his elite performance training, rely on his relationships with his courtly audience and exploit the license he enjoyed as the Queen's favourite for comic effect.

I further demonstrate that Hudson's roles revolve around what I call 'authentic extraordinary embodiment'. Hudson consistently appears alongside normatively embodied performers whose bodies are made to signify otherness, for instance through the use of 'grotesque' costumes. Hudson himself, however, does not function as a cultural sign but primarily signifies himself. While his fellow performers embodied abstract types and allegories, the meanings transported by Hudson's authentically extraordinary body were not metaphorical but rather grounded in his audience's knowledge of the specificity of his status as an extraordinarily embodied courtier. That specificity derived in particular from the liminality of Hudson's position at court – a liminality which was reflected in the parts that he played, which increasingly occupied a position outside of the bifurcated antimasque/masque structure. This process culminates in *Britannia Triumphans*, which contains a separate antimasque segment centred around the extraordinary bodies of both Hudson and the exceptionally tall porter William Evans. What is more, this masque adopts authentic extraordinary embodiment as its overarching topic and, by framing it as an indicator of truthful virtue, politicises it. In doing so, this entertainment challenges both the masque's way of gazing and the way in which extraordinary embodiment is encountered. Lastly, the antimasque sections of *Luminalia* (1638) and *Salmacida Spolia* (1640), in which Hudson now performed alongside both professional actors and his fellow courtiers, once again demonstrate the impact of Hudson's appearances on both generic norms and performance practice.

Who was Jeffrey Hudson?

Due to Hudson's humble origins, the early years of his life are difficult to reconstruct. There are, however, two biographical works which do present some information about his early life, namely Thomas Fuller's *The History of the Worthies of England* (1662) and James Wright's *The History and Antiquities of the County of Rutland* (1684). Fuller's *Worthies* is the only biographical account published during Hudson's lifetime and, as Fuller asserts, written in consultation with people who knew Hudson, while Wright claims to have spoken to Hudson himself. Fuller states that Hudson was born in Oakham but does not provide a year of birth (348) while Wright claims that he was born in 1619 (105). Both describe how he was presented to the Duchess of Buckingham at a young age, possibly by his father, who might have worked for Buckingham (Fuller 348; Wright 105). Both Fuller and Wright state that he

burst out of a cold pie at a banquet held in Henrietta Maria's honour (Fuller 349, Wright 105), a common practice at European courts (Tietze-Conrat 80). After this first encounter, Hudson joined the Queen's household. The exact age at which Hudson left his family, too, is difficult to determine. If one adheres to the 1619 birth date, Hudson would have been only five years old in 1625, when he played Tom Thumb in *The Fortunate Isles and their Union*. There is, however, definitive proof that Hudson was at court as early as 1627. An entry in the household records of the Lord Chamberlain's Office that outlines the expenditures for costumes intended for the performance of an unknown masque, demonstrates that "Ieffry the Dwarfe," performed at court at Christmas 1627, when Hudson, according to Wright, would have been only eight years old (332).

The treatment of people with dwarfism who joined early modern aristocratic households as court dwarfs varied vastly. In her study of early modern court inventories, Touba Ghadessi highlights the liminal position which court dwarfs occupied and which is exemplified by the fact that they are sometimes listed as servants and sometimes as natural curiosities (272-3). Some court dwarfs were treated as collectible curiosities instead of human beings and at times experienced ridicule and considerable cruelty (Adelson 11, Marina 375, O'Bryan 80). At the same time, however, people with dwarfism were also able to hold a variety of roles at European courts, acting as carriers of gifts and messages between courts, and participating in courtly ceremonies and celebrations (Ghadessi 271). Court 'dwarfs' would frequently enjoy close relationships with the aristocrats they served and had access to material wealth that would have been unreachable outside of the court. As Janet Ravenscroft outlines, how court dwarfs were perceived and treated often depended on the exact nature of their disability, as hypopituitaristic or proportionate dwarfs were perceived as beautiful and thus valued differently to supposedly grotesque individuals with achondroplasia (34). Contemporary descriptions of Hudson consistently comment on the proportionality of his body, which suggests that his dwarfism was hypopituitaristic. Fuller, for instance, states that while he was "the least that *England* ever saw," he "was without any deformity wholly proportionable, whereas often Dwarfs, *Pigmies* in one part, are *Giants* in another" (348). In addition, Hudson is repeatedly described specifically as pretty. While John Taylor, in the dedicatory poem of his treatise *The Olde, Old, Very Olde Man* (1635), calls Hudson "a Pretty Creature" with "as good a mind / As Greater men," the author of the pamphlet "The Three Wonders of this Age" (1636), calls Hudson "one of the pretiest, neatest, and well-proportioned small men that ever Nature bred". As Michael Witmore outlines, the term

'prettie' was frequently applied to Renaissance children and did not solely denote diminutive beauty but "signified a degree of learned sophistication," drawing attention to a child's "capacity to reproduce, nearly automatically, adult expressions and behaviors in diminutive form" (6). Hudson's 'prettiness' derived not only from the proportionality of his diminutive body but also from the sophistication of his conduct and likely was one reason for the privileged position he began to occupy soon after he had joined the court.

Once Hudson had become a member of Henrietta Maria's household, he quickly became her particular favourite and began to live in considerable luxury. This process can be traced through an examination of Henrietta Maria's household expenses, which detail the significant sums she spent on Hudson's servants, custom-made furniture and clothing, including a suit of armour (Hibbard *Patronage* 119; 131-2; 123). A bill from the tailor Gilbert Morette and included in the National Archive's collection of Henrietta Maria's household vouchers, for instance, details payments for work done between Lady Day and Midsummer 1629, including "a greene Philosell sute and cloke for M^{r} Jefferye," "M:^{r} Jefferyes sute, satten doublett and skarlett hose, to wear under his armo^{r}," "M^{r} Jefferies Carnation & white flowerd satten Sute and cloke, the cloke lynd with white satten," and "M:^{r} Jefferyes gray stuffe riding sute, & riding coat wth sleeves" (LR5/64). Other bills for clothing produced by Morette similarly detail payments for items including "an Ashcolour Barracan sute and cloke wth sleeves for M^{r} Jeffere," "a black mourning sute of Flaunders saye & a long cloke for M^{r} Jeffery" (in a bill for work done between Midsummer and Michaelmas 1628), "a Pyncullour cloth cloke, hose and stockins, and a satten doublet for Mr Jefferr." and a "skarlett sute for M:^{r} Jeffery" (in a bill for work done between Midsummer and Michaelmas 1629), and "a cloth sute and stockings for M:^{r} Jeffrye" (in a bill for work done between Michaelmas and Christmas 1630) (National Archives, LR5/64).[3] Here, payments for Hudson's clothes are listed alongside payments Morette received for items he fashioned for Henrietta Maria's unnamed pages – most likely the music boys who sang in her chapel and whose height likely resembled Hudson's (Hibbard *Patronage* 131). That Hudson, unlike those pages, was mentioned by name highlights his elevated status amongst members of the Queen's household. Indeed, at times, Hudson's extravagant clothing was cut from the same cloth used for the princess' wardrobe (Hibbard *Patronage* 132), which, in conjunction with his smallness, made him occasionally indistinguishable from members of the royal family: in a

[3] The fabrics mentioned in these bills illustrate the lavishness of Hudson's wardrobe: "Philosell" or filoselle is a kind of silk (*OED*.n.2.), while both barracan (*OED*.n.) and say (*OED*.n.1&adj.), too, could contain silk.

letter to her husband, Henrietta Maria states that the Dutch ambassador in The Hague, whom she was petitioning for help in 1642, mistook Hudson for her son (Green 62). In addition to these material benefits, as a member of the Queen's household, Hudson likely received the sort of comprehensive courtly education usually enjoyed by elite children. This probably included, as Thomas Postlewait argues, lessons from the royal dancing master Barthélemy de Montagut (625), as well as lessons in etiquette and, potentially, rhetoric. Both in terms of material wealth and education, Hudson appears to have been considered more of a courtier than a servant.

Despite his lavish possessions and elaborate education, however, contemporary sources reveal that Hudson's position within the court's social structure was highly ambivalent and liminal. His extraordinary embodiment, which had enabled him to join Henrietta Maria's household in the first place, simultaneously set him apart from his fellow courtiers. Although he was merely a servant's son and, unlike other courtiers, could not rely on the backing of a powerful aristocratic family, he quickly became the Queen's trusted companion. In 1630, he was part of a delegation sent to France to fetch the royal midwife, a journey during which he was abducted by pirates (Wright 105). Hudson's involvement in this ill-fated mission, in many ways a testament to his intimacy with the Queen, is parodied in William Davenant's mock epic "Ieffreidos" (published in the collection *Madagascar* in 1638). The poem makes Hudson the object of derisive laughter by contrasting the eminence and influence 'Ieff'ry' claims for himself – after being captured, he laments not having "contriv'd a truce with Spaine" (56) and is tortured by the pirates who hope to extract state secrets before discovering that he is "a mere Dwarffe" (59) – and the limitations imposed upon him by his diminutive size, which renders him defenceless. In Davenant's poem, Hudson's embodiment renders him sub-human – his body and behaviour are repeatedly compared to insects, and he experiences several humiliating encounters with animals, particularly his 'battle' with a turkey (62-3). However, other sources frequently comment on his beauty, wit and manners. Robert Heath, in his poem "To Jeffry the Kings Dwarfe" (1650) claims, "you'ar both great and high in mens esteem. / Your soul's as large as others, so's your mind". A similar sentiment is voiced in *The New-Yeeres Gift: Presented at Court, from the Lady Parvula to the Lord Minimus, (Commonly Called Little Jefferie),* an elegant miniature book which was given to Hudson as a present and soon after printed for wider circulation in 1636. This volume was possibly commissioned by Henrietta Maria (Page 104) – 'Parvula' meaning little or small, could be a pseudonym for the Queen, who herself was quite short

(Hibbard "Henrietta Maria") – and likely authored by Thomas Heywood (Postlewait 635) under the pseudonym Microphilus, which translates to "Lover of little things" (van den Berg "Dwarf Aesthetics" 30). *The New-Yeeres Gift* appears to have been popular, as it was reprinted in 1638 and is referred to in "The Three Wonders of this Age" (1636). The author argues that Hudson's embodiment, mocked brutally in Davenant's burlesque poem, not only has worth in itself but also is the sole reason for his position at the very centre of power, addressing Hudson directly and arguing that his "littleneße . . . hath made you an attendant of Princes, & is in it selfe so full of worth, that for it onely you were thus preferred" (106). What emerges here, is the picture of an individual whose embodiment both caused and defined his existence as a courtier, rendering his status at court highly ambivalent – both a rural servant's son and a courtier living in remarkable wealth, dressed and educated like a prince; a male youth inhabiting a predominantly female space; Henrietta Maria's intimate, beloved companion and the object of derisive laughter.

This sense of the liminality of Hudson's position at court surfaces particularly prominently in *The New-Yeeres Gift*, one of whose central themes is the negotiation of Hudson's complex subject status. Specifically, the work oscillates between portraying Hudson as a legible object and as a subject who himself is capable of conducting acts of reading. Having originated in the very court environment in which Hudson lived, it attempts to make sense of Hudson's body and the position it afforded him at court on 116 miniature pages. As the title page announces, the author of the book endeavours to "prov[e] Little Things are better then Great" and does so through an argument that is erratic, often contradictory and frequently less than serious, seemingly cramming in every pun on size imaginable. What emerges through the laboured puns, however, is the consistently employed image of Hudson as a legible, textual sign, constructed by continually comparing Hudson's body with books and other literary objects. Indeed, *The New-Yeeres Gift* itself is presented as a sign for Hudson, its miniature format mimicking Hudson's small body. The author asks him to "permit a lover of your *concise dimensions*, to present very *lowly*, as most fitting to your person . . . a *small* Token of my unparralleld affection. Confesse I must *Compendiuous Sir* my gift is somewhat *least*, but my hope is, being therein so like *your selfe* it will not displease you" (1-3). In a postscript supposedly written by Lady Parvula, likely a synonym for Henrietta Maria, the author claims that she "appointed [the book] . . . to be written in [Hudson's] own hand" (116). This custom-made object, seeking to mimic his body both in its original hand-written state and in its printed, distributed version, becomes an image for

Hudson himself. Throughout the text, Hudson is addressed as "the Most exquisite *Epitome* of Nature, and compleatest *Compendium* of a Courtier" (1). His body is framed as being "*Compendious*" (1), "*concise*" (2), a "most perfect abridgement of Nature" (106) and an "excellent abstract of Greatnesse" (114). The words "epitome," "compendium," and "abstract" specifically denote not only a succinct text but also the notion of 'multum in parvo,' of much in little,[4] thereby presenting Hudson's body not as defective but rather as the perfect miniature standing in for humankind as a whole. *The New-Yeeres Gift* is not the only text which imagines Hudson in this way. In the poem "To Jeffry the Kings Dwarfe" (published in the collection *Clarastella* in 1650), Robert Heath addresses Hudson directly, again comparing his 'legible' body with a miniature book and presenting him as the epitome of mankind:

> Smal Sir! me thinks in your lesse self I see
>
> Exprest the lesser worlds Epitomie.
>
> You may write man, ith' abstract so you are,
>
> Though printed in a smaller Character.
>
> The pocket volume hath as much within't
>
> As the broad Folio in a larger print,
>
> And is more useful too. (16)

Gazing upon Hudson's extraordinarily legible body enables spectators to gain insights not only what it means to be a courtier but also what it means to be a human being.

However, although *The New-Yeeres Gift* continually situates Hudson as a particularly 'legible' literary object, the author complicates and subverts this image, both by pointing towards the risk of failures of reading and by introducing the notion of a dynamic, mobile gaze, imagining Hudson as both the object that is gazed upon and gazing subject. In both the 1636 and 1638 editions of the work, this process begins before the reader encounters any written text through an engraving depicting Hudson that precedes even the title page (see Fig.

[4] While 'abstract,' as it is used here, refers to "A person or thing regarded as encapsulating in miniature, or representing the essence of, the characteristic qualities or features of something much larger" (OED.B.n.3.a.), 'epitome' here denotes both the abridgement of a literary work and "Something that forms a condensed record or representation 'in miniature'" (OED.n.2.a.). 'Compendium,' too, can refer to "A condensed representation, an embodiment in miniature" (OED.n.2.c.).

1.1). This engraving was most likely based on one done by Martin Droeshout in the same year. It depicts Hudson posing in elaborate courtly attire and features three accompanying epigrams – two in Latin (roughly translated: "in smallness is his grace" and "cultivated smallness is better than neglected greatness") and one in English ("Gaze on with wonder, and discerne in me, / The abstract of the worlds Epitome". Through the engraving, the author points towards the unreliability of gazing as the sole means of gleaning information.

Figure 1.1: Engraving of Jeffrey Hudson by Martin Droeshout, used as the frontispiece of *The New-Yeeres Gift*, printed in 1636. © National Portrait Gallery.

Typically, contemporary portraits depict Hudson in ways that draw attention to his extraordinary height. In Daniel Mytens's large scale painting *Charles I and Henrietta Maria Departing for the Chase* (1630-2), he is depicted next to a dog the same height as him, while

in Anthony van Dyck's *Queen Henrietta Maria with Sir Jeffrey Hudson* (1633), Henrietta Maria, who was rather short herself, towers above him. *An interior with Charles I, Henrietta Maria, The Earls of Pembroke and Jeffery Hudson* (c.1635) by an unknown painter depicts Hudson standing apart from the monarchs and courtiers in a room that features a tiled floor and balustrade similar to those in Droeshout's engraving. In this painting, Hudson appears tiny in comparison to the huge dimensions of the room. Even when Hudson is the only subject depicted, painters usually draw attention to his height by situating him in 'oversized' surroundings. In Mytens's solo portrait of Hudson (circa 1627–30), for instance, Hudson, whose body occupies a comparatively small space at the bottom of the canvas, looks rather forlorn standing next to some large trees. Droeshout's engraving, however, paints a more ambiguous picture of Hudson, making him not immediately legible as a person with dwarfism. His extravagant clothing fits him perfectly while the contents of the room in which he is depicted, including furniture and even the floor tiles, appear in proportion to his body. In this image, Hudson's body is not presented as impaired but rather as the perfect 'multum in parvo,' the image of the perfect courtier. The author continues to draw attention to the risk of potential failures of reading by arguing that "A man may see much, and yet perceive little" (69) and that "So many things are not as they seeme" (73-74). Towards the end of the text, the author stages just such a failure of reading, when apologising, presumably on behalf of "Lady Parvula," for the book's frankness. Arguing that due to their intimacy, Hudson will not find the text's familiar tone offensive, the author addresses Hudson directly: "since you are no stranger, but of my owne Countrie, an *Englishman*, though some (iudging by your *stature*) have taken you to be *Low-country-man*" (115-116). While offering the opportunity for yet another pun on size, this comment corrects a failure of reading by affirming Hudson's Englishness – questioned by those who 'misread' his body – and, by hinting at Hudson's intimacy with members of the Queen's household, even Henrietta Maria herself, locates him at the very centre of the English court.

By pairing Droeshout's engraving with an epigram, the *New-Yeeres Gift*'s author draws on a rich emblematic tradition. Emblems, or 'speaking pictures,' as Michael Bath calls them, originated in sixteenth-century Italy and Germany (Bath 1-2). Emblems were typically "hybrid phenomenon[s]" made up of words and a visual image (Daly 13) and were meant to "impart a social, spiritual, or moral lesson and to be read and interpreted as a manual for future behaviour" (Vallone 74-75). Emblems' meanings were notoriously difficult to read, "a presentation of truth veiled, to be understood only by the initiate or the piercing reader" (Colie

37). In *The New-Yeeres Gift*, people with dwarfism, including Hudson himself, are repeatedly positioned as emblems, or 'speaking pictures,' which reflects the complexity of the positions they occupied at court. The epigram which accompanies Hudson's image on the work's frontispiece, for instance, is written in Hudson's voice and directly addresses the reader/spectator, Inviting them to "Gaze on with wonder, and discerne in me, / The abstract of the worlds Epitome". The epigram imagines Hudson as both 'abstract' and 'epitome,' associating him with literary forms and describing him as legible. However, here, too, the epigram's author complicates the very reading process that is set up here. The Hudson he imagines here not only invites and directs the reader/spectator's gaze, but also dictates both their emotional reaction to and their interpretation of his image. This version of Hudson appears to gaze back and is portrayed as taking control of the way in which his body signifies. This sense of a talking, reading sign recurs later in the work, when the author outlines the "*Theologicall,* and *Politicall*" functions traditionally associated with court dwarfs (102). 'Dwarfs,' according to the author, serve to urge the monarch to "*remember how thou art little,* borne like others *little*, to teach thee to Heaven, humility, to Earth, humanity" (104). Secondly, 'dwarfs' are "accounted emblematically necessary, to denote those who desire to approach neer Princes ought not to bee ambitions of any *Greatnesse* in themselves, but to acknowledge all their Court-lustre is but a beame of the Royall Sunne their Master" (105). As the text indicates, the second function is a distinctly emblematic one, and indeed, several emblems published during this period feature images of 'dwarfs,' expressing the idea that one should know and be content with one's own status (Vallone 79). However, in the description of the first service, 'dwarfs' appear to transcend their status as silent, legible signs, as they are depicted as speaking and addressing the monarch directly. The author describes how "*Philip* King of *Macedon* betimes every morning had a *little boy*[5] came unto him, and cryed . . . *O Philip, remember how thou art mortall*" (102-103), while all 'dwarfs'' "very persons . . . are as a voice crying . . . *O King remember how thou art little*" (103-104). Here, the *New-Yeeres Gift*'s author objectifies people with dwarfism by presenting them as emblems while also imagining them as self-reflexive subjects who are able to voice the meanings written on their bodies particularly effectively due to the license resulting from their embodiment – Philip's "little boy" can not only daily remind the King of his mortality but can do so by using the more intimate 'thou'. These depictions of Hudson and other court dwarfs highlight the

[5] While this "little boy" is not explicitly identified as a dwarf, that he is mentioned in the context of a discussion of the values of court dwarfs, suggests that he was one.

complexity of their status at court – an environment in which they might be perceived as a beloved companion or as a prized possession and in which their status as subject was frequently precarious. As I demonstrate below, in his performances in the masque, a genre which in the 1630s itself became increasingly emblematic and reliant on the reading of visual signs, Hudson both acted out and worked to maintain his liminal status as an extraordinarily embodied courtier. The masques in whose production Hudson participated consistently complicate his status as a legible sign, instead positioning him as a complex subject. During his performances, Hudson was able to transcend the status as a 'speaking picture' by truly looking and speaking back at his audiences.

The Masque and Its Development in the 1630s

Masques were "rhetorically slight but visually and aurally spectacular dramas that framed hours of festive dancing at the English courts of James I and Charles I" (Shohet 2). As the author of the script to the 1638 masque *Luminalia* describes, they consisted of a "variety of Scenes, strange aparitions, Songs, Musick and dancing of severall kinds" (1), creating a symbiosis of music, words, and spectacle (Lindley 395). Created by the most renowned creative professionals – including poets, musicians, artists and dancing masters – they featured performances by high-ranking courtiers and "were major social occasions for the elite audiences who participated in them" (Shohet 2). Masque entertainments – frequently "a central part of the court's extended Christmas festivities" (Lindley 383) – were "celebration[s] of the monarch" (Sharpe 180) but also, as James Knowles has argued, "engage[d] with politics, with difference and even with dissent" (*Court Masque* 1). In *The Masque of Queenes* (1609), Ben Jonson, apparently upon the request of Queen Anne, introduced what he in the preface terms a "foile or false Masque," meant to function as a "Spectacle of strangenes" (A4r) before the appearance of the masquers. This bifurcated structure, with an antimasque representing disorder which was banished or reformed in the main masque, was largely adopted in later masques (Marcus 35). While professional actors took on speaking parts both in the masque and the antimasque sections, courtiers typically only appeared in the masque, "first perform[ing] specially designed dances . . . then [taking] out members of the audience to dance in 'the revels'" (Lindley 383). Tensions between courtiers' real-life personas and stage fiction were a vital element of the form: the courtiers participating in these entertainments were, "despite their (transparent) disguises . . . recognizable as courtiers" (Sharpe 179) and the audience's knowledge of the identities of specific masquers often contributed to the

entertainments' meaning (Lindley 404). As I will demonstrate, Hudson's performances challenge the masque's bifurcated structure, as he both plays verbal parts in the antimasque alongside professional actors and dons 'transparent disguises' like his fellow courtiers.

Hudson's increasingly prominent presence as a masque performer coincides with a period of significant change in the English court masque which eventually resulted in the masque becoming a more visual and less verbal form. This development was caused by three major factors. Firstly, Charles I, who had ascended the throne in 1625, adopted a style of communication between ruler and ruled that differed widely from that of this father James, prioritising "visual symbolism and outward ceremony" (Fincham and Lake 48). Secondly, in the 1630s, Henrietta Maria became more dominant, both as a commissioner of masques and as a masque performer. This increasing prominence attracted criticism. William Prynne, in his anti-theatrical tract *Histriomastix* (1633), attacked actresses as 'Notorious Whores,' a condemnation that contemporaries read as directed at the Henrietta Maria and her acting exploits (Sanders 30). Consequently, Henrietta Maria did not appear in speaking roles, but in parts in which she was framed as virtuous and silent and in which her power was located not in speech but her gaze. Thirdly, in the late 1620s, the creative partnership between Ben Jonson, who provided the words to most Jacobean masques, and Inigo Jones, responsible for the designs, deteriorated and finally broke down after their last joint production, the masque *Chloridia* (1631) (Lindley 383). Jonson, unlike Jones, "privilege[d] the ear over the eye, language over spectacle" (van den Berg "Jonson" 6). After 1631, Jones, whose reputation at court had thrived while Jonson's influence had faded (Marcus 40), became the dominant force in the composition of masques, collaborating with several authors who provided the words, including Aurelian Townshend and William Davenant (Lindley 383). As James Knowles argues, a "new Caroline aesthetic" emerged, emphasising the visual over the verbal and turning against the "Jonsonian insistence on the priority of the word" (Knowles "Apes and Others*"* 146-7). For all these reasons, the nature of the masques presented at court changed significantly.

This new emphasis on visuality manifested itself in a shift in the content of masque plots, which no longer celebrated the transformative power of the spoken word but instead invoked the power of the gaze, particularly that of the monarch. Just as the monarch's gaze constituted the focal point for the masque's visual display – the scenery was built to be viewed from the monarch's seat (Lindley 391) – it increasingly became a central plot point.

The monarch, for instance, was imagined as both the source and object of the gaze: masques frequently feature performers entreating the monarch to gaze and thus bring about transformation (Shohet 52) while at other times, gazing upon the monarch is imagined as a source of instruction and delight. Printed records of later Caroline masques, which broadly summarise entire speeches but describe design elements in extensive detail, reflect this new emphasis on visuality. In the script for *Luminalia*, for instance, the arrival of Night is followed by an exchange the script dismissively summarises as "some dialogue," rendering it a mere stage direction marking the point after which Night ascends into the clouds, borne on a "Chariot enricht and drawne by two great owles" (*Luminalia* 6; 3). As masques became increasingly "rhetorically slight" (Shohet 2), the audience was required to read information from the bodies and costumes of characters representing complex and often abstract concepts. Correctly 'reading' these signs would require the audience to constantly, intently gaze on the stage and performers. The late Caroline masque operated on the principle of total legibility, imagining an idealised viewer who encounters and makes sense of the masque in an idealised, predictable, 'correct' way.

However, this move towards visuality occurred in a genre that revolved around gazing processes which were complex, dynamic and almost impossible to control. Masques involved audience participation, most prominently in the revels that followed the entertainment and in which performers danced with audience members. Consequently, the audience's gaze was not stable but rather shifted between being static and being in motion, nor was it consistently focused on a stable group of performers in a stable performance space. Instead, distinctions between performers and spectators and physical boundaries between stage and auditorium remained permeable throughout. Kevin Sharpe notes that "[c]ourt masques seem never to have been performed in the royal theatre, the Cockpit-in-Court, but . . . in the public rooms of the royal palaces" (179) and even in performance spaces purpose-built for staging masques, like the "temporary roome of Timber" (1) described in the script for Jones and Davenant's *Britannia Triumphans*, boundaries between stage and auditorium, if they exist at all, are continually crossed. Further, due to masques' status as both social occasions and political events, who sat in the audience was just as important as the events unfolding on stage. Masques' printed records reflect this by not only including descriptions of the entertainment presented on stage but also adding 'social texts,' "the list of participants or information about which attendees were honoured with the first dance invitations" (Shohet 14). Surviving records of responses of masque attendees further suggest that many spectators did not look

much at the stage at all. Accounts of foreign agents and ambassadors who attended performances, for instance, reveal that spectators' eyes were frequently drawn not to performers but to fellow audience members (Orrell 2-26). Following the 1630s turn towards visuality, a further opportunity for failures of reading arose, as surviving records of audience responses to masques reveal that audiences often focused on masques' visual splendour rather than their deeper meanings (Lindley 389). Scripts of 1630s masques display a pronounced anxiety about ensuring their readership – which often extended beyond the exclusive circle of original attendees to include less elite readers – correctly interpret the signs whose staging they describe. These accounts demonstrate the underlying tension of the masque's 1630s manifestation which worked towards an ideal of total legibility which was impossible to achieve in practice. As I demonstrate in my analysis, it was the supposedly monstrous characters played by Hudson which challenged that fantasy of complete legibility most effectively.

Taken together, these developments served to create the perfect environment for Hudson's increasing prominence as a masque performer. The large-scale masque performances Henrietta Maria began initiating at court invariably involved members of her household, which enabled Hudson, the Queen's particular favourite, to appear in increasingly prominent roles. As someone who was considered an especially legible sign, Hudson fitted particularly well into this new kind of masque, which required audiences to gather meaning by 'reading' visual signs. Indeed, in "To Inigo, Marquis Would-Be: A Corollary" (1631), Ben Jonson explicitly links the masque's novel reliance on visuality to an increased emphasis on extraordinarily embodied performers. In the poem, Jonson unflatteringly compares Jones's stage designs to the works of Italian architect Giovanni Baptista Crescenzi, who, as the poem's editor Colin Burrow describes, had recently been knighted by the Spanish king (n1-2). He also, however, comments on the performers inhabiting Jones's stage designs, alluding to the performances of Hudson and, possibly, Evans:

> He [Crescenzi] draw a forum with quadrivial streets;
>
> Thou paint a lane, where Thumb the Pygmy meets!
>
> He some Colossus to bestride the seas
>
> From the famed pillars of old Hercules;
>
> Thy canvas giant at some channel aims. (lines 11-15)

Jonson wrote this piece in 1631, the year in which Hudson played his first extensive parts in *Chloridia*. His reference to the pairing of giant and dwarf, and to Tom Thumb, the role with which Hudson likely began his performance career as a young child, suggest that, in Jonson's mind, the new masques' visual spectacles were created through paint, 'false lights,' and, significantly, extraordinarily embodied performers like Hudson. As I demonstrate below, the masque as it manifested itself in the 1630s produced responses similar to those elicited by Hudson's body. Like Hudson's body, it created complex, dynamic processes of gazing and 'reading', drew attention to the dangers of 'misreading' and allowed objects of the gaze to transform into gazing subjects and gaze back. The evidence I present in this chapter suggests that the evolution of the masque did not only occur at the same time as Hudson's emergence as a masque, but that the success of his performances had an effect on the development of the form.

In this chapter, my own engagement with the masque as a form is inflected by the tension between visuality and rhetoric, between speech and gazing. While, in endeavouring to reconstruct Hudson's performance career, I necessarily rely largely on written scripts of the masques in question, I position masques as multi-media performances of which the spoken word was only one aspect – an aspect which, from the 1630s onwards, was increasingly losing influence. In order to account for the multiplicity of ways in which the masque created meaning, my examinations of Hudson's masque performances aim not only to analyse the lines uttered by Hudson, but also to reconstruct the effect of his physical presence on stage, of his costumes, of his dancing and the music which accompanied it, of the performers he appeared alongside, of his relationships with the Queen and his familiarity with the audience before which he appeared. In addition, the masque was a product of courtly collaboration, which means locating authorial control and agency not solely with the author of a masque's scripted dialogues, with the person whose name might have been printed on textual records of the masque, but with all those involved in its production. This includes performers like Hudson, whom I position as a collaborator with Jones, Jonson, Townshend and Davenant in this chapter. Indeed, it is not always clear whether the person who was credited with devising an entertainment's verbal elements was also in charge of assembling its written record. It, for instance, seems unlikely that the authors of late Caroline masques would briefly summarise speeches they had painstakingly crafted while presenting detailed accounts of specific stage effects. Therefore, in my analysis of Hudson's masque appearances, I do not claim to recover a single 'correct' meaning constructed by a single author but rather highlight readings made

possible by the interplay of the masque's multiple ways of creating meaning as produced by a number of actors, including performers like Hudson. In this chapter, when referring to a masque or a particular effect created within it, I uses phrases such as '*Chloridia* creates x effect' – a phrasing which, while slightly awkward, is intended to account for the tensions I have outlined above.

Hudson as a Masque Performer

Hudson's career as a masque performer began soon after his arrival at court. Tracing his masque appearances suggests that he took on increasingly complex roles, and specifically speaking parts, as his ability as a performer improved. He is identified by name in the script to Jonson's *Chloridia* (1631) and Davenant and Jones's *Luminalia* (1638) and *Salmacida Spolia* (1640). While Hudson's appearances in these masques is supported by evidence, there are several entertainments in which he was likely involved, but which either do not survive – at least in their entirety – or in whose scripts he is not identified by name. Malcolm R. Smuts suggests that Hudson appeared as early as 1625 in Jonson's *The Fortunate Isles and Their Union*, a notion Martin Butler, the play's editor, shares ("Hudson" n270). I concur with this suggestion, reading Hudson's performance as Tom Thumb, sitting "In a pudding" (Cr) as a reference meant to evoke memories of the way in which he had recently been presented to Henrietta Maria. Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong present evidence, including both costume bills and contemporary accounts of the entertainment, arguing that Hudson performed alongside William Evans and the Duke of Buckingham in an antimasque based on Rabelais called *Gargantua and Gargamella* in November 1626 (1: 389). Referring to a bill for a 'masking sute . . . for Mr Ieffery at the Kings masque,' Barbara Ravelhofer argues that in 1631, Hudson not only performed in Henrietta Maria's *Chloridia* but also in Charles's *Love's Triumph through Callipolis* (1631) ("Bureaucrats" 77). She suggests that Hudson took part in a further masque, produced in 1633, although it remains unclear whether it was *The Shepherd's Paradise* or the lost *Shrovetide Masque* (83-87). Karen Britland argues that Hudson is the most likely candidate for the role of the 'pigmy' in Aurelian Townshend's *Ante-Masques* (ca. 1635) (656). Similarly, due to his status as the 'Queen's dwarf' and an increasingly experienced performer, I will argue that it was likely Hudson who performed the part of the Dwarf in *Britannia Triumphans* (1638). In total, then, Hudson may well have participated in nine masques over a period of about fifteen years. His embodiment and the resulting ambivalence surrounding his status at court impacted the way in which he

participated in court masques: as spectator and performer, as courtly masquer, amateur and child actor, but also as an increasingly accomplished performer who eventually took on the speaking parts which were typically reserved for professional actors. Thereby, my analysis situates Hudson within the tension between visuality and the spoken word that played out at the time in which he first rose to prominence as a masque performer. His position as a performer who was both visually striking and able to deliver complex speeches likely enabled him to collaborate with both those who, like Jones, designed the masques' visuals and those who wrote their libretti, which might have contributed to the prominence of the positions he occupies in many masques produced during this period.

Chloridia (1631)

Jonson and Jones's *Chloridia, Rites to Chloris and Her Nymphs* is the first masque in which Hudson played a significant part. The entertainment was first performed at court at Shrovetide in 1631. Henrietta Maria, who initiated the performance, played Chloris, the goddess of flowers, alongside several of "her Ladies" (Titlepage). The masque's plot, based on Ovid's *Fasti*, revolves around Cupid, who, insulted as the other gods have treated him like a child, has rebelled and descended into hell, wreaking havoc there. The antimasque stages the chaos which has resulted from Cupid's rebellion and is ended by the transformation into the masque-proper, during which the goddess Chloris and her Nymphs are discovered in her bower. The entertainment culminates in a celebration of Chloris's virtue and the arrival of spring. Within the script, extensive descriptions of scenery and stage effects as well as occasionally broadly summarised dialogue point towards Jones's increasing dominance and the decline of Jonson's influence. Indeed, *Chloridia* was Jonson and Jones's last collaboration. *Chloridia*'s antimasque is defined by a particular interest in smallness, specifically in small bodies that might appear childlike but do not act in a childlike manner – a tension that is present both in the bodies of Cupid, who rebels against being treated like a child, and in that of Hudson, who was a teenager at the time of *Chloridia*'s performance and played 'demonic,' subversive parts. Evidence suggests that Hudson's involvement in the antimasque section was extensive – he likely played both the Prince of Hell and the Postillion – with segments of the antimasque apparently constructed to exhibit his unique set of performance skills. *Chloridia* provides space for Hudson to display both skills which were typically associated with professional actors and those customarily displayed by courtly amateurs, with Hudson's role within the masque reflecting his ambivalent position as an

extraordinarily embodied courtier. In doing so, it continually contrasts his authentic extraordinary embodiment and his verbal dexterity with the constructed grotesqueness and the silence of his fellow performers.

Hudson, a teenager at the time of the masque's performance, occupies a central role in the staging of the antimasque. He is the only antimasque performer who is identified, though not by name – he is designated the "Queenes Dwarfe" (Bv). Though he is only assigned the role of the Prince of Hell in the script, several factors indicate that he also played the more extensive part of the 'Dwarf-Post,' or Postillion from hell, who reports on the chaos Cupid has caused there. Although it is generally difficult to reconstruct who played which part in an antimasque, as professional actors' names are not usually provided in the scripts, it is not unheard of for performers to perform in more than one antimasque entry. In *Salmacida Spolia* (1640), for instance, eight named performers participate in more than one entry (C2v-C3v). Further, Postlewait reads several of the attributes of Jones's sketch for the character's costume (Orgel and Strong 434, No. 170, see Fig. 1.2) as references to Hudson's life, specifically to the unflattering portrait William Davenant painted of Hudson's 1630 mission to France in "Ieffreidos". The figure in the drawing not only resembles contemporary images of Hudson (specifically, his ever-present sword), but the horse's claw feet – the script specifies cloven feet – might be a reference to an episode in "Ieffreidos," during which Hudson is attacked by a turkey (Postlewait 631). Additional clues in the materials surrounding the masque's production indicate that Hudson played the Postillion. In Jones's sketch for the Postillion's costume, for instance, the figure in the drawing is designated not as the Dwarf-Post from Hell, which is what the character is called in the masque's script, but as the "Dutch-Post," which could be a further reference to Hudson's recent and doubtlessly hellish kidnapping at the hand of Flemish pirates.[6]

[6] Flemish, the language spoken in Flanders, is closely related to Dutch. In "Ieffreidos," Davenant repeatedly claims that an "Epick Ode" (65) describing Hudson's captivity was written in "Low-Dutch" (63).

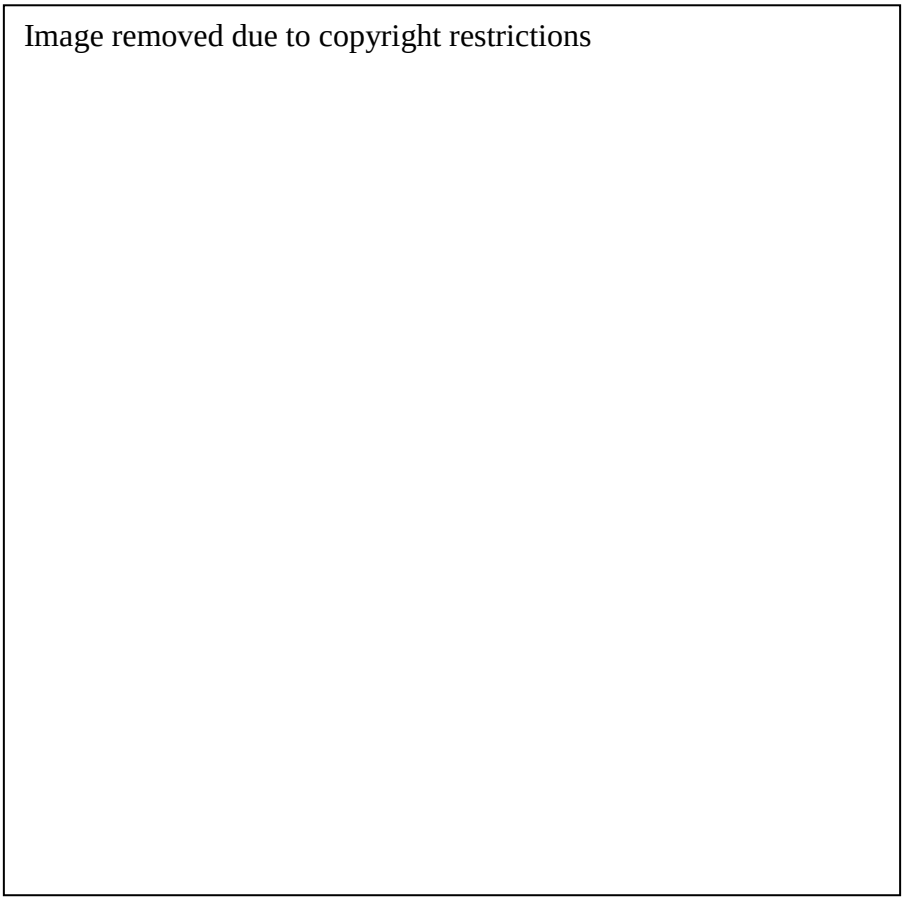


Figure 1.2: The 'Dutch Post'. Drawing by Inigo Jones. © The Devonshire Collections, Chatsworth. Reproduced by permission of Chatsworth Settlement Trustees.

In addition, several bills and receipts connected to this performance consistently mention two costumes for Hudson, implying that he needed two costumes to play separate characters. A bill from the silkman Benjamin Henshaw, for instance, details payment "for 2 maskinge suttes For Iefferye the 6th of Ianuarye 163[1]" (National Archives, LR5/64), while a bill and receipt for payments to the mercers Richard Miller and Rice Williams outlines the costs of "Ieffryes Maskinge hatt," "his Maskinge sute & coate" and "another Maskinge sute for him" (National Archives LR5/64).[7] The stark difference between Hudson's brief appearance as Tom Thumb in *The Fortunate Isles* (1625) and the parts he plays here, which require him to both dance and, possibly, deliver what is the longest speech in the entirety of the performance,

[7] Both bills are part of Henrietta Maria's household papers, and, in the case of the Miller/Williams bill detail additional payments for Henrietta Maria's costume, which makes it highly likely that they are connected to *Chloridia*, which was commissioned by Henrietta Maria, and not to *Love's Triumph Through Callipolis*, which was staged during the same season, but which was performed by Charles and his male courtiers.

demonstrates that as Hudson grew older, his talent for comic performance, enhanced through extensive training, increasingly became apparent and was put at the centre of entire masque segments, with his performances including more complex and risqué speaking parts. The particular position he occupies within the masque structure here – a courtier appearing in the antimasque and performing the speaking parts usually reserved for professional actors – reflects the liminal and ambivalent position he occupied at court.

Hudson first appears as the Postillion from hell, emerging through the stage's trap door which indicates his ascent from hell, riding on a "curtall" and accompanied by "two Lacqueys" (A4v). During this first appearance, which marks the beginning of the antimasque section, the masque consistently sets Hudson apart from the normatively embodied performers accompanying him, both in terms of embodiment and in terms of speech. This first antimasque entries revolves around Hudson's authentic extraordinary embodiment and his verbal dexterity, contrasting it with his fellow performers' muteness and the contrasted grotesqueness of their bodies. Jones's sketch for the lackeys' costumes – which depicts them as wearing masks with grotesquely distorted features as well as claw feet – designates them as definitively, but 'artificially' other and even monstrous (Orgel and Strong 435, No. 171, see Fig. 1.3).

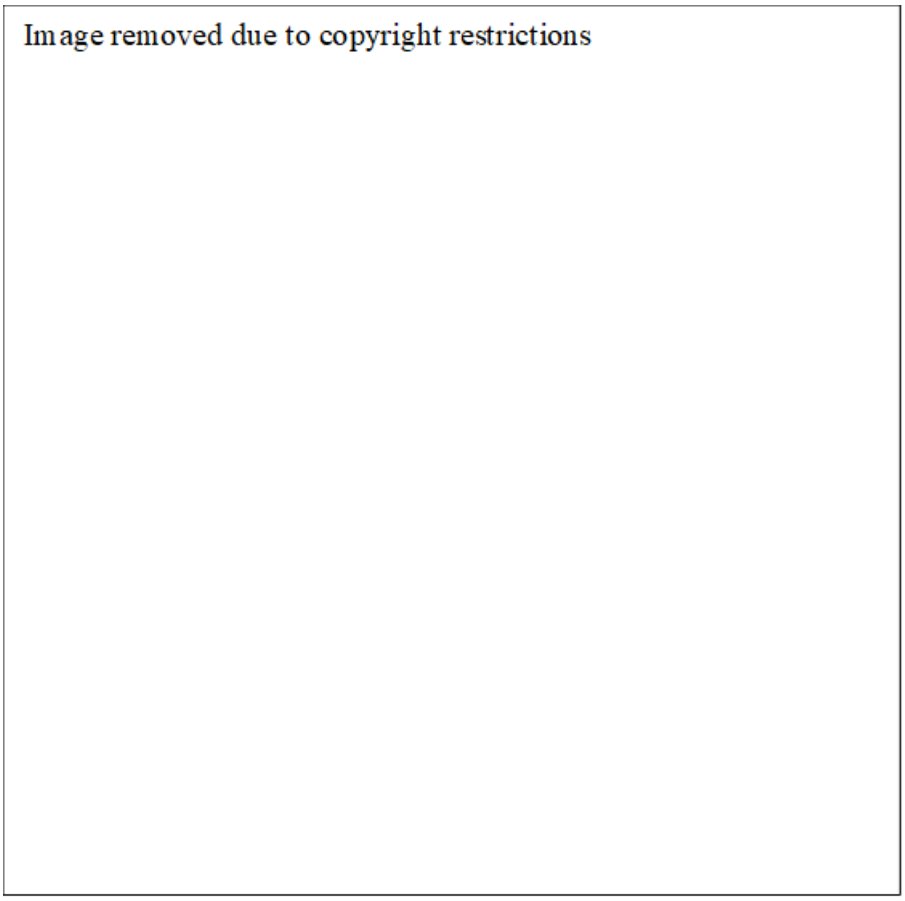


Figure 1.3: Costume sketch for *Chloridia* by Inigo Jones, inscribed 'Lackeys'. © The Devonshire Collections, Chatsworth. Reproduced by permission of Chatsworth Settlement Trustees.

The Postillion, meanwhile, though visibly extraordinarily embodied, does not appear otherwise deformed. He is immediately recognisable as Hudson, as he does not wear a mask obscuring his facial features. In addition, he wears exactly the kind of suit payments for which recur in Henrietta Maria's household papers, with the claw feet of his 'curtall' hinting towards Davenant's unflattering memorialisation of his unfortunate journey to France. While his normatively embodied fellow performers embody a vague sense of hellish grotesqueness, every feature of Hudson's performance is centred around his authentic extraordinary embodiment and grounded in his audience's knowledge of his identity, his specific status at court and his past experiences. The Postillion and his lackeys first perform a dance, "mak[ing] the first entry of the Antimasque," before the Postillion "alights, and speakes" (A4v). He first addresses his lackeys, commanding the first to assist him with getting off his horse and the second to lead it away "while I expatiate my selfe" (A4v-Br). Those first moments of the entry establish a clear hierarchy among the performers, perhaps a reference to Hudson's

elevated status as a courtier. This hierarchy is confirmed during the Postillion's speech, as the lackeys' non-verbality is contrasted with the Postillion's exceptional verbal dexterity. The Postillion then reflects upon the fact that it is him, not Mercury, the messenger god, who has been granted the title of infernal herald: "how I am ioyed with the title of it! *Postillion* of Hell! yet no *Mercury*. But a mere Cacodaemon, sent hether with a packet of newes!" (Br). This line – likely written with Hudson as its performer in mind – can be read as a metatheatrical reference hinting at the fact that here, an amateur occupies the position of a professional, as Hudson, a courtier, plays the kind of part that is usually reserved for professional actors. Instead of positioning the Postillion's body as a silent sign, *Chloridia*'s antimasque makes him its most verbally dextrous character, contrasting his authentic extraordinary embodiment and verbality with the silent lackeys' constructed grotesqueness. Hudson's Postillion looks and speaks back.

The Postillion's monologue further makes use both of Hudson's multifaceted performance abilities and his unique position at court, exploiting the license resulting from his intimate relationship with Henrietta Maria, his familiarity with the audience and the audience's knowledge of him for comic effect. His speech details the effects of Cupid's rebellion and his descent into hell, where he has been "so entertained by *Pluto*, and *Proserpine*, and all the Grandees of the place, as, it is there perpetuall Holy-day and a ceßation of torment granted, and proclaimed for euer!" (Br). Hell, as the Postillion describes it, appears to be in a state of joyful disorder, paralleling the staged disorder currently unfolding on a stage at Charles and Henrietta Maria's court. Indeed, the entertainment the Postillion describes as resembling a suggestively spelled "perpetuall Holy-day," complete with feasting, dancing and games, parallels the masque, a form which drew on the dancing culture of the Catholic courts of Spain, Italy, and France,[8] and an entertainment which, in this particular case, was initiated and partly devised by the Catholic Henrietta Maria. The Postillion then continues to describe, in an extraordinarily rhetorically inventive and humorous passage, how in hell, various figures from Roman mythology have thrown off the shackles of their punishments:

> Halfe-famish'd *Tantalus* is fallen to his fruit, with that appetite, as it threaten's to undoe the whole company of Costard-mungers, and ha's a river afore him, running

[8] For a detailed discussion of continental European influences on the English court masque, see the chapter "English and Continental Sources" in Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque: Dance, Costume, and Music*.

> excellent wine *Ixion* is loos'd from his wheele and turn'd Dancer, does nothing but cut capreols, fetch friskals, and leades Laualtos, with the *Lamiae*! *Sisyphus* ha's left rowling the stone, and is growne a Mr bowler . . . All the *Furies* are at a game call'd ninepins, or keilles, made of old usurers bones, and their soules looking on with delight, and betting on the game. Neuer was there such freedome of sport. *Danaus* daughters haue broke their bottomleße tubs, and made bonfires of them. (Br)

The references to movements in contemporary dances – "capreols . . . friskals, and . . . Laualtos" – indicate that the Postillion might be interspersing his entry with dance – a skill in which Hudson was likely trained. Again, the masque draws attention to Hudson's authentic extraordinary embodiment, to the specificity of his position at court, rendering the role of the Postillion a 'transparent disguise' of the kind that was typically donned by courtiers performing as masquers (Sharpe 179). Before announcing the arrival of the antimasque entries, the Postillion comments on the tight security arrangements on the night of the performance, exclaiming, "Had hell gates bin kep't with halfe that strictnesse as the entry ha's bin tonight, Pluto would haue had but a cold Court & Proserpine a thinne presence" (Br-Bv). Besides creating a relationship with the audience by referring to a shared experience, the Postillion, unconcerned with maintaining the illusion that he ascended directly from hell and thus identifying himself as a performer playing a part, appears to hint at his own experience of masque-going, asserting that he himself is a courtier. This speech, which subtly likens the entertainment at court to infernal chaos and creates parallels between Pluto and Proserpine and Charles and Henrietta Maria and might be unacceptable when delivered by a non-courtier, would be less risky coming from a beloved member of the Queen's household and, possibly, a fellow Catholic.[9] All elements of the Postillion's speech – its connection of speech and courtly dance, its subversive licentiousness and its references to shared experiences of masque-going – point towards Hudson as its most likely performer. In the part of the Postillion, which was likely written for Hudson, as it makes use of his specific position at court and his unique skill set as a performer and thus allows insights into his lived experience, 'disability history' and 'disability representation' intersect.

While the Postillion's entry sets Hudson apart by contrasting his authentic extraordinary embodiment and verbal dexterity with the silence and constructed

[9] Hudson adopted Henrietta Maria's religion during his time in her household, formally converting to Catholicism by at least 1636 (Smuts "Hudson").

grotesqueness of his fellow performers, his appearance as the Prince of Hell, which again distinguishes him from the professional actors embodying constructed grotesqueness, serves to display his beauty and courtly accomplishments. The Postillion's appearance is followed by seven further antimasque entries representing the figures the Postillion announced in his speech: Cupid, Jealousy, Disdaine, Fear and Dissimulation, as well as infernal spirits and performers embodying the meteorological effects of Cupid's rebellion, including wind, lightning, thunder, rain and snow, all embodied by professional actors. Hudson's entry follows Cupid's and Hudson appears, presumably after a quick costume-change, "richly apparrel'd, as a *Prince of Hell*, attended by 6 infernall *Spirits*" (Bv-B2r). Again, the script locates Hudson at the very centre of his entry – the beauty of his body and costume presumably vastly different from the actors embodying demons – and this focus is strengthened by the fact that he initially dances alone before being joined by the 'infernal spirits'. In comparison to the other entries, Hudson's stands out both visually and due to a difference in theme. While some of the antimasquers' costumes reveal much naked skin – Jones's costume sketch for the performer playing Jealousy, for instance, depicts a woman with bared breasts (Orgel and Strong 437 No. 173, see Fig. 1.4) – others appear grotesque: Rain is "presented by 5 persons all swolne, and clouded ouer, their hayre flagging, as if they were wet" (B2r) while Snow is embodied by "Seuen with rugged white heads, and beards" (B2r-B2v).

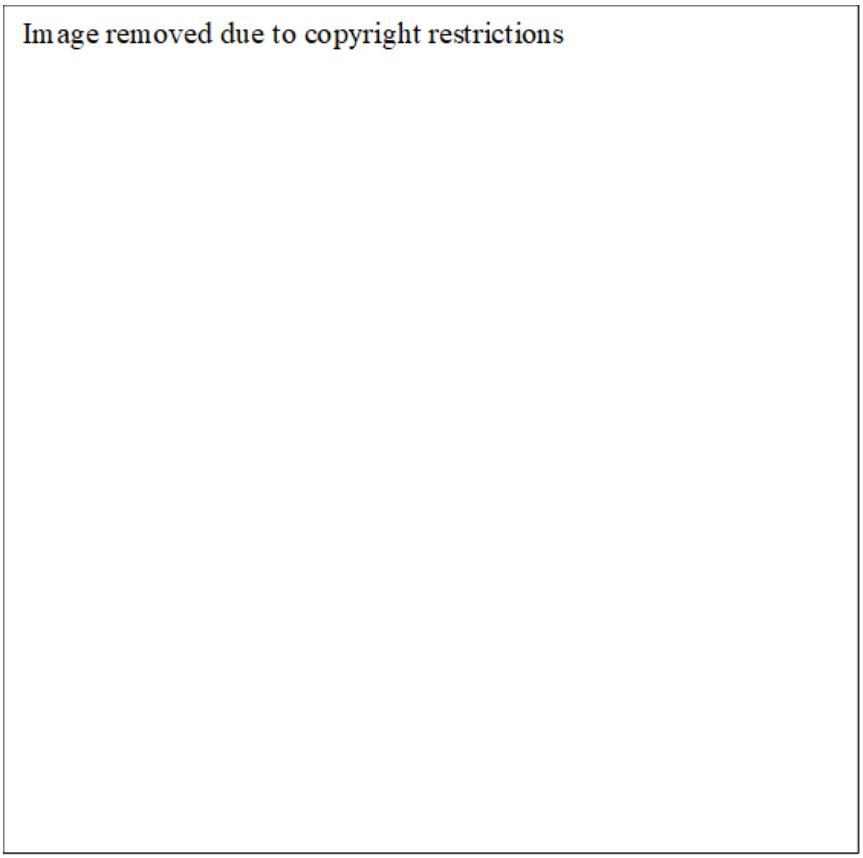


Figure 1.4 Costume sketch for *Chloridia* by Inigo Jones, inscribed 'Jealousy'. © The Devonshire Collections, Chatsworth. Reproduced by permission of Chatsworth Settlement Trustees.

Hudson's costume, however, neither exposes his body nor does it frame it as grotesque; instead, he is merely "rich'ly apparrel'd" (Bv). His dance expresses emotion (he and his fellow performers are "expressing their ioy, for *Cupids* coming among them," B2r) whereas many of the other antimasquers' movements are described as histrionic and at times intensely physical: the three performers embodying Lightnings for instance, execute motions that emphasise the glistening effect of their costumes, while Thunder dances to a "noyse . . . imitating thunder" (B2r). Indeed, Hudson's entry appears designed to let him display both his beauty and his ability to perform the more elegant dances of the court. This focus on Hudson becomes even more significant when put in dialogue with the script's distinct lack of emphasis on Cupid. After the Postillion's exit, "*Cupid, Jealousy, Disdaine, Feare*, and *Dissimulation*, dance together" (Bv), forming the second entry, but considering that the antimasque's narrative revolves around him, there is surprisingly little emphasis on Cupid's appearance, with the script offering no further details on the nature of this dance. Towards the

end of the antimasque, Cupid's rebellion is ended somewhat anticlimactically – Juno swiftly forgives him, abstaining from punishment, after his tearful off-stage apology is reported by Iris. The script's emphasis on Hudson and its disinterest in Cupid might reflect how audiences reacted to the masque and what they focused on. While it is not clear whether Cupid was played by a child performer, the emphasis on Hudson as opposed to Cupid in combination with Hudson's repeated pairings with professional actors embodying constructed grotesqueness suggest that the antimasque aims to create a space in which Hudson's authentic extraordinary embodiment can be displayed effectively. Instead of grotesqueness, Hudson's tiny, pretty body is associated with beauty and artistic accomplishment.

Although *Chloridia* is one of the earlier masques in which Hudson participated, his impact on the form is already visible. His two roles – that of the rhetorically dextrous Postillion and that of the silent Prince of Hell – position him at the centre of the tension between visuality and verbosity which characterised the masque in the 1630s. While *Chloridia* does utilise Hudson's extraordinary embodiment to create striking visuals – striking due to his beauty not because of any perceived monstrosity or grotesqueness – its antimasque is also constructed to showcase his talent as a performer, both as a silent dancer and, significantly, as an actor skilfully delivering a rhetorically complex speech. The way in which he performs and the position he occupies within the masque structure reflects his ambivalent position at court. Both of Hudson's appearances are centred around his authentic extraordinary embodiment, to which the composition of the antimasque entries continuously draws attention by contrasting his body with those of his normatively embodied fellow-performers. The antimasque does not present Hudson's body as a monstrous spectacle, nor does it set him up as a silent, passive sign or as the object of the audience's exploitative gaze. Instead, every aspect of his performance – his elaborate costumes, the way in which he moves, the content of his speeches which refer to his lived experience and his relationship with his audience – points to the specificity of his status at court. Like the disguises donned by the courtiers who dance in *Chloridia*'s masque, the roles of Postillion and Prince of Hell are 'transparent,' written specifically for him and reflecting his lived experience and his status at court while displaying his considerable talents. In *Chloridia*, Hudson signifies primarily himself.

The Ante-Masques **(ca. 1635)**

The 1630s Caroline masque's tendency to provide spaces for humorous, subversive parts which were played by Hudson and drew both on his lived experience and on the license resulting from his unique position at court is even more pronounced in *The Ante-Masques*. In this entertainment, performed in or around 1635 and written by Aurelian Townshend, who, after Jonson's fall from favour, became his temporary successor (Beal), Hudson likely appeared as a "Pigmee," a character whose name is a reference to Pliny the Elder's monstrous races, which inhabit the periphery of the known world. *The Ante-Masques* has survived as a unique, five-page printed script in the Huntingdon Library. This manuscript first lists four speeches by a "Man of Canada," "2 Aegyptians," "3 Pantaloones" and "4 Spaniards," which likely formed the antimasque section of the entertainment. This is followed by what appears to be an incomplete record of the masque part, which consists of a song seemingly referring to the royal couple sitting in the audience, as well as a rhymed section entitled "The Subiect of the Masque" and describing the entertainment's pastoral plot, which revolved around shepherds disguising themselves in order to pursue some nymphs. The "Pigmees Speech," which was likely delivered by Hudson, follows the antimasque entries and the subject of the masque and appears to function as a farewell speech to the audience. There has been some debate about whether and in what context the piece was performed. It has been linked to both *Florimène* (1635) (Orgel *Florimène* 137, Brown 109) and Walter Montagu's *The Shepherd's Paradise* (1633) (Veevers 343). The most recent and comprehensive study of the manuscript's history, however, has been conducted by Karen Britland, who concludes that the *Ante-Masques* was most likely performed as a "small household entertainment involving Henrietta Maria's French ladies . . . [rather than as] a grand production following a court pastoral" (665). She argues that *The Ante-Masques* probably was a standalone 'short masque,' staged as part of a larger entertainment or series of entertainments at Oatlands in August 1635 (665-7). In this discussion of the *Ante-Masques*, I follow Britland's suggestion.

Britland's study of the piece's performance history also reveals that Hudson is the most probable candidate for the part of the "Pigmee," suggesting that it was him who played the 'Pigmy' along several French ladies. One bill is of particular interest here. It details the services of Charles Gentil, who "embroidered two suits 'for a Comedie,' one with 'white Cupper'" for Hudson and further describes a "'masking sute' . . . made of 'Carnation Callico'" and provided for Hudson by Gilbert Morette (Britland 667). This suggests that Hudson likely appeared in more than one entertainment – a 'Comedie' and a masque – thus possibly venturing into performing in a broader range of genres. Though no details of this

comedy survive, Hudson's involvement in such a wide variety of entertainments is testament to his increasing maturity and accomplishment as a performer. Like the speech uttered by the *Chloridia*'s Postillion, the "Pigmees Speech" contains various hints suggesting that it was Hudson who delivered it, with the "Pigmee" appearing to stand in for Hudson himself. The tension inherent in the performer's embodiment – between the smallness of his body and his actual age – defines the "Pigmees Speech," which is the *Ante-Masque*'s most humorous and most risqué section. However, while in *Chloridia*, Cupid's fury at not being taken seriously merely results in joyful, if infernal chaos, here, the result of the tension inherent in the "Pigmee's" body is a distinctly sexual frisson. As in *Chloridia*, in *The Ante-Masques*, too, Hudson plays a part that makes ideal use of his unique abilities as a performer and thereby complicates the strict masque/antimasque divide: as the performer delivering the farewell speech, he occupies a space that lies outside of the bifurcated masque structure altogether.

While the antimasque entries which precede Hudson's performance, consisting of a "Man of Canada," "2 Aegyptians," "3 Pantaloones" and "4 Spaniards," are centred around a somewhat vague sense of foreignness and racial difference,[10] the "Pigmee's" entry revolves around the authentic extraordinary embodiment of Hudson in particular. The "Pigmees Speech" presents the "Pigmee" as a clearly recognisable version of Hudson himself, while addressing anxieties surrounding Hudson's position within Henrietta Maria's household. He first addresses the audience directly:

> If I should tell yee whence I come,
>
> Some I should please, and anger some.
>
> But by my Stature yee may see,
>
> Not much above a Ladies knee.
>
> Sometimes they lay mee in their lappes
>
> And give me kisses, sometimes Clappes;
>
> And then I talke, and so doe They:
>
> But there's an end, and come away.

[10] The antimasque entries all follow the same pattern: in brief speeches, antimasquers first introduce their country of origin and then greet the assembled audience.

The “Pigmees Speech” seems written specifically for Hudson, who was renowned for being pretty and witty and thus the obvious choice for this flirtatious part. The speech further implies that the “Pigmee” himself is a desirable and skilful performer and user of language, able to build up and then defuse tension, for instance when describing his interaction with the “Ladies” (“And then I talke, and so doe They: / But there’s an end, and come away”). The place of origin he describes, too, inhabited primarily by noble “Ladies,” is a clear reference to the Queen’s household, of which Hudson was a member. Beyond merely presenting the “Pigmee” as standing in for Hudson, however, the speech hints at anxieties surrounding Hudson’s position at court, specifically his place within the court’s sexual economy. The “Pigmee,” like Hudson, enjoys privileged access to elite women because of his embodiment, not in spite of it. While in *Chloridia*, Cupid is enraged at being “paß’d by, as a child,” here, the “Pigmee’s” size, which again results in an association with the childlike, provides Hudson with access to elite women’s bodies as it places him “Not much above a Ladies knee” and even in her lap, being kissed and, depending on the interpretation, either spanked or infected with a sexually transmitted disease – in contemporary slang, the ‘Clap,’ was a synonym for Gonorrhœa (*OED*.n.2.a.). This association of small size with access and illicit sexuality resurfaces in Jones’s sketches for masque costumes. In *Designs by Inigo Jones For Masques and Plays at Court*, Percy Simpson and C.F Bell describe a drawing of a ‘Lady Masquer’ underneath whose costume a dwarf appears to conceal himself – possibly a reference to this very entertainment (147, No. 427, see Fig. 1.5, see also Orgel and Strong 266, No. 86).

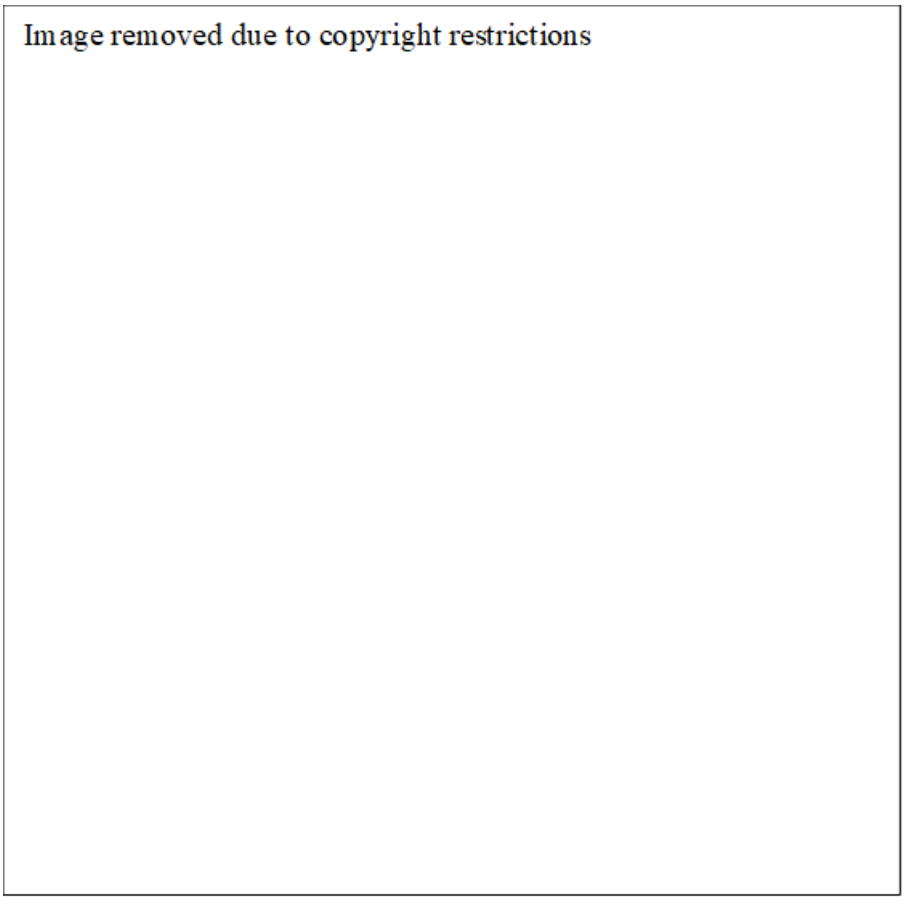


Figure 1.5: Drawing by Inigo Jones, depicting a female masquer hiding a dwarf underneath her skirt. © The Devonshire Collections, Chatsworth. Reproduced by permission of Chatsworth Settlement Trustees.

The "Pigmees Speech" firmly locates the distinctly other "Pigmee" at the centre of a space inhabited by female courtiers and plays with the sexual frisson created by Hudson's embodiment, hinting at anxiety surrounding his existence at court.[11] It thus reflects Hudson's liminal position at court, its effect depending largely on Hudson's pre-existing relationship with his audience. As this speech insinuates that female courtiers engage in illicit sexual acts, going so far as to suggest they infect the "Pigmee" with sexually transmitted diseases, it is

[11] In the eighteenth century, this association of Hudson with illicit sexuality became even stronger. An article recounting Hudson's life, penned by an author writing under the pseudonym "Q" and published in the periodical *The Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal* in 1732, casts Hudson in the role of a serial seducer of female courtiers enabled by his embodiment, going so far as to suggest that he fathered numerous illegitimate children:

> The Ladies also were very fond of him, and no wonder, since he could, almost imperceptibly, wimble himself into their good Graces, He could make married Men Cuckolds without making them jealous; and Mothers if the Maids without letting the World once dream they ever had any Gallants. (381)

"Q's" account blends the boundaries between fact and fiction by drawing on some relatively reliable seventeenth-century sources, among them Fuller's *The History of the Worthies of England* while also describing specific anecdotes, at times with dialogue, for which there are no contemporary sources.

likely that Hudson, as the Queen's favourite, once more may well have been the only performer who would have been able to deliver it with impunity.

Like the Postillion's speech in *Chloridia,* the "Pigmees Speech" is crafted to create immediacy and intimacy. This becomes particularly apparent in the speech's second part, in which the "Pigmee" again directly addresses the audience, abandoning any residual pretence of decorum and hinting at what will happen after the end of the entertainment:

> Lords, take your Ladies by the hands:
>
> Let yours be Questions, Their Commands.
>
> Bee not so nice! You'l meet anon
>
> When Lights are out, and people gone.
>
> The Night is shorter now then I:
>
> Loose it not all too mannerly.
>
> Rest would doe well, if ye can get it;
>
> Beshrew their fingers would permit it
>
> Untill the Morning Clocke strike Ten;
>
> Speake out like Clerks, and cry Amen.

While this speech does hint at the license Hudson enjoyed as the Queen's particular favourite, it also reveals that Hudson, like the "Pigmee," remained outside of the court's sexual economy. Although in the first part of his entry, the "Pigmee" hints at his intimacy with the "Ladies," the fingers who used to caress him and give him "Clappes" now prevent only the assembled lords from getting any rest. Despite the privileged position Hudson's "Pigmee" occupies thanks to his embodiment, his small stature becomes a hurdle that prevents him from engaging in legitimate kinds of courtship, as his sexuality always remains at least to some degree illicit. The lines delivered by the "Pigmee" reference Hudson's unique position at court and utilise the license resulting from Hudson's familiarity with his audience. Far from positioning Hudson's "Pigmee" as a silent sign, *The Ante-Masques* establishes a dialogue between the extraordinarily embodied "Pigmee" and his courtly audience – the "Pigmee" both looks and speaks back.

The question of the "Pigmee's," and, by extension, Hudson's position within the court structure, however, is negotiated not only through his speech's content, but also through its position within the masque structure. By convention, Hudson's "Pigmee" should appear in the entertainment's antimasque section, where elaborately attired performers are typically presented as stunningly other – either as foreign or as extraordinarily embodied – while courtiers appearing as masquers remain clearly recognisable as idealised versions of themselves. The "Pigmee" is characterised as definitively other, with his very designation as 'pygmy' adding a dimension of ethnic as well as bodily difference. The risqué and subversive contents of his speech, too, appear suitable only for the entertainment's antimasque section. However, Hudson's "Pigmee" breaks out of the antimasque/masque dichotomy altogether, occupying an entirely separate space. His appearance solely to deliver the masque's farewell speech to the audience makes use of Hudson's close relationship with courtiers – indeed, the part appears written for Hudson and it is difficult to imagine anyone else delivering this speech with anything close to the same effect. The position of the "Pigmees Speech" reflects Hudson's uniquely liminal and ambivalent position at court. Donning the kind of 'transparent disguise' usually assumed by courtly masquers, he performs a speaking part while, like in *Chloridia*, remaining separate from the parade of 'artificially other' performers that make up the antimasque entries.

The *Ante-Masque*'s "Pigmees Speech" constitutes an intersection of disability histories and disability representations. It both brims with references to Hudson's lived experience and conveys a sense of Hudson as a skilful and experienced performer, who was not only trusted with delivering subversive speeches and teasingly engaging with the audience, but whose intimate familiarity with that audience broadened the boundaries of what could be said: the part of the sexually subversive "Pigmee" could only exist because Hudson was there to deliver it. As in *Chloridia*, the artificially constructed otherness presented by the normatively embodied antimasque performers remains distinctly separate from Hudson's authentically extraordinarily embodied performance. While the bodies of his fellow performers appear to be made to signify an abstract sense of otherness, when playing the "Pigmee," Hudson primarily signifies himself. This is further reflected by the space the "Pigmees Speech" occupies within the masque structure, seemingly separate from the antimasque/masque dichotomy. This demonstrates that the masques in which Hudson participated evolved around him to provide spaces for him – spaces which both resembled and utilised Hudson's unique position at court.

Britannia Triumphans (1638)

The generic evolution to which Hudson's masque appearances contributed culminates in *Britannia Triumphans*. Written and designed by William Davenant, Ben Jonson's successor as Poet Laureate, and Inigo Jones, *Britannia Triumphans* was presented at Whitehall by a group of performers including Charles I and several male courtiers in January 1638. While both *Chloridia* and *The Ante-Masques* display an interest in extraordinary embodiment and evolve around Hudson to create spaces for his authentically embodied performances, in *Britannia Triumphans*, the effect of that generic shift is most pronounced. Although the part Hudson played in this entertainment was not as extensive as his previous roles, the masque reflects his contribution to the genre's evolution in two major ways. Firstly, embodiment, particularly extraordinary embodiment, is one of *Britannia Triumphans*'s key themes. The plots of both the antimasque and the masque sections pose questions about the virtue of spectacle, the morality of acting and the tension between seeming and being, and consistently connect them to questions of embodiment. The antimasque revolves around a dispute between Action and Imposture, who debate the morality of feigning. In the course of this debate, Imposture summons his unbodied disciples, the antimasque entries, in order to demonstrate his superiority. Aided by Bellerophon, the hero of Greek mythology, Action eventually banishes Imposture, bringing about the transformation into the masque section, during which the celebration of Britanocles, a paragon of truthful, virtuous chivalry played by and standing in for Charles I, and his naval triumphs ensues. Significantly, in the entertainment, questions of politics and morality are inextricably linked to embodiment. Truthfulness and virtue, as represented by Bellerophon and Britanocles, are consistently associated with authentic extraordinary embodiment, while Imposture and his followers are portrayed as unbodied. That these questions about the morality of spectacle – questions which were central to ongoing debates about the overall nature of the masque and its increasing turn towards visuality – were negotiated through staged extraordinary embodiment again reveals the significance of the contribution of extraordinarily embodied performers like Hudson to this shift.

Secondly, Hudson's influence on the genre is reflected by the space *Britannia Triumphans* creates for performances by extraordinarily embodied performers, including Hudson himself. The 'Mock Romansa,' a separate antimasque segment set in a vaguely medieval past which revolves around the authentically extraordinary bodies of both Hudson

and William Evans, Charles I's gigantic porter, constitutes the culmination of the masque's wider debates about truth and feigning, (extraordinary) embodiment and monstrosity and offers the notion of authentic extraordinary embodiment as a solution. A parody of the chivalric romance genre, this episode features a knight, accompanied by his squire, who is defending a damsel, accompanied by a dwarf, from the wrath of a giant upon whose territory they have encroached. In the course of this episode, the Giant and Dwarf are positioned not as silent signs but as characters whose speeches are defined by subversiveness and innuendo – a character type made popular by Hudson's appearances in *Chloridia* and *The Ante-Masques*. They both emerge as accurate readers of the outwardly virtuous Knight and Damsel, recognising their sexual transgression in spite of the signs which appear to signal their modesty. In doing so, this episode complicates the 1630s masque's reliance on visual signs and the ways of gazing they promoted, its fantasy of total legibility. At the same time, however, this episode challenges ways of gazing which treat extraordinary bodies as legible signs, as *Britannia Triumphans*'s monsters refute others' readings of their bodies. Instead, they emerge as accurate readers themselves. Here, the masque utilises the notion of authentic extraordinary embodiment, a central theme of Hudson's previous performances, and politicises it by positioning it as the reason for Charles's claim to power.

This debate about the connection between truth and embodiment is central to *Britannia Triumphans*'s antimasque, which revolves around a dialogue between Action and Imposture. In this debate, Imposture argues that there is no inherent power and that authority merely derives from its outward signs – a claim which is countered by Action through his construction of a vision of 'virtuous spectacle'. Arguing against those who claim that delight in sensual spectacle is sinful, Action demands spectacle which is "squar'd by vertues rule" (8). The masque's emphasis on the virtuousness of spectacle affirms royalist aesthetics, anticipating and refuting criticism of the masque and of Charles and his claim to absolute power at a time when Charles was under political pressure.[12] Throughout Action and Imposture's argument, the tension between seeming and being is connected to questions of embodiment. Action inextricably links Imposture's falseness and immorality to a lack of substance, specifically, the lack of a supposedly authentic body. In his very first speech, Action compares Imposture with shadows (4) and this association of falseness with

[12] Lauren Shohet notes that the play's numerous references to Britanocles's naval triumphs and the extensive use of maritime imagery refer to Charles I's attempts to raise money for the navy through controversial Ship Money levies (33).

immateriality recurs throughout the antimasque's argument. When Imposture summons Merlin, presumably directly from hell, Imposture explains that he has abandoned his "unbodied friends below" (8). These 'unbodied friends' – people who in some way deceive their peers, amongst them a "Mountebanke" (10) and "old fashioned Parasiticall Coutiers," (11) – are summoned by Merlin to make up the antimasque entries. After these entries, Bellerophon enters, riding the Pegasus. Action welcomes Bellerophon, asking him to join him "despise and scorne / These Ayry mimick Apparitions" (11). Disgusted with the antimasque's "seeming pleasures," Bellerophon condemns Imposture as a "Monster" (12). The 'Mock Romansa' constitutes Imposture's final and ultimately unsuccessful attempt to demonstrate that deceit and falseness cannot be done without. After its conclusion, Bellerophon commands Imposture to "Surrender strait / This usurpation of thy warmth and weight, / And turne to Aire, thy Spirit to a winde" (18) and banishes him just prior to Fame's appearance, which initiates the celebration of Britanocles, the character standing in for and played by Charles (19). Throughout this segment, both Imposture and Merlin are contrasted with Bellerophon. While Merlin comes from 'below,' presumably hell, Bellerophon is the "of-spring of Heaven" (11); while Merlin and Imposture are 'unbodied,' Bellerophon appears entirely solid. More than that, in Greek myth, Bellerophon himself experiences disability – legends describe him as lamed after being thrown from Pegasus (Alden 261) – which indicates that through the entirety of the antimasque, 'unbodied' vice and falseness is contrasted with embodied, particularly extraordinarily embodied, truth and virtue.

The 'Mock Romansa'

While *Britannia Triumphans* as a whole is interested in embodiment, it is the bodies of the Giant and Dwarf who stand at the centre of the 'Mock Romansa'. It is highly likely that the Dwarf was played by Hudson, both because Hudson was an experienced performer at the time of *Britannia Triumphans's* staging and because the risqué part of the Dwarf, while not particularly extensive, was exactly the kind of role he specialised in. For the part of the Giant, too, there is a likely candidate, namely William Evans, Charles I's extraordinarily tall Welsh porter (Fuller *Worthies* "The Worthies of Wales" 54). Evans's embodiment did not increase his social standing as much as Hudson's did – unlike Hudson, Evans was not a courtier, but a servant who likely did not receive the kind of elite education Hudson enjoyed. Supposedly "two full yards and an half in height," his body – unlike Hudson's – was not equally proportioned, with some deformities of the limbs affecting the way he moved (Fuller "The

Worthies of Wales" 54). This difference between the way in which their respective embodiments influenced their social standing at court becomes apparent in a dedication to Evans in *The New-Yeeres Gift*. Here, the author, rather affectionately addressing Evans as "Wil," compares the "greatnesse of [Hudson's] spirit and his minde" with the largeness of Evans's body, adding that Hudson "has a body streighter then thy leg" (A4v). This differentiation points to the centrality of aesthetics in early modern responses to extraordinary bodies. At the time of *Britannia Triumphans*'s performance, Hudson and Evans were part of a longstanding and well-documented theatrical partnership whose effect depended on the difference in their size and deportment. In November 1626, Hudson had performed opposite Evans in the Rabelaisian masque *Gargantua and Gargamella* (Orgel and Strong 1: 389). Fuller describes an instance, potentially an episode from a different entertainment, during which Evans "dance[d] in an Antimask at Court, where he drew little Jeffrey the Dwarf out of his pocket" ("The Worthies of Wales" 54).[13] In Act III, scene iii of his 1631 comedy *The Magnetic Lady*, Jonson references their double act, when the character Compass addresses Diaphanous with the words: "And therefore you, brave sir, / Have no more reason to provoke or challenge / Him than the huge great porter has to try / His strength upon an infant." For this joke to work, non-courtly audiences would have had to be aware of Hudson and Evans's masque performances, which suggests that there might have been more than one. Both performers are paired together in other contemporary writings, including in the prefatory poem in *The Olde, Old, Very Olde Man* (1635), and the pamphlet "The Three Wonders of this Age" (1636).[14] Indeed, their association was so powerful that it outlasted both their lifetimes and dominated the way in which both were remembered posthumously.[15] In addition, the masque script itself contains clues which hint at Evans's involvement. The scene's language,

[13] This episode consistently appears in later accounts and is at times embellished; an article in *The Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal* (1732) has Evans pulling a loaf of bread out of one pocket and Hudson out of the other, to use him, "instead of a Sliver of Cheese," to make a sandwich (381).

[14] Occasionally, Thomas Parr, who was allegedly born in 1483 (Thomas) was included in this list of 'court wonders'. A costume sketch made by Inigo Jones, inscribed "Romansike" and "S^{r} Thomas Persons" and depicting an old man, suggests that Parr either played himself in an unknown masque or that an actor played a part that was based on him (Simpson and Bell 152). Simpson and Bell connect this sketch to a possible later performance of the 'Mock Romansa,' suggesting that he might have replaced the Squire. If that was the case, the contrast between the Knight and the Damsell and extraordinarily embodied characters in this episode would have been emphasised even more.

[15] Some examples of this include the article on Hudson in *The Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal* (1732), abridged versions of which appeared in a magazines throughout the eighteenth century, travel guides to Hudson's home county of Rutland and London, for instance *Instructive Rambles Extended in London* (Volume II, 1800) and entries on Hudson in the genre of 'eccentric biography' which emerged in the early nineteenth century, for instance *Eccentric Biography* (1801). According to Thomas Pennant, the author of the guidebook *Of London* (1790), there was a statue depicting Hudson and Evans above the entrance to London's Bagnio-Court (218-219).

consisting entirely of comically clumsy rhymes, for instance, might point to an amateur performer like Evans playing the Giant, as, while the rhymes might aid with memorisation, their bumpiness would not necessarily require an experienced performer to produce comic effect. Evans's Welsh accent, too, might have served to provide a sense of 'mock foreignness' suitable for the 'Mock Romansa'. As a whole, the 'Mock Romansa' appears to be constructed as a vehicle for showcasing Hudson and Evans's extraordinary bodies as well as their well-established theatrical partnership.

In keeping with the general shift from verbosity to visuality, the Mock Romansa's characters, including those played by Hudson and Evans, are positioned as highly legible signs. The 'Mock Romansa's' scenery, "an old Castle kept by a Giant" (14), and costumes, which are described in the masque script and for which drawings made by Inigo Jones survive, establish the episode's medieval setting. The Damsel's attire (see Fig. 1.6), for instance, is described as old-fashioned, with the script particularly emphasising the modesty of her clothing, describing it as "like a Morall figure in old hangings" (14). She wears both a gown and a safeguard, or overskirt (*OED*.n.7) and a partlet, which covers her décolletage (*OED*.n.2).

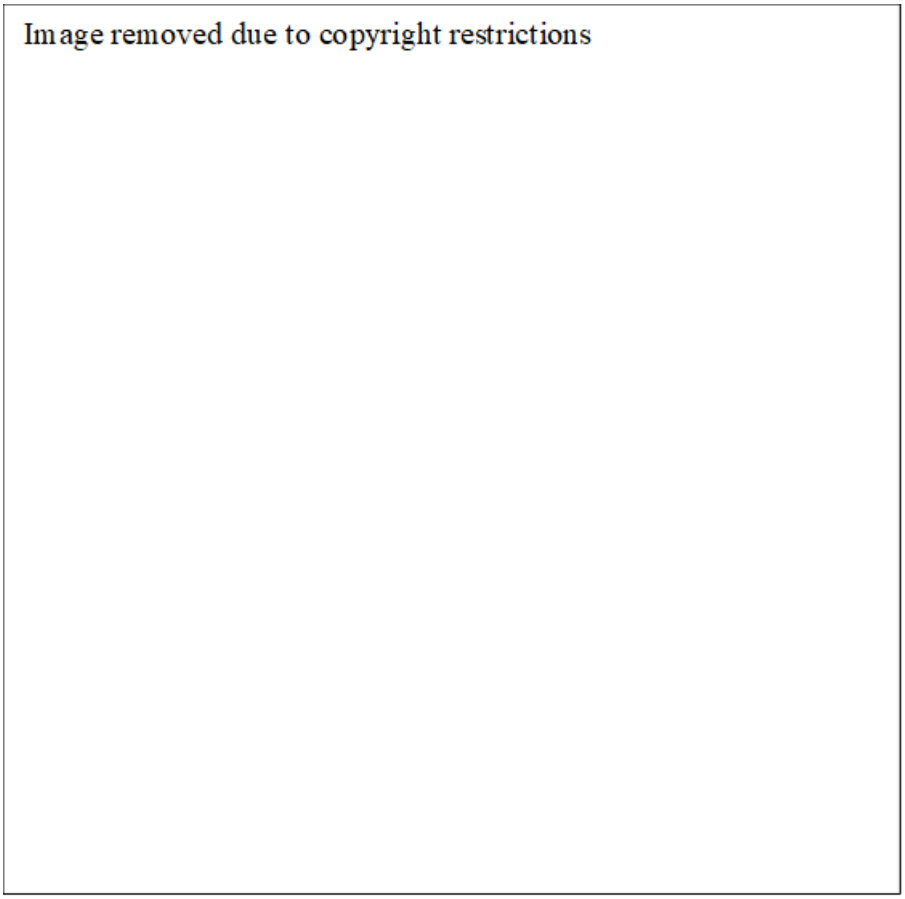


Figure 1.6: Costume sketch for *Britannia Triumphans* by Inigo Jones, inscribed 'Dammosell'. © The Devonshire Collections, Chatsworth. Reproduced by permission of Chatsworth Settlement Trustees.

This costume would have been unusual, as the costumes of female masquers and antimasque performers tended to be revealing rather than modest, as exemplified by the bare-breasted female antimasquers in *Chloridia* (see, for instance, Orgel and Strong 437, No. 174, see Fig. 1.4). The costumes worn by the Knight, Squire, and Dwarf, too, indicate that this episode is set in the past. The script describes the Knight's armour as "old fashioned" (14), an impression which is confirmed in Jones's costume sketch (Orgel and Strong 698, No. 376, see Fig. 1.7).

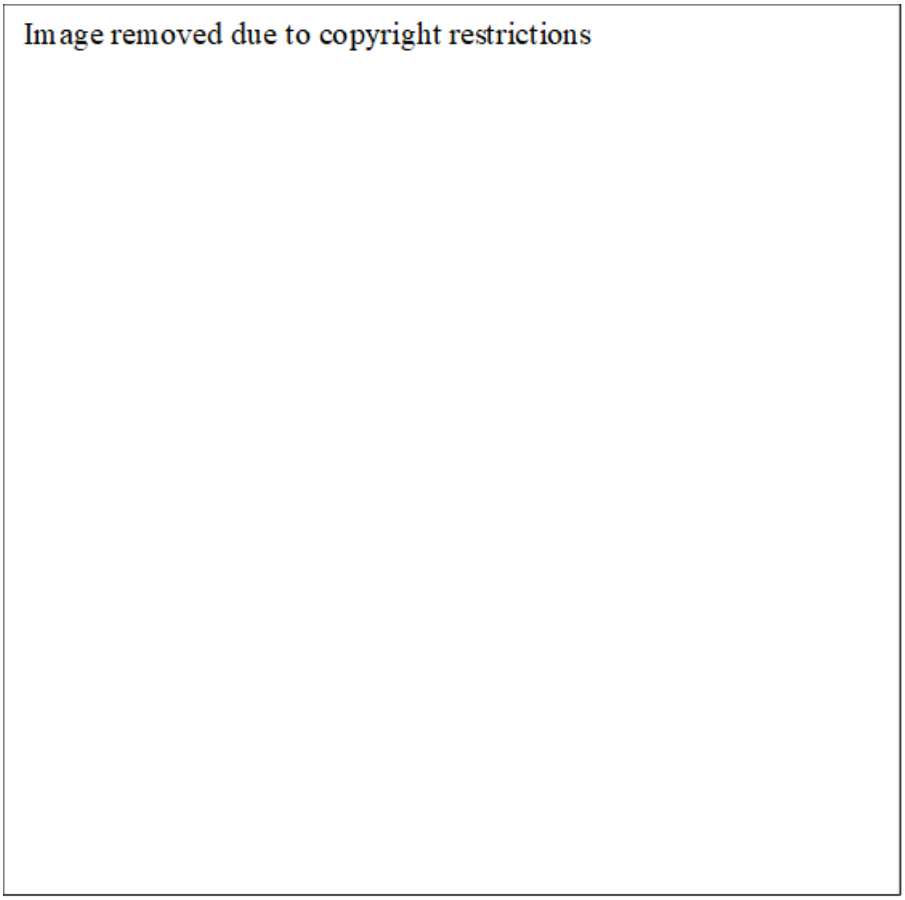


Figure 1.7: Costume sketch for *Britannia Triumphans* by Inigo Jones, inscribed 'Knight'. © The Devonshire Collections, Chatsworth. Reproduced by permission of Chatsworth Settlement Trustees.

Jones's costume sketch for the Squire's costume shows that he, too, is wearing vaguely medieval clothing, including a pair of long, pointy boots (Orgel and Strong 698, No. 374, see Fig. 1.8).

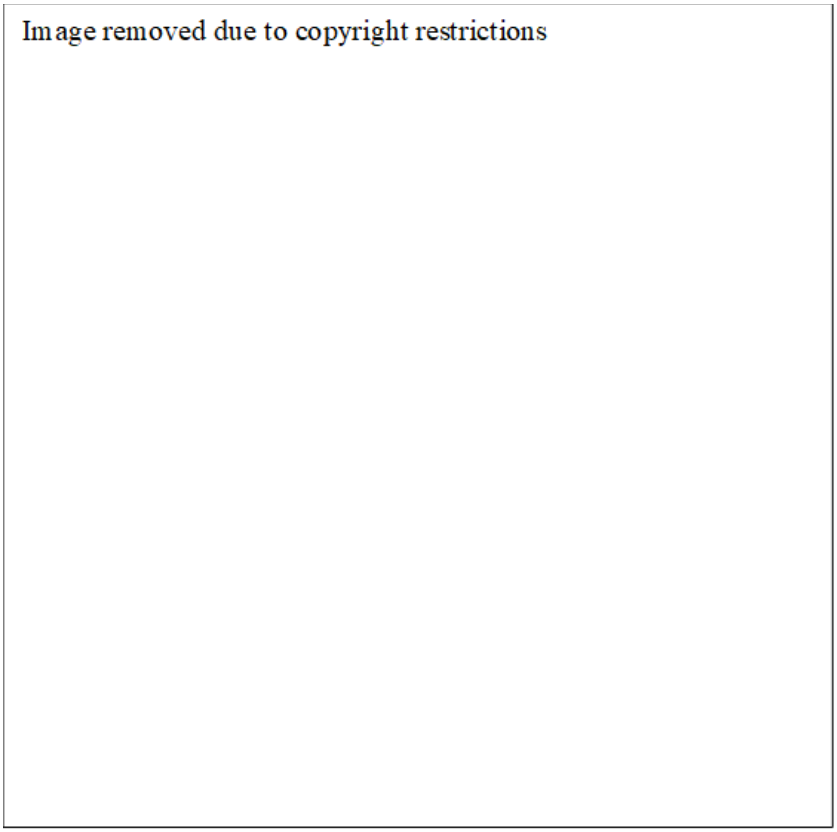


Figure 1.8: Costume sketch for *Britannia Triumphans* by Inigo Jones, inscribed 'Squire'. © The Devonshire Collections, Chatsworth. Reproduced by permission of Chatsworth Settlement Trustees.

Orgel and Strong argue that Hudson is depicted in another of Jones's sketches, which is identified as the 'Dwarfe' and depicts a bearded man in an old-fashioned doublet (see Fig. 1.9). Here, the beard signifies Hudson's increased age,[16] as he was about twenty years old at the time of *Britannia Triumphans*'s performance. The use of the iconic imagery of medieval romance initially sets up the 'Mock Romansa' as a contemplation of the ideals of medieval chivalry, with characters' costumes signifying not only the scene's medieval setting but also a particular focus on modesty.

[16] For an examination of the use of beards by boy actors in the commercial theatre, see Will Fisher, "The Renaissance Beard: Masculinity in Early Modern England".

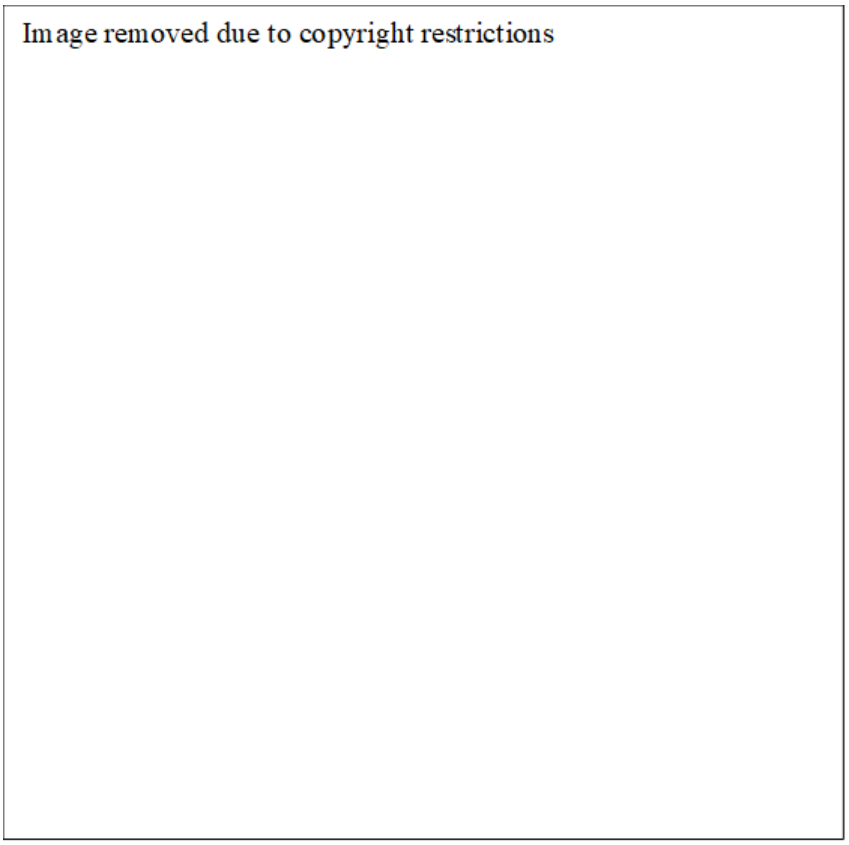


Figure 1.9: Costume sketch for *Britannia Triumphans* by Inigo Jones, inscribed 'Dwarfe'. © The Devonshire Collections, Chatsworth. Reproduced by permission of Chatsworth Settlement Trustees.

This impression is seemingly heightened by the contrast that is created between the Knight, Damsel, Squire, and Dwarf, and the Giant. He is described as "a Giant in a Coat of Mayle . . . with a Fauchion hanging in a Chaine, and in his hand an iron mace, a great roll of black and white on his head: A Saracens face with great black mustachoes" (15).[17] This emphasis on the physical appearance of this particular character is echoed in Jones's costume sketches, which contain two separate designs placing varying emphasis on his foreignness and physicality. The first – inscribed with the word 'Turk' – depicts a man wearing a robe and a turban and carrying a club as well as a sword (Orgel and Strong 699, No. 378, see Fig. 1.10).

[17] A "Fauchion" or "falchion" is a "broad sword more or less curved with the edge on the convex side" (*OED*.n.1.a.).

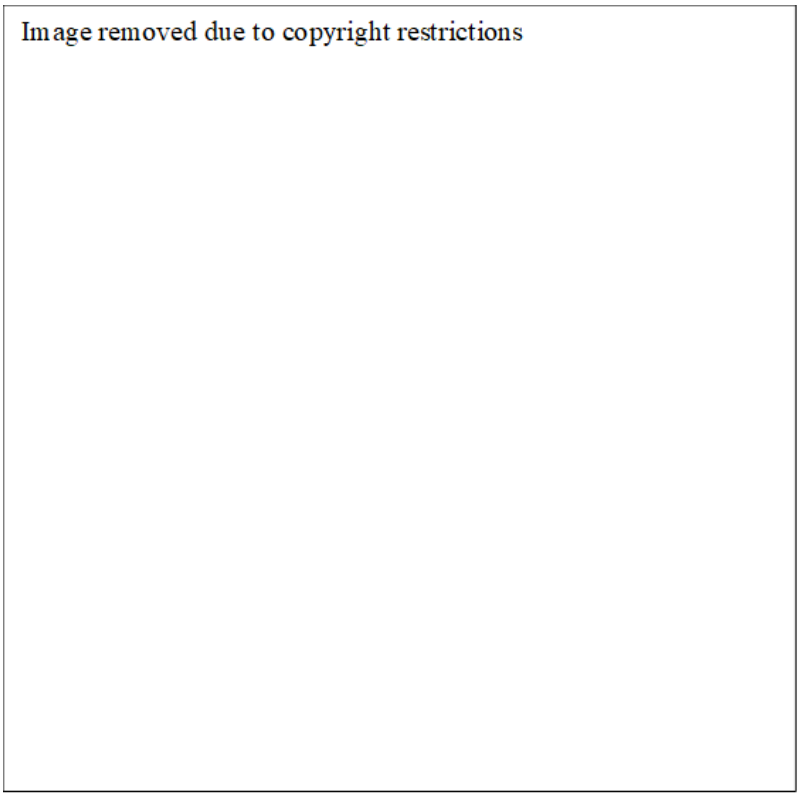


Figure 1.10: Costume sketch for *Britannia Triumphans* by Inigo Jones, inscribed 'Turk'. © The Devonshire Collections, Chatsworth. Reproduced by permission of Chatsworth Settlement Trustees.

This figure's facial features, apart from a moustache, are indistinguishable from those of the other male figures. The second figure closely resembles the Giant's description in the script – he wears the 'Coat of Mayle,' a turban and striped, wide-legged trousers and carries the iron mace as well as a chain possibly attached to a sword (see Fig. 1.11). Although this sketch is entitled 'Giantt,' the features that designate this character as 'Saracen' – the moustache and prominent nose, a feature the Knight later refers to – are more pronounced than in the first drawing. This figure appears much larger and more muscular than the slighter figure in the first sketch, which Orgel and Strong designate as a rejected design (700).

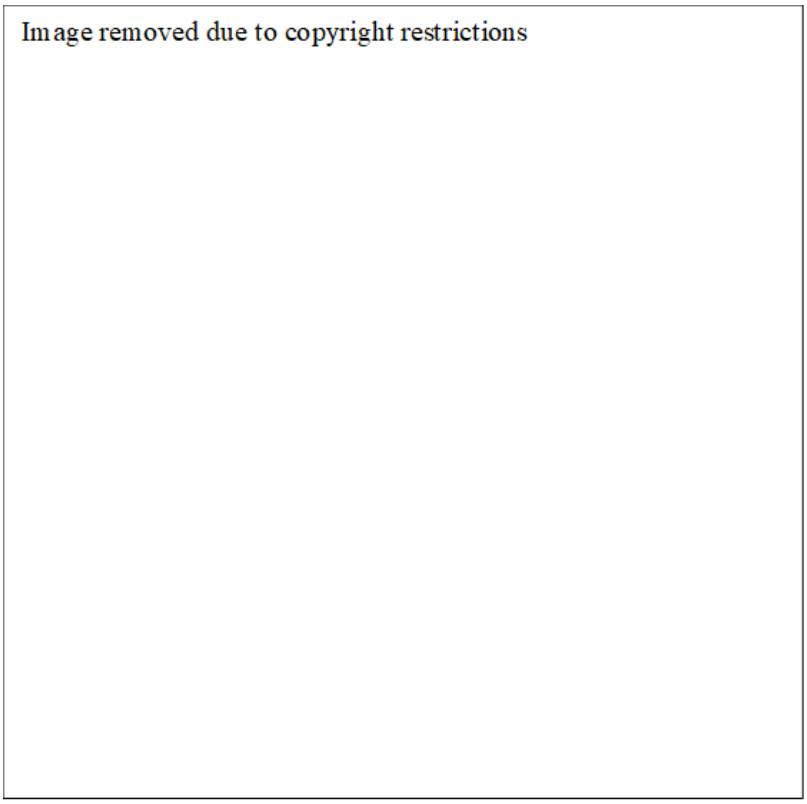


Figure 1.11: Costume sketch for *Britannia Triumphans* by Inigo Jones, inscribed 'Giantt'. © The Devonshire Collections, Chatsworth. Reproduced by permission of Chatsworth Settlement Trustees.

Typically, Jones's costume sketches do not attempt to produce likenesses of specific performers, which renders this emphasis on the Giant's facial features quite unusual. This would indicate that this character was intended to be depicted as distinctly other, as extraordinarily embodied, both with respect to his height and in terms of his geographical origin, faith and ethnicity. The Giant's demarcation as specifically 'Saracen,' made explicit for readers of the masque's printed edition, alludes to the crusades, again hinting at the episode's medieval setting, while Jones's identification of the figure as 'Turkish' is likely due to the dominance of the Ottoman Turks and the resulting "Turkish scare, which prevailed throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries" (Vitkus 210). In addition, that the script and the costume sketches conflate the categories of 'Turkish' and 'Saracen' indicates that the masque itself is perhaps less interested in geographical or historical accuracy – after all, this particularly giant would likely have spoken in a Welsh accent – but rather in evoking an overwhelming, though somewhat unspecific sense of otherness which is achieved through the 'piling on' of several markers of difference. Through their employment of visual signs, *Britannia Triumphans*'s producers seemingly stage a confrontation between white

normatively embodied protagonists, specifically the Knight and the Damsel, who are characterised by an old-fashioned emphasis on modesty, and an extraordinarily embodied foe who is demarcated as both non-white and non-Christian.

As the episode plays out, however, this dynamic, created by the employment of visual signs, is continually subverted. The Dwarf and Squire enter first, with the Dwarf uttering the first speech of the scene, in which he confesses that he, having seen the Giant, "fear[s] like child, whom maid hath left ith' darke" (15). This surprisingly innocent speech stands in stark contrast to the subversive and sexually suggestive speeches which Hudson had delivered in both *Chloridia* and *The Ante-Masques*, thus countering associations between extraordinary embodiment and moral and sexual aberrance. The Squire's response works similarly, initially highlighting the scale of the Giant's body before complicating any assumptions the audience might have formed of him because of his embodiment:

> This day, (a Day as faire as heart could wish)
> This Gyant stood on shore of sea to fish,
> For Angling rod hee tooke a sturdy Oake,
> For line a Cable that in storme n'er broke;
> His hook was such as heads the end of Pole,
> To pluck down house ere fire consumes it whole.
> This hooke was baited with a Dragons taile,
> And then on Rock he stood to bob for Whale:
> Which streight he caught and nimbly home did pack,
> With ten Cart load of dinner on his back:
> Thus homward bent, his eye too rude and cunning,
> Spies Knight and Lady by an hedge a sunning.
> That Modicum of meat he downe did lay
> (For it was all he eat on fasting day). (15)

Here, the Squire characterises the physically and ethnically other Giant not as an insatiable monster but as someone who is able to restrain his appetite for religious reasons.[18] This effect is strengthened further when the Giant, Knight, and Damsel enter, as the masque contrasts the

[18] As I demonstrate in this thesis's second chapter, this playful engagement with and subversion of associations of great size with excessive gastronomic and sexual appetites is a central component of Behn's portrayal of her female Giant in *II Rover*.

Giant's conduct with the sexual deviancy of the Knight and the Damsel. The piece does not stage a heroic struggle between noble Christian Knight and monstrous Saracen Giant, but mocks both the form and tropes of chivalric romance, as in dialogue consisting of coarse rhyming couplets, the Knight and Damsel are quickly revealed to be far from the chivalric ideal they seemingly embody. The Damsel's innuendo-laden attempts to assuage the Giant's rage – "We onely hither came to gather sloes, / And Bullies two or three; for truth to tell ye / I've long'd six weeks with these to fill my belly" (16) – indicate that, unlike the fasting Giant, they have been able to control neither their gastronomic nor their sexual appetites. Her assertion that "nought else was meant sure / By this our Iaunt, which Errants call Adventure" (16), reduces the noble quest to an exploit that is both lewd and trivial. This first exchange challenges the masque's reliance on visual signs by positioning the seemingly monstrous Giant and Dwarf as morally superior to the seemingly virtuous Knight and Damsel.

The 'Mock Romansa,' however, does not only compare the Damsel and Knight unfavourably to characters who are seemingly monstrous, but also positions the two extraordinarily embodied characters, the Giant and the Dwarf, as able to look beyond their superficially respectable appearance to read the Damsel and the Knight's behaviour correctly. What is more, they do so in speeches which, innuendo-laden and subversive, are strongly reminiscent of parts played by Hudson in *Chloridia* and *The Ante-Masques*. Having observed them together and listened to the Damsel's confession, the Giant responds by calling the Damsel a "Trull" (16). The Knight, too, is denied any authority, with his claims to moral superiority being continually eroded. His insults, exclusively targeting the characteristics that mark the Giant as ethnically other – he calls him "a hookt nose foule mouth'd Bobber lips," contrasting his features unfavourably with the damsel's whiteness (16) – lose their sting as the masque denies him the moral authority chivalric romance invests in Christian knights encountering monstrous infidels. Throughout the scene, he remains a poor imitation of a knight, making a mockery of the ideals he claims to embody. In response to the Knight's insults, the Giant threatens to force the Damsel to "serve as Cooke to dresse my whale" (17), which prompts the Knight to call him a monster for the first time ("O monster vile" 17). Here, the masque positions what the Knight sees as a shocking disruption of social hierarchies – a "gentle Shee," destined for the company of queens, drudging in a giant's kitchen (17) – as an accurate 'reading' of the Damsel's true nature. The Giant's 'reading' of the Knight, too, is confirmed as true by the Damsel when she, while imploring the Knight to stay peaceful, further erodes his authority, accusing him of "want of breeding" (17) and, by punning and

calling his mother a "sturdy Queane," suggests that his parentage is far from royal (18).[19] She tells him to "keepe [his] blustering breath to coole [his] broth" instead of verbal duels with the Giant, again reducing the Knight's endeavours from the epic to the trivial and implicitly associating powerful and truthful speech with the Giant instead of the Knight (18). Hudson's Dwarf, too, now emerges as an accurate reader, when he calls the Knight a "sonne of Puncke" (18), suggesting that a simple arrow might not work on the Knight and that Cupid might have to shoot him with "pellet out of trunke" (18). Lastly, the Giant addresses the Knight, threatening to "strike thee till thou sink where the abode is / Of wights that sneake below, cald Antipodis" (18), to banish him to the world's periphery – a place where, in the early modern imagination, monsters reside. Before they exchange blows, however, Merlin enchants them, so that they "fall into a dance" before departing. This display of triviality and bathos causes Bellerophon and Action to banish Merlin and Imposture from the stage, without granting Imposture the opportunity to speak again (19). The 'Mock Romansa' locates the authority to read people correctly with the extraordinarily embodied Giant and Dwarf. Because of *Britannia Triumphans*'s emphasis on authentic extraordinary embodiment as a marker of moral authority, the Giant and Dwarf's embodiment – particularly authentic because it corresponds so closely with that of Evans and Hudson, the performers playing them – lends weight to their moral judgement.

Putting the 'Mock Romansa' in dialogue with what immediately follows it reveals that the masque's interest in questions of authentic extraordinary embodiment and its connection to virtue and truthfulness is closely related to its political symbolism. After Imposture and Merlin's departure, the discovery of the 'Palace of Fame' is followed by the appearance of Britanocles, played by and immediately recognisable as Charles. His appearance resolves the conflicts negotiated in the 'Mock Romansa'. The masque section endeavours to create a balance between visuality and the spoken word, framing Charles's authentically embodied performance as Britanocles as proof not only of his virtue but of the virtuousness of the entertainment as a whole. The songs praising Britanocles invoke the kind of complex, dynamic gazing processes 1630s masques tend to promote. While Britanocles is imagined as the object of the masquers' gaze, his own gaze is described as brightness which enables vision. Prior to his entry, Fame, anticipating his appearance, sings:

[19] The word "quean" denotes "a bold, impudent, or disreputable woman; *spec.* a prostitute" (*OED*.n.1.).

Break forth thou Treasure of our sight,

That are the hopefull morne of every day,

whose faire example makes the light,

By which Heroique virtue findes her way. (20)

These songs, performed by two choruses of poets – first a group of unspecified poets and then "a new *Chorus* of our owne moderne Poets rais'd by *Merlin*" – invoke the power of the royal gaze and connect it to Charles and Henrietta Maria's embodiment. While the first chorus proclaims that Britanocles's "Person fils our eyes" (22), the members of the second chorus, who, summoned by Merlin, appear 'unbodied, 'address Henrietta Maria, who is sitting in the audience:

Our eyes (long since dissolv'd to Ayre)

To thee for Day must now repaire,

Though rais'd to life by Merlins might,

Thy stocke of Beautie will supply

Enough of Sunne from either eye,

To fill the Organs of our sight. (23)

Charles and Henrietta's gazes are imagined as potent enough to fill up the chorus's eyes, to transform immateriality into embodiment – an allegory which can be read as an appeal for royal patronage. Indeed, it is Britanocles/Charles's authentic body that distinguishes him from Imposture and the 'mock version' of chivalry he conjures. Britanocles's "Heroique virtue" (20) – a phrase which Imposture initially uses disparagingly, and which Fame uses in earnest in the masque section – is presented as a new kind of true chivalry that leaves behind antiquated pretences, reconciling "the old with moderne vertues" (19) and, crucially, located within the body of Charles. Charles becomes the masque's focal point, his authentic embodiment as the monarch playing himself infinitely superior to Imposture's 'unbodied friends' and a source of true and virtuous delight as well as authority. His performance is virtuous because it is authentic – he essentially plays himself – and it is his authentic embodiment, and not imposture and outward signs that give him authority. This politicisation of embodiment, which constructs an implicit link between the extraordinary bodies of Giant,

Dwarf and King, is made possible by the success of Hudson's previous masque performances, in which he delivers complex, witty, and playfully subversive speeches that contain references to courtly life, while his rhetoric dexterity and his pretty, extraordinary body is contrasted with the muteness and the antics of performers whose extraordinary embodiment is inauthentic, constructed by masques and props.

On one level, the 'Mock Romansa' positions Hudson and Evans's extraordinary bodies as signs, meant to evoke a vaguely 'medieval' atmosphere. Like the broadsheet "The Three Wonders of this Age" (1636), which prefaces descriptions of Hudson, Evans and Thomas Parr with a list of similarly embodied historical figures, the 'Mock Romansa' initially appears to position the Giant and the Dwarf's extraordinary bodies as links to the past, contrasting their physical and ethnic difference with the white, normatively embodied Knight and Damsel. However, because the masque as a whole places such an emphasis on authentic extraordinary embodiment as an indicator of virtue, the Giant and the Dwarf, played by the authentically extraordinarily embodied Evans and Hudson, transcend their role as signs, as part of the tableau that indicates a distant, and imagined past. The masque's association of authentic embodiment with truthfulness renders the 'Mock Romansa's' Knight and his pretence of chivalry the object of derisive laughter while casting the Giant and the Dwarf as accurate 'readers,' able to look beyond the Knight and the Damsel's appearance of virtue. The monsters – far from silent signs – do not only speak but speak the truth. This is particularly significant as it occurs in the masque, a genre that relies heavily on the audience's ability to read signs correctly and whose written records frequently display a pronounced anxiety that this might not be the case. *Britannia Triumphans* locates true monstrosity not with the Saracen Giant or the Dwarf, but with 'unbodied' Imposture, who is condemned as a monster by Bellerophon, who himself becomes extraordinarily embodied. The sympathetic nature of the portrayal of extraordinarily embodied characters is most likely a result of Jeffrey Hudson's accomplishments as a masque performer. The 'Mock Romansa,' a distinct episode within *Britannia Triumphans*'s antimasque that is defined by and creates space for the speech of extraordinarily embodied characters, can be read as a continuation of sorts – a continuation of the parts Hudson played in *Chloridia* and *The Ante-Masques,* which strive to create spaces for Hudson's authentically embodied performances.

Luminalia (1638) and *Salmacida Spolia* (1640)

Hudson's presence at court and his career as a performer were catalysts for both generic change and changes in performance practice. This becomes particularly apparent in the antimasques of *Luminalia* (1638) and *Salmacida Spolia* (1640), in whose performance he participated after his appearance in *Britannia Triumphans*. While he plays relatively minor non-verbal dance parts in both masques, the antimasque entries during which he appeared are clearly centred around him and appear constructed to display his talents to full effect. In *Luminalia*, which boasts two antimasque sequences, one presented by the "Attendants of Night" (9) and one presented by the "sonnes of *Sleepe*" (11), Hudson participates in the first antimasque sequence's third entry: "Five Fayries, of which Master *Ieffery Hudson,* the Queenes Majesties dwarfe, presented *Piecrocall* a principall Captaine under King *Auberon*" (9). Similarly, in *Salmacida Spolia,* Hudson participates in the eighteenth entry, which is described as "Three Swisses, one a little Swisse, who plays the wag with them as they slept" (C3v), and again puts Hudson at the centre, this time contrasting his playful movements with the stillness of his fellow performers. What is truly remarkable, however, is that performance practice regarding the antimasque appears to have shifted, as Hudson is no longer the only courtly amateur actor appearing in the antimasque: in both *Luminalia* and *Salmacida Spolia* almost all the performers participating in the antimasque entries are named and identifiable as courtiers. *Luminalia*'s script clarifies that, for the entertainment's first antimasque sequence, "Most of these Antimasques were presented by Gentlemen of Qualitie" (9) and assigns the names of both junior and senior courtiers to most of the entries of the second antimasque sequence.[20] In *Salmacida Spolia,* too, a majority of the antimasque roles are associated with the names of junior courtiers.[21] While the courtiers' participation in the antimasque – a development likely at least partly due to the popularity of Hudson's appearances – might have resulted in Hudson being left to play more minor parts, the nature of the roles which courtiers took on once more demonstrates Hudson's extraordinary performance skill. In both antimasques, the roles taken on by courtiers were silent, with the lack of assigned names to the speaking parts indicating that they were played by professional actors. This demonstrates how considerable Hudson's performance abilities were, as, even when it became acceptable

[20] Young men without a title, such as Masters Francis Russell and Thomas Weston appear alongside aristocrats like the Earl of Devonshire and Lord Philip Herbert (12).

[21] Amongst the courtiers who were involved in the performance were, for instance, William Murray, Charles's Groom of the Bedchamber (Smuts "Murray"), who played the mistress of an old-fashioned Englishman in the seventh entry, or Sir Charles Cotterell, who played one of the Swisses alongside Hudson (Clayton).

for courtiers to perform in the antimasque, none of them even attempted the kinds of parts Hudson so expertly and effectively embodied.

Conclusion

The entirety of Hudson's existence at court appears surrounded by a sense of heightened theatricality. In many ways, he was a professional entertainer who continually had to perform his liminal status as an extraordinarily embodied courtier to maintain it. His extravagant clothes, paid for by the Queen, were costumes just as much as the 'masking suits' which appear on the same bills. It thus appears only natural that Hudson employed the skills he acquired through elite training for performances on stage. Hudson, whom his contemporaries imagined both as a particularly legible sign and as a self-reflexive subject, fitted well into the masque, a form which, in its 1630s manifestation, had at its centre the tension between using visual signs and speech as ways of communicating meaning. Relying both on his striking embodiment and his rhetorical dexterity, his performances embody that tension, rendering him a collaborator with both playwrights like Jonson and Davenant and designers like Jones. The ambivalent position Hudson occupied at court is reflected in the parts he played: technically an amateur, he appeared predominantly alongside professional actors in the antimasque, displaying both the accomplishment of a courtier and the rhetoric skill of a professional performer. The increasingly prominent parts he played, particularly those in *Chloridia* and *The Ante-Masques,* appear informed by his lived experience and utilise his position at court, particularly the license resulting from his intimacy with Henrietta Maria and his familiarity with the audience, for comic effect. Here, 'disability histories' and 'disability representations' intersect, as the parts Hudson played revolved his authentic extraordinary embodiment. Hudson's body holds no metaphorical meaning. Instead, the meanings transported by Hudson's authentically extraordinary body are grounded in his audience's knowledge of the specificity of his status as an extraordinarily embodied courtier. Hudson repeatedly plays himself, acting out his lived experience on stage and looking and speaking back at the audience. Structurally, the masques in which he appeared evolved around Hudson to create spaces in which both his extraordinary body and his considerable skill as a performer could be displayed to the greatest advantage. While in *Chloridia*, characters played by him dominate the antimasque, in *The Ante-Masques*, Hudson's "Pigmee" occupies a space that is outside of the bifurcated masque structure altogether.

This process culminates in *Britannia Triumphans*. The Dwarf he played in this entertainment is by no means Hudson's greatest role. Unlike in *Chloridia* or *The Ante-Masques,* he has neither the opportunity to display his accomplishment as a courtly dancer nor does he deliver long, rhetorically complex monologues. Still, more than any other masque, *Britannia Triumphans* reflects the impact Hudson had on masque culture at the 1630s Stuart court and the extent to which the genre evolved to accommodate him. The specific part he plays here is of less importance than the space which *Britannia Triumphans* creates for Hudson and Evans's authentically embodied performances. In *Britannia Triumphans,* the 'Mock Romansa,' an entire scene distinctly separate from the more conventional antimasque entries and with a self-contained narrative, revolves around extraordinary bodies. The masque positions the superficially monstrous Giant, and, to a lesser extent, the Dwarf, as both accurate readers of the Knight and Damsel's true natures and as speakers of truth, thereby subtly criticising the late Caroline masque's fantasy of total legibility, and challenging the way in which extraordinary embodiment is perceived. The 'Mock Romansa' politicises the Giant and Dwarf's bodies to imagine authentic embodiment as the basis not only for the modern kind of chivalry Charles embodied but for his claim to power, thus creating a cautious but undeniable link between the extraordinary bodies of Hudson, Evans, and Charles. Examining *Luminalia* and *Salmacida Spolia*, the masques in which Hudson performed after his appearance in *Britannia Triumphans* and in whose antimasques courtiers appear alongside professional actors, suggests that his performances not only shaped the masque as a form but also impacted the way in which it was performed. *Luminalia* and *Salmacida Spolia* are the last (recorded) masques which were performed at court before the outbreak of the Civil War. These limits of the surviving repertoire make it difficult to ascertain whether traces of Hudson's impact on the form might be apparent in masques in which he did not participate himself. Nonetheless, reconstructing Jeffrey Hudson's performance career proves not only that at least one extraordinarily embodied actor existed in the early modern period, but that this actor, the son of a rural servant, had a profound impact on the elite form he appeared in.

Coda

The beginning of the Civil Wars abruptly ended Hudson's career as a masque performer. His later life was defined by turbulence and hardship. After the start of the Civil Wars, he became a "Captain of horse in the Kings Army" (Fuller 349) before accompanying Henrietta Maria first to the Netherlands in 1642, and, after another stint in the military, to

France, where she established her exiled court in 1644 (Smuts "Hudson"). There, Hudson, provoked by the taunts of his fellow-Englishman Charles Crofts, challenged him to a duel, killing him, which forced Henrietta Maria to banish him from her court (Fuller 349, Wright 105). During his journey back to England he was captured by Barbary pirates and sold into slavery (Smuts "Hudson"). Wright reports that he was forced to do hard labour for several years and that the hardships he endured led to his body changing dramatically, growing from eighteen inches to three feet nine inches (105). Upon his return to England, he lived in Rutland for some time, supported by pensions provided by nobles including the Duke of Buckingham, before moving to London (Wright 105). Due to his Catholic faith, he was arrested during the uproar caused by the Popish Plots and imprisoned for some time – a notice included in the pamphlet *Mr. Tho. Dangerfield's Second Narrative* suggests that he was released in February 1680 (Wright 105). Charles II's financial records prove that Hudson received at least two payments from the King in June 1680 and April 1681 (Akerman 14, 28). He died soon after his release from prison, around 1682 (Wright 105). Just before his death, he was interviewed by James Wright and it is Wright's *History* that brings us closest to hearing Hudson's own voice, when he relates how Hudson interpreted the growth spurt he experienced during his second captivity:

> But that which in my opinion seems the most observable is what I have heard himself several times affirm, that between the *7th.* year of his Age and the *30th.* he never grew any thing considerable, but after thirty he shot up in a little time to that highth of a stature which he remain'd at in his old age, *viz.* about three foot and nine inches. The cause of this he ascribed (how truly I know not) to be the hardship, much labour, and beating, which he endured when a Slave to the Turks. This seems a Paradox, how that which hath been observed to stop the growth of other persons, should be the cause of his. But let the Naturalists reconcile it. (105)

Far from a silent sign, a monarch's living, breathing *memento mori*, Hudson's body, now marked by enslavement, economic hardship and his stint in prison, reflects his own lived experience, signifies only himself. Even at the end of his life, Jeffrey Hudson's body eludes reading, remains a paradox. Refusing to act as a passive sign, Hudson takes control of and shapes his own signification.

Chapter 2. Monster Culture: The London Fairgrounds, the Patent Stage and Generic Change

Introduction

In his 1880 volume *Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair*, Henry Morley, one of the fair's first historians, records the contents of a letter which the diplomat Sir Robert Southwell wrote to his son Edward around the time of Bartholomew Fair in 1685. In it, he encourages his son to visit what he calls "the great theatre of Bartholomew Fair" and proceeds to outline its delights in colourful detail:

> The main importance of this fair is not so much for merchandize, and the supplying what people really want; but as a sort of Bacchanalia, to gratify the multitude in their wandring and irregular thoughts . . . Here you see the rope-dancers gett their living meerly by hazarding of their lives, and why men will pay money and take pleasure to see such dangers, is of separate and philosophical consideration . . . Others, if born in any monstrous shape, or have children that are such, here they celebrate their misery, and, by getting of money, forget how odious they are made. When you see the toy-shops, and the strange variety of things much more impertinent than hobbyhorses of ginger-bread, you must know there are customers for all these matters . . . 'Tis out of this credulous crowd that the ballad-singers attrackt an assembly, who listen and admire, while their confederate pickpockets are diving and fishing for their prey . . . 'Tis from those of this number who are more refined that the mountebank obtains audience and credit; and it were a good bargain if such customers had nothing for their money but words, but they are best content to pay for druggs and medicines, which commonly doe them hurt. There is one corner of this Elizium field devoted to the eating of pig and the surfeits that attend it. The fruits of the season are everywhere scatter'd about, and those who eat imprudently do but hasten to the physitian or the churchyard . . . There are various corners of lewdness and impurity . . . Here it commonly ends in quarrels and bloodshed, so that either the chirurgeon is sent for to plaister up the wounds, or the constable to heal the peace. (qtd. in Morley 224-6)

Southwell's description is defined by an almost overwhelming sensuality. The 'Bacchanalia' that is Bartholomew Fair is full of strange sounds, with the cries of vendors intermingling with the songs of ballad singers and the speeches of mountebanks. It offers spectacular sights,

like the daring feats of rope-dancers who perform alongside booths in which spectators could view the extraordinary bodies of those 'born in any monstrous shape'. Southwell describes the fair's gastronomic delights and coyly hints at pleasures 'much more impertinent than hobbyhorses of ginger-bread' for sale close by. The fair, as Southwell describes it, confronts its visitors with their own physicality: not only through its assault on their senses but by revealing the workings of their own bodies in ways that require the attention of a physician or surgeon. It is also profoundly theatrical, a "great theatre". As I will demonstrate in this chapter, it is this environment of spectacular, theatrical physicality and heightened sensuality from which emerged a culture of popular performance which became the main way in which a broad range of late seventeenth-century London's population encountered extraordinary embodiment and performances of monstrosity.

In this chapter, I examine a diverse range of writings, including pamphlets, newspaper advertisements, diary entries, songs, and literary criticism, representing monster culture – a distinct performance culture revolving around modes of entertainment which centred the extraordinary body. Here, the London fairs, particularly Bartholomew Fair, emerge as significant sites of encounter with a wide variety of extraordinarily embodied performers, including both those with and without physical impairments. These performers engaged in complex, fundamentally theatrical performances that required the performer to combine extraordinary embodiment with a variety of artistic and intellectual skills and often facilitated close physical contact and interpersonal exchange between performers and spectators. Using the case study of the Dutchwoman Mrs Saffry, the proprietor of her own fairground booth staging theatrical entertainments and acrobatics and likely a rope-dancer herself, this chapter demonstrates both that contemporary accounts of these performances present the embodiment of performers without physical impairments as extraordinary and that performers could make a living and even achieve financial independence by displaying their extraordinary bodies to paying audiences. In this chapter, the London's fairgrounds are positioned as sites of stylistic experimentation and catalysts of generic change, from which emerged popular, intensely physical modes of performance drawing on farce and *commedia dell'arte*. These innovative modes as well as the extraordinarily embodied performers engaging in them were condemned as monstrous by contemporary playwrights and commentators.

This chapter highlights the influence of this vibrant monster culture on London's commercial theatres, reconstructing both how 'generic monstrosities' and supposedly

monstrous extraordinarily embodied performers found their way onto the patent stage. In order to do so, it locates traces of monster culture in Aphra Behn's 1681 comedy *II Rover*. This becomes particularly apparent in the play's subplot, which revolves around two female monsters. I argue that Behn's portrayal of monstrous women as complex characters with bodies and voices owes much to the complexity of the late seventeenth-century performances in which extraordinarily embodied individuals were involved, suggesting that it is likely that such performers might have played Behn's Giant and Dwarf. Further, I demonstrate that Behn's play has at its centre the adaptation of elements of *commedia dell'arte* and farce – two modes of performance that were both integral to fairground entertainments and condemned by literary commentators as 'generic monstrosities'. Thereby, Behn participates in a process of generic change which culminated in the popularisation of pantomime in the 1720s. Lastly, I explore what this change in the London theatre landscape meant for the extraordinarily embodied performers who had helped bring it about.

Monster Culture: Performing Monstrosity

Paul Semonin has described the seventeenth century as a time of "resurgence of interest in monsters" in England, locating the peak of this interest in the post-Restoration period (69). Indeed, in the 1670s and 1680s, monsters were "objects of lively interest and enjoyment for a socially heterogenous audience" (Daston and Park 199), with monsters serving as "'common ground' between popular and elite cultures" (Pender "No Monster" 145). While the wider populace could pay to encounter dead or alive, human or animal monsters all over the country, "virtuosi, gentlemen-amateur practitioners of natural philosophy in seventeenth-century England," amassed the bodies of monsters in cabinets of curiosity and private museums or collections (Pender "In the Bodyshop" 101). Scientific discourses surrounding monstrosity and various forms of entertainment that depended on displaying extraordinary bodies and authentic extraordinary embodiment, moreover, not only existed side by side but were intricately linked (Wiseman 88). The monstrous births whose anatomy was being discussed in *Philosophical Transactions*, the scientific journal published by the Royal Society, for instance, were often later exhibited to paying audiences in public spaces such as taverns, coffeehouses, or on London's fairs (Daston and Park 198). This intersection of scientific and popular interest in individuals with supposedly monstrous bodies is highlighted in two advertisements published in 1732 and contained in Hans Sloane's *Collection of 77 Advertisements Relating to Dwarfs, Giants, and Other Monsters and*

Curiosities Exhibited for Public Inspection (BL MIC-A-19821). The first notice advertises appearances by "a fresh, lively Country Lad, just come from *Suffolk*, who is cover'd all over his Body with Bristles like a Hedge Hog". The notice's author states that "the learned Part of Mankind" have already seen the man and refers readers wishing to know more "to the Philosophical Transactions (Numb. 424 Pag. 299.) publish'd by Royal Society, under the Direction of Sir Hans Sloane, and other eminent Men of all Nations, where they will find a full and particular Account of this surprizing Lad". The notice then goes on to quote an extract from the Royal Society's minutes recording the members' discussion of this peculiar case. The author's reference to the edition of the *Philosophical Transactions*, volume 37, number 424, which was published in the August of 1732, suggests that the notice was printed in late 1732. A second notice belonging to the same collection appears to promote the same performer, "a young fresh Country Lad just arriv'd from Suffolk; who is covered all over his Body. . . with Bristles like a Hedge-hog". This notice, too, highlights that he "has been view'd and greatly admired by the Right Honourable Sir *Robert Walpole,* Sir *Hans Sloane,* the Royal Society, and several Eminent Virtuoso's and Physicians". Unlike during the English Revolution, when popular pamphlets read the bodies of monstrous births as signifiers of their parents' sins and the political and religious faction they represented (Cressy 41-4), late seventeenth-century monster culture framed extraordinarily embodied, monstrous individuals not as portents showing god's disapproval but primarily as curiosities.

From this ubiquitous interest emerged the period's monster culture, a distinct performance culture encompassing various modes whose common and defining feature was the spectacular display of bodies which were deemed extraordinary due either to an impairment such as extreme height or exceptional capabilities, as in the case of acrobats. These modes were described as monstrous by critics who used the language of physical abnormality to attack monster culture's influence on the patent stage. The London fairgrounds in particular came to be particularly associated with performances presented by and encounters with the supposedly monstrous extraordinary embodied. Here, entertainments which centred the monstrous bodies of individuals with physical anomalies or impairments were performed alongside a wide variety of other performances, as demonstrated in a song entitled "Bartholomew Fair," which was printed in various collections, including *A Choice Compendium* (1681), *Wit and Drollery: Jovial Poems* (1682), and *The Compleat Courtier* (1683):

Here's the Whore of *Babylon*, the Devil, and the Pope,

The Girl is just a going on the Rope,

Here's *Dives* and *Lazarus*, and the World's Creation,

Here's the Tall *Dutch* Woman, the like's not in the Nation;

Here is the Booth, where the *High-Dutch* maid is;

Hear are the bears that daunce like any Ladies.[1] (*Wit and Drollery* 304)

On Bartholomew Fair, monsters like the 'Tall Dutch Woman' performed alongside booths where strolling players staged pieces like the droll *The Whore of Babylon, the Devil and the Pope*, or presented famous puppet shows such as *Dives and Lazarus* and *The World's Creation* (Rosenfeld *The Theatre* 8). In addition, they performed alongside acrobats, like the rope-dancers whose performances the diarist Samuel Pepys attended in 1661 (2: 172), 1663 (4: 298, 301), 1664 (5: 260, 265) and 1668 (9: 290, 293, 313). This combination of various entertainment modes is illustrated in an undated image included in William Rendle's manuscript *Notes on Southwark, ca. 1870-1890* (see Fig. 2.1), which depicts various fairground booths staging theatrical entertainments or selling merchandise alongside a rope-dancer and various show cloths, including one which appears to promote performances by an extraordinarily tall woman and an extraordinarily short man.

Figure 2.1: Undated image included in William Rendle's manuscript *Notes on Southwark, ca. 1870-1890* (p. 5). Image provided by the Folger Shakespeare Library (call number N.b.11-23). CC0 1.0.

[1] A song entitled "Second Part of Bartholomew Fair," printed in John Playford's *Second Book of the Pleaseant Musical Companion* (1686), gives a similar overview over "the Rarities of the whole Fair": "*Pimper-le-Pimp*, and the wise *Dancing Mare* . . . valiant St. *George* and the *Dragon*, a Farce, a Girl of Fifteen with strange Moles on her Ar— : Here is *Vi-en-na* besieg'd, a rare thing, and here's *Pun-chi-nel-lo*, shown thrice to the King" (B3r).

A 1701 advertisement promoting what might have been the booth of Mrs Saffry, whose career I reconstruct below, promises a similar combination of spectacular acrobatics, including rope-dancing and tumbling, and theatrical performance reminiscent of Italian *commedia dell'arte* in the form of "the merry Conceits of an Italian Scaramouch" (*London Post Man* 19-21 August). In addition, spectators would have been able to see exhibitions of exotic or 'deformed' animals, such as the "horse with hoofes like Rams hornes," "goose with four feet" and "cock with three" which Pepys saw at Bartholomew Fair in September 1663 (4: 298), or, rather more spectacularly, the "Elephant wav[ing] colours, shoot[ing] a gun, bend[ing] and kneel[ing], carry[ing] a castle and a man, etc," which Robert Hooke, another diarist and member of the Royal Society, recorded seeing during one of his visits to the fair in 1679 (423). Lastly, mountebanks were another staple of the London fairs: labelled and licensed as medical practitioners, they were also defined as performers (Mayo 86) typically appearing together with a zany or harlequin figure, one of the stock character of the *commedia dell'arte*.[2] The diverse modes encompassed by monster culture all have in common their interest in the spectacular display of bodies, particularly those deemed extraordinary in some way.

Displays involving those whose embodiment was deemed monstrous were a central component of seventeenth-century monster culture. In this chapter, and in this thesis as a whole, I call these displays 'exhibitions'. This is not a term that, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was used specifically to refer to displays of extraordinarily embodied people who were deemed monstrous. The majority of the evidence concerning the exhibition of the extraordinarily embodied during this period comes in the form of handbills, pamphlets, and newspaper notices advertising such performances. These notices tend to be structured in the same way, typically opening with the line "there is to be seen," followed by a description of the individual in question and practical information, such as the location of the exhibition or the entry fee. This formula is used consistently in broadside ballads ("A Monstrous shape. Or a shapelesse Monster. A Description of a female creature borne in Holland, compleat in every part, save only a head like a swine, who hath travailed into many parts, and is now to be

[2] Mayo argues that "[t]he mountebank as an occupational category bears both movement and showmanship within its name, born as it is out of the phrase monta in banco, for the act of mounting a platform stage; it is, in fact, the notion of performance inherently communicated by the 'bank' that semantically distinguishes the mountebank from other quacks and empirical medical practitioners" (86).

seene in London," 1639), handbills ("*To all Gentlemen and Ladies*, there is to be seen at Mr. *Hocknes*, at the *Meremaid* near the *King's-Bench* in *Southwark*, during the time of the Fair, a Changling-Girl, being a living Skeleton," 1690), and newspaper advertisements ("This is to give Notice, that there is to be seen alive at the Golden Cross at Charing-Cross, the surprising Sea Monster," *Daily Advertiser*, 11 February 1743). Hans Sloane's *Collection of 77 Advertisements Relating to Dwarfs, Giants, and Other Monsters and Curiosities Exhibited for Public Inspection* contains various additional, though undated examples of advertisements using this formula. These writings do not use a specific noun to characterise this mode of performance. However, the term 'exhibition' is used to describe early modern displays involving extraordinarily embodied performers by scholars whose work I build on in this thesis, such as Paul Semonin and Stephen Pender. It is also adopted by scholars of nineteenth-century 'freak shows,' such as Robert Bogdan and Eric Fretz. I continue this tradition, using 'exhibition' to denote "[t]he action of exhibiting, submitting for inspection, displaying or holding up to view" (*OED*.III.5.a.), while also drawing on the word's association with spectacle (*OED*.III.5.d.). I do so, however, with a significant caveat. To a modern reader, the word 'exhibition' evokes the image of a constellation that comes with a very particular power dynamic, as it implies the existence of an active exhibitor and an entirely passive, even objectified person who is being exhibited. As I demonstrate in this chapter, however, seventeenth-and eighteenth-century exhibitions of extraordinarily embodied individuals were rarely static displays of people who were treated as freakish objects. Rather, they were performances staging dynamic encounters between extraordinarily embodied performers, who often displayed a range of performance skills, and members of the public. In this chapter, and the one following it, I use the word 'exhibition' particularly to evoke these complex, dynamic encounters – encounters during which extraordinarily embodied performers, instead of being exhibited, exhibited themselves.

A closer examination of performances of fairground giants provides insights into the manner in which their otherness was constructed and illuminates how audiences encountered these performers. Firstly, the numerous giants whose appearances are described in notices and accounts in the last decades of the seventeenth century are almost exclusively designated as foreign. In 1669, diarists Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn, both members of the Royal Society (Knighton; Chambers), admired a giant Dutch woman (Pepys 9: 406-7, 440; Evelyn *Diary* 527), possibly Gertraut Chrisutte of 's-Hertogenbosch (Katritzky *Women, Medicine, and Theatre* 110). In "A Journey to London, In the Year, 1698," Monsieur Sorbiere recalls a visit

to Bartholomew's Fair, during which he found himself surrounded by people entreating him to see, along with other performers, "the *Tall Dutch Woman*" (27). Pepys's 1669 diary entries provide additional detail on the nature of his encounters with the extraordinarily tall Dutch woman, indicating that they were defined by a great deal of close physical contact and interaction. Seemingly so fascinated he saw her twice, on his first visit on 4 January he proclaims that he "easily stand[s] under her arms" (9: 407), while, on his second visit on 8 February, he "measured her," concluding that she is, "without shoes, just 6 feet-5 inches high" (9: 440). Both encounters involved movement, close physical contact as well as some degree of communication; Pepys requires the woman to stretch out her arms, comes close to measure her, and possibly even asks her to remove her shoes – after all, shoes could be manipulated to feign greater height. Robert Plot, in his *Natural History of Oxford-shire* (1677), describes a similar encounter with a "Woman of Dutch extraction" (138), relating how "when she stretch'd forth her arm, Men of ordinary stature might walk under it" and supplying detailed measurements of her body (138). A bill advertising an Irish giant's booth at the 1685 Southwark Fair, meanwhile, proclaims that the giant "hath been several times Shown at Court, and his Majesty was pleased to walk under his Arm," demonstrating that interest in extraordinary bodies and close encounters with them transcended class boundaries and was displayed even by the King himself ("The Gyant"). The extraordinary embodiment of the giants who are described in these sources derives both from their exceptional size and their foreignness. Their performances are described as dynamic encounters defined not by clear boundaries between spectators and completely passive, monstrous exhibits but by interaction and close physical contact.

Examining accounts of encounters with performers with dwarfism, a similarly common sight at London fairs, reinforces this sense of extraordinarily embodied individuals as performers rather than passive objects. The bills advertising their exhibitions frame them as displays which are meant to showcase the performers' skill and intellect as well as their authentic extraordinary embodiment, thereby positioning them not as mere 'wonders of nature' but as highly cultivated individuals. In 1677, for instance, a pamphlet likely published by a 'Mr Croomes' advertised the exhibition of a girl whom it designated the "*Wonder of Nature*" as she was, though "Sixteen Years of Age . . . not above Eighteen inches long". This description of the girl's physical abnormality is followed by remarks on her intellect as well as her skill as a performer: "she hath all her sense to Admiration, and Discourse, Reads very well, Sings, Whistles, and all very pleasant to hear". This description implies that the girl's

performance was preceded by a great deal of training in multiple intellectual and artistic disciplines. As most girls residing in seventeenth-century London were illiterate,[3] the girl's ability to read would have been especially extraordinary, particularly when considering that many of the spectators attending the performance might have been illiterate themselves. Henry Morley quotes several pamphlets advertising performances centred around performers with dwarfism in similar ways. A late seventeenth-century pamphlet, for instance, advertises:

> a little Scotch Man, which has been admired by all that have yet seen him, he being but two Foot and six Inches high ; and is near upon 60 Years of Age . . . He Sings, and Dances with his son . . . He formerly kept a Writing-school ; and discourses of the Scriptures, and of many Eminent Histories, very wisely; and gives great satisfaction to all spectators. (qtd. in Morley 250)

This notice, too, presents the performer as a cultural being as well as a 'wonder of nature' and argues that it is the combination of both, as well as the opportunity to closely interact with the performer, even to, by engaging in discourse, shape the nature of the performance, that "gives great satisfaction" to the audience. Morley later describes another early eighteenth-century pamphlet advertising "a Woman Dwarf but Three Foot and one Inch high, born in *Somersetshire*, and in the Fortieth Year of her Age, who discourses excellently well" (qtd. in Morley 257). Here, too, potential spectators are invited to engage with the extraordinarily embodied performer, with the performance's success depending on the woman's ability to react to her audience's prompts. These handbills advertise complex performances meant to showcase the performers' extraordinary skills as well as their extraordinary bodies. Instead of creating distance between spectators and performer, these acts aim to engage the spectator in a dialogue with the supposed monster. Late seventeenth-century audiences did not expect or desire to see silent 'exhibits' – instead, contemporary evidence shows that close physical contact and even intellectual exchange was a central component of performances involving extraordinarily embodied individuals.

Of course, designating the extraordinarily embodied individuals involved in these entertainments as performers is not meant to imply that they were less vulnerable to exploitation or abuse. Indeed, there are accounts which suggest that extraordinarily embodied performers were, at times, treated in ways that were undignified at best and exploitative and

[3] Eleanor Hubbard estimates that "more than a third of women born in [early modern] London, as well as nearly a quarter of immigrants from elsewhere, had begun learning to read" (576).

inhumane at worst. Evelyn, in his treatise *Numismata* (1697), for instance, mentions a performer, nicknamed "the little *Manikin*" who was transported by being "carried about in a Box" (Nn3r). What is more, due to a lack of sources in which extraordinarily embodied performers relate their experiences, it is impossible to determine whether they consented to taking part in these kinds of performances or were in a position to exercise any kind of agency. Among the extraordinarily embodied individuals performing in London were many children, who were commonly perceived as their parents' property (Mamujee 717), and thus unable to meaningfully consent or object to their involvement in such performances. The complexities of engaging with historic modes of performance which at times resulted in the abuse and exploitation of the extraordinarily embodied performers involved are articulated by Robert Bogdan in his work on the American 'freak show'. As Bogdan argues, acknowledging the complexity of such modes does not mean endorsing the practices involved in their production (93). Refusing to engage with them at all due to their unethical nature, however, erases the work done by performers (Bogdan 93). Similarly, while it must be acknowledged that some of the extraordinarily embodied performers I examine in this thesis were unable to consent to the terms of their employment and that some were undoubtedly subjected to exploitation and abuse, they should not be regarded as completely passive victims either, as doing so erases both their skill and the work done by them during their performances.

The Case of Mrs Saffry

As has become apparent in the above discussion, fairground performances revolving around extraordinarily tall or short performers can only be reconstructed through anecdotal evidence. Tracing the careers of individual fairground performers is difficult due the scarcity of information about them in the archives. This scarcity reflects both the frequently precarious conditions in which fairground performers worked and the marginalisation they experienced during their lifetimes as low-status itinerant, often foreign performers. What is more, whatever materials providing insights into their performance practice, mainly handbills, newspaper advertisements and spectators' accounts, do survive typically do not disclose individual performers' names. Instead, performers tend to be described in generic terms, frequently only containing references to the performer's nationality and gender, with identical descriptions being used for several performers across long periods. It is, for instance, impossible to tell whether the giant Dutchwoman Pepys and Evelyn admired in 1669 is the

same performer whose appearances were recommended to Monsieur Sorbiere in 1698. Taken together, these factors make reconstructing individual careers almost impossible.

There is, however, one partial exception to this rule: the Dutchwoman Mrs Saffry,[4] whom a source identifies by name as the proprietor of a fairground booth staging displays of both theatrical performances and (acrobatic) dancing in the early 1680s. While Saffry's name does not re-appear in any other documents, sources including advertisements referencing 'the famous Dutch woman's booth' as a venue for rope-dancing performances as well as visual depictions suggest that she might have been an acrobat, specifically a rope dancer, operating over the course of several years. Further, the frequency of references to 'tall Dutch women' suggests that she might have been extraordinarily tall – a reading presented by Highfill et al. in their discussion of Saffry's career (13: 166-7). In this section, I attempt to recover a sense of Mrs Saffry's performance career by presenting various contemporary sources which likely refer to her or her troupe. However, while this approach provides a more detailed picture of an individual's achievements, reading various unspecific references as referring to the same specific person risks erasing other, anonymous performers. Therefore, I am using a variety of sources to generate a picture of what the career of Mrs Saffry and of others like her might have looked like while acknowledging that what is available in the archive does not allow for a complete reconstruction. Such an investigation enables new ways of thinking about extraordinary embodiment, as well as fairground performances and performers and their influence on mainstream theatre, both in *II Rover* and later in 1720s pantomime. Tracing the careers of Saffry and others like her and exploring contemporaries' descriptions of their bodies reveals similarities between the ways in which audiences responded to people who performed as monsters and those who participated in acrobatic displays, demonstrating that even a person without any physical impairment could be considered extraordinarily embodied, and even monstrous. Saffry's career also demonstrates that some extraordinarily embodied performers were not only able to make a living by performing on London's fairgrounds, but even managed to establish themselves as independent operators owning their own performance enterprises, thereby achieving financial independence.

[4] Spellings of Saffry's name vary. Highfill et al. call her Saftry, while Rosenfeld mentions a booth manager called Saffery (*Strolling Players* 38-40). As advertisements promoting performances occurring in her own fairground booth spell her name "Saffry," I will adopt that spelling.

The first and only time Mrs Saffry is mentioned by name is in an advertisement published on 22 August 1682, during the time of Bartholomew Fair, in the newspaper *Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence*. The notice states:

> At Mrs Saffry's a Dutch Woman's booth, over against the Grey hound Inne in West Smithfield, during the time of the Fair, will be Acted an Incomparable Entertainment, call'd the Irish Evidence; Or, The Mercenary Whore; With variety of Dances, By an Approv'd Company. (2)

This advertisement was reprinted on 26 and 29 August, with the name of the company being specified as "the first New-market Company" (2). While this notice demonstrates that Saffry's booth presented the fair's characteristic mixture of theatrical performances and other entertainments, other sources suggest both that what Mrs Saffry's company was presenting were acrobatics, specifically rope-dancing, and that Saffry herself appeared as a performer. Five years prior to Saffry's first recorded performance, on 30 August 1677, Robert Hooke, member of the Royal Society, noted in his diary: "Dind with Mr Boyle. Spake with him about flying, saw the Dutch woeman in Bartholomew fair, very strange" (309). While Hooke does not specify the performance in which the Dutchwoman engaged, his reference to flying can be read as indicating that the Dutchwoman he saw was a rope-dancer. The narrator of the above-mentioned song "Bartholomew Fair," first printed in 1681, mentions both "the Tall *Dutch* Woman, the like's not in the Nation" and "the Booth, where the *High-Dutch* maid is" (*Wit and Drollery* 304). While in their entry for 'Mrs Saftry,' Highfill et al. argue that those two references refer to Mrs Saffry (13: 166-7), it could also indicate the presence of two Dutch performers: the "Tall *Dutch* Woman" and the "*High-Dutch* maid," with the particular reference to the latter's booth potentially identifying her as its owner. In addition, the specification 'High-Dutch' might be a pun pointing to Saffry's activities as a rope dancer. From these sources, Saffry emerges as both an independent agent leading her own company and as a performer with experience in both theatrical performance and acrobatics.

Two further sources provide valuable insights into what the acrobatic performances and rope-dancing displays in which Saffry and performers like her engaged might have looked like. The first is Marcellus Laroon's series of engravings *The Cryes of the City of London Drawne after the Life* (ca. 1688), which features two images potentially depicting Saffry herself. In them, a woman wearing a shirt which Sean Shesgreen identifies as a "Holland blouse" (208) decorated with lace and bows, tight hose and short breeches trimmed

with fur, as well as bows on her shoes and in her hair is described by the English, French, and Italian captions as “The famous Dutch Woman / La fameuse Hollandoise Danceuse de Corde / Famosa Donna Thedesca”. In the first image, she walks on the rope, using a pole to hold her balance (see Fig. 2.2).

Figure 2.2: Marcellus Laroon, “The famous Dutch Woman [I]”. [London], 1711 (?). This version likely derived from the second edition of *The Cryes*, published by Henry Overton in 1711. Image provided by the New York Public Library.

In the second, she is depicted holding onto the rope with her hands and swinging one leg over it, while a leering clown standing below her sticks out his tongue and points towards her (see Fig. 2.3). The acrobat’s physical strength and the erotic appeal of her act, which she performs in a revealing costume – she is the only woman in the collection whose legs Laroon depicts above the ankle – are emphasised through Laroon’s detailed depiction of her muscular thighs and calves, as well as the leering clown. Here, rope-dancing, especially when performed by women, emerges as a mode of performance which revolves around the spectacular and frequently sexually titillating display of bodies which were perceived as other – both because they were, as in Laroon’s caption, identified as foreign and because they performed

extraordinary physical feats while dressed in clothes which provided revealing insights into the workings of their bodies.

Figure 2.3: Marcellus Laroon, "The famous Dutch Woman [II]". [London], 1711 (?). This version likely derived from the second edition of *The Cryes*, published by Henry Overton in 1711. Image provided by the New York Public Library.

That performers' extraordinary embodiment was perceived as a central component of rope-dancing performances is highlighted by Ned Ward's account of his visit to a rope-dancers' booth on Bartholomew Fair in the *London Spy*'s tenth instalment (1699). In it, Ward presents a detailed description of the performances of the booth's rope-dancers, starting with that of a young child, or, as he calls it, "a little *Dumplin-Ars'd* Animal, that look'd as if it had not been Six-Weeks out of a Goe-Cart, and that began to creep along the Rope, like a Snail along a Cabbage-stalk, with a Pole in its Hand not much bigger than a large Tobacco-stopper" (10: 13). Ward's hesitancy to gender the child might be due to the absence of gendered

clothing. As, in the long eighteenth century, breeching, the change from gender-neutral to gender-specific clothing, typically occurred when boys were seven years old (Lavoie 89), it seems reasonable to assume that this child was younger than seven. Indeed, they appear to have been so young that they have only recently learned to walk without the aid of a baby walker. Here, the novelty of seeing an extraordinarily small body – a body which, to Ward, appears barely human – perform a feat typically exercised by adults appears to make up for the child's somewhat limited acrobatic skill. Ward then moves on to describing the display of a Black performer. When she seats herself between the cross poles supporting one end of the rope before stepping onto it, Ward records "a Countrey Fellow sitting by me" joking that "*I have oftentimes heard of the Devil upon two Sticks, but never Zee it bevore in me Life. Bezide, Maister, who can forbear Laughing to see the Devil going to Dance?*" (10: 13). Unimpressed by this comment, the woman "exercis'd her well-Proportioned Limbs, to the great satisfaction of the Spectators," displaying "much Art and Agility" (10: 13). The audience member whose reaction Ward records, reads the blackness of the second performer's skin as an indicator of racial difference and heightens the sense of her otherness by comparing her to the devil, echoing the association between blackness and evil that was prevalent in early modern Christian thought (Chapman 35). In both descriptions, Ward devotes as much space to describing the performers' bodies as he does to describing their performance. Central to Ward's description of both acrobats' bodies, which are not only capable of extraordinary physical feats but also marked as other by their height, age, or skin colour, is the kind of multi-faceted otherness that is also ascribed to the monstrous bodies on show just a few steps away. This illustrates the usefulness of 'extraordinary embodiment' as a capacious conceptual category encompassing both physical impairment and characteristics such as gender identity, foreignness, and ethnicity.

The centrality of a performer's extraordinary embodiment is highlighted particularly clearly in Ward's description of the Irish woman acrobat who follows the Black woman. Here, he devotes equal space to describing both her body and her performance:

> [Her] [s]houlders were of an *Atlas*-Built; her Buttocks as big as two Bushel-Loaves; and shak'd as she Danc'd like like a Bog or Quagmire: Her Thighs, as Fleshy as a Barron of Beef; and were so much too big for her Body, that they looked as Gouty as the Pillars in *St Paul's*. Her Legs were as strong as a Chair-mans, her Calves being as

> Round, and as Hard as a Foot-Ball; the swelling of the Muscles stretching the Skin as Tort as the Head of a new-brac'd Drum. (10: 13)

He continues, describing the woman's dancing in colourful and unflattering detail:

> She waddled along the Rope, like a Goose over a Barn Threshold, till at last, poor Creature, willing to show the Assembly the utmost of her Excellencies, and putting Nature upon a Stress to Cut a Caper as high as a Hog-Trough, happen'd to strain her Twatling-Strings, and let fly an unsavory Sound, as Lowd as a Note of the double Curtil . . . Madam Lump quitted the Rope with a Shameful Expedition, and as it was thought, did her Dancing Trunks much damage, by the Unfortunate Eruption. (10: 13)

Through his emphasis on the irregularity of the Irish performer's body, particularly her excessively large limbs, and on the way in which her movements make her body's workings and its secretions visible (and audible) Ward highlights the grotesqueness of the performer's body. The Irish performer, too, is identified not only as foreign but also – due to "the prominence in popular culture of a racial discourse that blackened Irish identity" (Ndiaye 164) – racialised.[5] Ward further highlights the way in which the extraordinary physical feats around which the Irish woman's performance revolved shaped her body. When he describes her thighs as "so much too big for her Body, that they looked as Gouty as the Pillars in *St Paul's,"* he pathologises that otherness, reading it both as a sign of illness and referring to proportionality, a factor central to early modern perceptions of the aesthetics of physical impairment, as outlined in this thesis's first chapter. Ward's characterisation of the performer's body as 'unnatural' further seems to stem from the way in which her "Atlas-build" and her "legs as strong as a chairman's" challenge contemporary perceptions of gendered bodies. Her cross-dressing both makes visible and is part of that transgression against gender norms. While his description of the Irish woman's performance, particularly its unfortunate finale, might have just been Ward making fun of a woman he found unattractive, it nonetheless highlights the intense physicality of her performance which, in this particular case inadvertently, reveals much about the workings of her body. All three rope-dancers whose performances Ward describes here, are characterised as extraordinarily embodied despite the lack of a physical impairment.

[5] Ndiaye highlights the role of early modern performance in the construction of a racialised perception of the Irish, pointing, for instance, to the tradition of 'Irishspeak' (168).

In addition to emphasising the performers' extraordinary embodiment and the resulting intense physicality of their dancing, Ward's description also highlights that the rope-dancers' performances were both gendered and sexualised, seemingly catering particularly to male spectators and thereby echoing the suggestiveness of Laroon's image. Sir Robert Southwell's description of the delights of the fair appears to confirm this impression as he only describes male audience members attending rope-dancers' performances when he wonders "why men will pay money and take pleasure to see such dangers" (qtd. in Morley 224-225). The answer to this question might lie in Ward's account, according to which the female acrobats' performances appear to be centred around erotic titillation. According to Ward, even prior to the acrobats' entrance, the atmosphere in the booth is one of hungry longing, as the "mix'd multitude of Longing *Spectators* were waiting with Impatience the beginning of the Show; looking upon once another as simply, as a Company sat down at a Table, that waits with an Hungry Appetite an Hour for their Dinner" (10: 13). In light of this, Ward's use of the language of food when describing the Irish performer's body, of her "Buttocks as big as two Bushel-Loaves" and "Thighs, as Fleshy as a Barron of Beef" seems to indicate that what the audience longs for is the sight of female flesh. This sense of an erotically charged atmosphere is further present in Ward's account of some female tumblers walking on their hands, including "a couple of plump-buttock lasses, who, to show their affection to the breeches, wore 'em under their petticoats, which, for decency's sake they first danced in" before "doff[ing] their petticoats after a gentle breathing, and [falling] to capering and firking as if Old Nick had been in 'em" (13). Here, the erotic appeal of the women's breeches is heightened further through the inclusion of clothing which is removed during the performance. Ward appears to have been particularly taken with a German rope-dancer:

> The 'German Maid' (as they style her in their bill) with a great belly, who does such wonderful pretty things upon the rope, having such proportion in her limbs and so much modesty in her countenance that I vow it was as much as ever I could do to forbear wishing myself in bed with her . . . if she be but as nimble between the sheets as she is upon a rope, she must needs be one of the best bedfellows in England. (14)

Ward's open sexual desire appears to derive not only from the erotic appeal of the woman's beautiful body but also from a sexual frisson deriving from the tension between supposed modesty of a woman who is promoted as a 'maid' and her extraordinary embodiment, which, in this case, appears to include a pregnant belly. That this sense of the erotic appeal of the

extraordinary female body might also have contributed to the appeal of the fair's exhibitions of supposedly monstrous women becomes apparent in chapter XIV of the *Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus* (published in 1741 under the name of Alexander Pope). In it, Martin, having admired various exotic animals (103-8) as well as a "Negroe Prince" (109) in a fairground booth, encounters "the most beautiful Curiosity in Nature," conjoined "Bohemian Sisters" called Lindamira and Indamora (110). The attraction he feels towards the sisters – though mainly Lindamira, which proves awkward later on – is grounded not in their beauty but in the extraordinariness of their embodiment: "For how much soever our Martin was enamour'd on her as a beautiful Woman, he was infinitely more ravish'd with her as a charming Monster" (111). He likens their exhibition, during which he "had been permitted to peruse her most secret charms", to prostitution, "blush[ing] that the Object of his flame should be so openly prostitituted to vulgar eyes" (111). While the *Memoirs* are, of course, satire, reading them in dialogue with Ward's and Laroon's depictions of female rope-dancers suggests that a central component of monster culture, a performance tradition which centred the body and its workings like no other, was the erotic appeal of extraordinary female bodies.

This, in turn, points to a tension which is reflected by Laroon's depiction of the leering clown pointing towards the Dutch rope-dancer. Laroon's clown points up, a phallic gesture which draws attention both to the 'Dutch woman's' extraordinary physical feats and the shape of her legs and buttocks, made visible by her clothing. For female performers, engaging in modes of performance which centred the body also meant offering themselves up for metaphorical consumption – inviting the audience's gaze while not being able to fully control it. This is further illustrated by the publication history of Laroon's images. After their initial publication in 1688, Laroon's engravings of the "famous Dutch Woman" became stock images used to depict and advertise all kinds of acrobatic performances. The British Museum, for instance, holds a modified undated version of the print which depicts a woman identified by the caption as "The Celebrated Miss Wilkinson, The Female Wire Dancer" (see Fig. 2.4) using a pole and balancing on a wire. These images demonstrate how the act of identifying one performer might erase another, in this case Mrs Saffry or another Dutch performer operating in the 1680s. They also evidence that female performers, particularly the foreign and itinerant ones operating in the late seventeenth century, did not have recourse to the mechanisms of celebrity culture which would emerge in the eighteenth century and were utilised by Daniel Cajanus, as I will show in this thesis's last chapter. They thus remained unable to exert influence over their visual or, in Ward's case, textual depiction. Nonetheless,

if Laroon's image does depict Saffry, then it shows a woman whose engagement in the kind of performance that connected athleticism and eroticism enabled her to eventually achieve financial independence – both despite and because of the leering clown and those whom he might symbolise.

Figure 2.4: "The Celebrated Miss Wilkinson, The Female Wire Dancer." London, after ca. 1750. The Trustees of the British Museum.

'Monstrous Genres'

From the 1680s onwards, modes of performance revolving around the spectacular display of extraordinary bodies which formed part of monster culture increasingly began to influence the nature of what was performed inside the walls of the city's patent theatres, leading to the popularisation of embodied modes of performance such as farce. Farce, as Marcus Nevitt outlines, "was an extremely influential form in Restoration theatrical culture owing to the immense popularity of touring commedia dell'arte troupes and entertainments as

well as the influence of Molière on the plotting and stagecraft of the period's comedy" ("Behn's Jonson" 346). In the 1670s and 1680s, touring *commedia dell'arte* groups from Italy visited London and performed at court (Richards and Richards 265), leading to what Robert Hume calls the 'farce boom' of the 1680s (*Development* 372). I argue that the London fairs significantly contributed to this shift, functioning as a site of generic experimentation and as catalysts of generic change. There, a broad range of elite and non-elite audiences experienced diverse types of performances that involved *commedia dell'arte* stock characters and relied heavily on the spectacular display of the body in motion.

Critics of the increasing prominence on the patent stage of performance modes drawing on farce and *commedia dell'arte* criticised their reliance on physicality by linking it to the supposedly monstrous embodiment on show on London's fairgrounds. John Dryden, in the preface to *An Evening's Love, Or The Mock Astrologer* (published in 1671), for instance, rails against farce, a genre "constist[ing] principally of Grimaces" which "entertains us with what is monstrous and chimerical" (A4v), before linking it to mountebank performances:

> In short, there is the same difference betwixt Farce and Comedy, as betwixt an Empirique and a true Physitian: both of them may attain their ends; but what the one performs by hazard the other does by skill. And as the Artist is often unsuccessful, while the Mountebank succeeds; so Farces more commonly take the people than Comedy. (A4v)

In an epilogue written for a performance of *The Silent Woman* at the University of Oxford and included in *Miscellany Poems* (1684), Dryden, again referring to the popularity of *commedia dell'arte*, bemoans the popularity of "*Scaramoucha*" and "*Arlequin*," "Th' *Italian* Merry-Andrews" who "quite Debauch'd the Stage with lewd Grimace" and concludes that in London, "each Day / Some new born Monster [is] shewn you for a Play" (266). A similar opinion is articulated in an exchange of letters concerning humour in comedy between William Congreve and John Dennis, recorded in Dennis's *Letters Upon Several Occasions* (1696). Here, Dennis decries the "Monstrous Extravagance" of farce (77), while Congreve condemns "pretend Comed[ies] stuff'd with . . . Grotesques, Figures and Farce Fools . . . Things, that either are not in Nature, or if they are, are Monsters, and Births of Mischances" (83). In the preface to his translation of Charles-Alphonse Dufresnoy's *De Arte Graphica* (1695), Dryden makes the connection between farce, monstrosity, and Bartholomew Fair explicit, writing:

> a *Farce* is that in *Poetry,* which *Grotesque* is in a *Picture.* The Persons, and Action of a *Farce* are all unnatural, and the Manners false, that is, inconsisting with the characters of Mankind. *Grotesque-painting* is the just resemblance of *this; . . .* A very *Monster* in a *Bartholomew-Fair* for the *Mob* to gape at for their two-pence. (xxvi)

Dryden here not only likens farce to the kind of monster that was exhibited at Bartholomew Fair but, by attacking the 'Mob,' implicitly acknowledges the popular appeal of performances involving extraordinarily embodied performers and thus the power of the monstrous.

Monster Culture and *The Second Part of The Rover*

To demonstrate what exactly this influence of monster culture on the patent stage looked like, I now turn to *II Rover*, the sequel to Behn's most popular play.[6] Like its predecessor (1677), *II Rover* is based on Thomas Killigrew's autobiographical play *Thomaso, Or The Wanderer* (published in 1664). *II Rover*'s plot initially appears strongly reminiscent of that of her first *Thomaso* adaptation. Despite a change of location – the play is set in Madrid rather than Naples – the plot once more follows the exploits of Behn's recurring rake-hero Willmore and the group of Englishmen accompanying him. Amongst them are the foolish Blunt, another recurring character, the equally foolish Fetherfool, the Cavaliers Hunt and Shift and Beaumond, the English ambassador's nephew who is contracted to Ariadne but in love with La Nuche. Willmore, newly widowed after his wife Hellena has perished at sea, is once more faced with the choice between a virginal heiress, Ariadne, and a courtesan, La Nuche. After much intrigue, Willmore, unlike in *The Rover*, chooses a non-marital relationship with La Nuche over a lucrative marriage with Ariadne, who, somewhat unenthusiastically, agrees to contemplate marriage with Beaumond. The influence of monster culture on this second adaptation's plot, however, becomes apparent in the play's subplot, which revolves around Blunt and Fetherfool's efforts to woo a Giant and a Dwarf,[7] Jewish Mexican sisters of extraordinary size who, in turn, have formed secretly formed relationships with Hunt and Shift. Upon hearing that Blunt and Fetherfool have decided to court the sisters in order to

[6] While *II Rover* likely did not enjoy the popularity of *The Rover*, the actual level of its success is difficult to determine. The dearth of performance records for plays staged between 1660 and 1705 (Hume "Theatre Performance Records" 481) makes it difficult to assess how successful the play really was. There is no record of a performance between what has been assumed to be the play's premiere in January 1681 and an apparent revival on 4 April ("London Stage Database January 1681", "London Stage Database April 1681"), but the fact that it was revived makes it unlikely that the play was a complete failure.

[7] As neither of the two women who are repeatedly described as monsters throughout the play have names ascribed to them, I will refer to them as the Giant and the Dwarf.

appropriate their significant fortunes, Willmore disguises himself as the mountebank who is meant to remedy the sisters' extreme heights in order to trick his fellow Englishmen. Willmore's scheme is revealed in the play's final scene, during which the sisters announce that they have secretly married their lovers, leaving Blunt and Fetherfool humiliated. At the end of the play, both sisters remain untransformed.

Critical discussions of *II Rover* have tended to focus on the play's main plot. The critics that do consider the subplot involving Willmore's trick on Blunt and Fetherfool have offered several readings of Behn's monsters. Heidi Hutner argues, for instance, that in "*The Rover*, parts I and II, the chaotic, unrepressed 'other' body of woman is . . . idealized to allow Behn to express a cultural longing for a prelapsarian golden age in which the sexes love mutually and women are desiring subjects rather than passive objects" (103). Reading *II Rover* in dialogue both with *The Rover* and Thomas Killigrew's *Thomaso*, Hutner argues that "it is through the celebration of the 'other' woman that Behn resists the Puritan ideology of rational thought, sexual repression, and the masculinization of desire" (103). Susan J. Owen argues the opposite, claiming that *II Rover* "contains as profound a questioning of libertinism as is to be found in any other Restoration comedy" and that "despite her avowed intention of celebrating cavaliers," Behn's criticism of libertinism resembles that typically voiced by Whiggish dramatists like Thomas Shadwell (20). Owen pays little attention to the Giant and the Dwarf, reading them as passive metaphors: "The function of 'these Lady Monsters' . . . is to show the monstrousness of libertinism itself: its object is so irrelevant that it can even be a freak . . . as long as there is the spice of novelty" (21). Both Hutner and Owen position the monstrous sisters exclusively as legible, two-dimensional signs, thereby adopting monster theory's mode of engaging with monsters. While Hutner and Owen prioritise the play's text without paying much attention to the way in which it was performed on stage, Nevitt, in his more recent reading of the play, does the opposite. While acknowledging that one of Behn's "most striking deviations from Killigrew in *II Rover* is to bring her giant and the dwarf on stage . . . and give them speaking parts," Nevitt pays surprisingly little attention to the content of the sisters' speeches, in one instance summarising, "both giant and dwarf wander around the stage and talk" ("Behn's Jonson" 357). Instead, Nevitt exclusively focuses on the sisters' physicality and the comedy deriving from it, seeing them primarily as "embodied sources of comedy," as exclusively "physical 'monsters'" ("Behn's Jonson" 355). By either reducing the monsters and their bodies to passive metaphors for or expressions of desire – be it Behn's or that of her Cavaliers – or to mere sources of physical humour, all of these readings fail to

acknowledge the complexity of Behn's portrayal of female monstrosity and to recognise the impact of contemporary monster culture.

Behn's engagement with late seventeenth-century monster culture and the London fairgrounds' experimental and innovative monstrous genres is central to her second adaptation of Killigrew's plays. She stages the Giant and the Dwarf, the two monstrous sisters who are "onely mentioned" in Killigrew's play (312),[8] having them appear on stage and giving them speaking parts. This is remarkable because staging the monsters was a task that even Killigrew himself shied away from when he attempted to adapt both parts of *Thomaso* for performance in the early 1660s. During his work on this project, he shortened the play significantly and cast all the female parts but omitted the mountebank plot entirely (Nevitt "Thomas Killigrew's *Thomaso*" 121). Although Killigrew did not think of the play as only suitable for reading, his efforts to revise and condense it for performance in the 1660s remained ultimately unsuccessful (Nevitt "Thomas Killigrew's *Thomaso*" 121). Putting extraordinary embodiment, physicality and spectacle at the centre of her play, Behn further includes elements of farce as well as characters from the *commedia dell'arte* – two forms which were popular on London's fairs and from there found their way into the patent theatres. In accordance with contemporary monster culture, Behn does not present her monstrous sisters as passive, immobile, two-dimensional signs. The close, physical encounters between the Englishmen and the Mexican sisters she stages reflect the conventions and the complexity of late seventeenth-century monster culture, which enabled physical and even intellectual encounters with extraordinarily embodied performers. Instead of constructing a clearly defined boundary between spectators and monstrous, silent 'exhibits,' she positions them as complex subjects with both bodies and voices – and remarkable verbal dexterity – and invites her audience not only to question their own way of making sense of extraordinary bodies but also to engage and even collude with them.

Drawing on genres which her contemporaries thought monstrous, Behn infuses *II Rover* with the potent mixture of theatricality, physicality, and spectacle that also characterised the entertainments staged at Bartholomew Fair, and performances involving extraordinarily embodied individuals in general. The play contains multiple farcical scenes with extensive interludes of physical comedy. Behn's inclusion of *commedia dell'arte*

[8] According to the Dramatis Personae of Killigrew's closet drama, only the "Guardian to the two Monsters" appears on stage (312).

elements, such as the introduction of a Scaramouch or the extension of the Harlequin's part, is one of the most significant stylistic differences between her adaptation and Killigrew's original (Nevitt "Behn's Jonson" 353). The mountebank episode evidences her engagement with the spectacle and physicality that characterised fairground culture: while *Thomaso*'s mountebank merely addresses his audience in a lengthy, static speech (360-2) – a speech Killigrew plagiarised from Ben Jonson's Volpone (Nevitt "Behn's Jonson" 353) – Behn's Willmore intersperses his mountebank performance with music, dance, dramatic demonstrations of several remedies by the Harlequin, and a spectacular trick involving a horse (22-6).[9] In the play's prologue, Behn explicitly acknowledges this strategy of drawing on popular modes of performance in order to achieve the approval of the crowd:

> The Rabble 'tis we Court, those powerful things,
>
> Whose voices can impose even Laws on Kings.
>
> A Pox of Sense and Reason, or dull Rules,
>
> Give us an Audience that declares for fools;
>
> Our Play will then stand fair, we've Monsters too,
>
> Which far exceed your City Pope for show. (A2r)

These lines can be read not only as an invocation of the spectacular pope-burning processions which occurred during the Popish Plot (1678-81) and Exclusion Crisis (1679-81), but also as references to popular and fairground performances, including both monsters and, potentially, fairground drolls such as *The Whore of Babylon, the Devil, and the Pope*. Here, Behn positions her own play as a more sophisticated rival to those modes of spectacle and entertainment, thereby both courting the approval of the crowd and acknowledging its power.

While Behn's stylistic choices evidence a close engagement with the aesthetics of the London fairgrounds' monstrous genres, her adaptation of *Thomaso*'s monsters plot indicates

[9] This speech, entitled "The Harangue of Robert Wilmore" (44), was included in a collection entitled *The Harangues or Speeches of Several Famous Mountebanks in Town and Country* (D.G., 1700) which includes speeches by supposedly 'real' mountebanks, John Wilmot's 'Alexander Bendo' speech (23) as well as "Lopus's Harangue at Madrid," Killigrew's mountebank speech from *Thomaso* (48). The fact that both fictional and genuine mountebanks' speeches were included without distinction illustrates the close link between the commercial theatre and fairground culture and evidences the presence of interrelations between different modes of performance across cultural hierarchies. The inclusion of Willmore's speech into this collection which was published almost twenty years after *II Rover*'s initial performance further suggests that the play likely did enjoy some success and did not fall into complete obscurity.

her interest in performances by and the experience of the fairgrounds' monsters in particular. Behn's Giant and Dwarf strongly resemble the extraordinarily embodied individuals who were performing on London's fairs – performances which both Behn and her audience had likely attended and which are referenced directly in the play. In Act I, Willmore assumes that the Mexican sisters have arrived in Madrid as part of a show, asking "Prithee let's go see 'em; what do they pay for going in?" (7). In Act III, Behn further refers to the particular popularity of monsters in England: when Willmore claims he intends to marry the Giant and father her children, La Nuche replies, "Faith such a Brood may prove a pretty Livelihood . . . you may chance to get a Patent to Show 'em in England, that Nation of Change and Novelty" (44). What is more, the monstrosity of both Behn's Giant and Dwarf and that of the extraordinarily embodied individuals performing on London's fairgrounds is constructed in similar ways, as they are both defined by multi-faceted otherness. In Act I, Fetherfool describes the sisters as "two Monsters arriv'd from Mexico, Jews of vast fortunes" (6). In the same scene, Beaumond, another English Cavalier, specifies the nature of their physical difference: "one of them is so little, and so deform'd, 'tis thought she is not capable of Marriage; and the other is so huge an overgrown Gyant, no man dares venture on her" (7). Here, as in the pamphlets advertising the fair's giants and dwarfs, or Ward's description of the rope-dancers, the extraordinary body is defined by its intersecting markers of otherness – physical abnormality, foreignness, racial and religious difference – which is then combined with speculations about their sexuality.

What is more, it is possible that Behn's Giant and Dwarf were not only inspired but performed by extraordinarily embodied fairground performers. Frustratingly, while the play's *Dramatis Personae* lists the names of the actors playing all major characters, it omits those of the performers embodying the "Woman *Giant*" and the "*Dwarf* her Sister" (A3r). This has led to some speculation as to how the sisters, particularly the Giant, whose embodiment poses a greater challenge in terms of staging, were portrayed on stage.[10] Nevitt, for instance, points towards Act III, where Behn stages another giant and lays bare the mechanics behind this particular portrayal. In this scene, Hunt and another Cavalier appear "*as a Giant*," as Fetherfool's "o'regrown Rival" for the Giant's love (37). Behn demonstrates how this monster was staged when, to enter the sister's lodgings, "*Hunt being all Doublet, leaps off from another Man who is all Britches, and goes out, Britches follows stalking*" (38). Nevitt suggests that this scene "probably reveal[s] how Behn's giant woman was performed at other

[10] There has been less speculation about who might have played the Dwarf. This might be due to the fact that shortness is much less difficult to stage.

moments in the play by unnamed members of the Company" ("Behn's Jonson" 356). He then points to William Mountfort's *The Life and Death of Doctor Faustus, Made into a Farce* (1688), in which a giant, summoned from a magic circle, "leaps in two" to leave the stage (356). Both of these giants leap apart when required to perform complex movements: Hunt's giant leaps apart to enter a doorway, while Mountfort's Giant "*leaps in two*" when asked to "lead the way" and later disappears completely when asked to sit down (13, 14).

Behn's Giant, however, behaves in a way that is fundamentally different: she moves around on stage, has a ladder set against her which a man then climbs, sits down and stands up. This would undoubtedly require extraordinary acrobatic skill that would go far beyond what is required of the actors playing other giants both in *II Rover* and Mountfort's *Faustus*. One possible solution to this problem might be that fairground performers were brought in to assist with the staging of these parts, possibly by playing a giant, or at least part of one. Considering how the play seems to set the Giant's embodiment aside from that of the obviously fake giant Hunt and in the context of the play's numerous links with monster culture and the fairgrounds, it seems likely that Behn's monstrous sisters were portrayed by extraordinarily embodied performers. As the Giant's movements are complex and her body is not disassembled during the play, she might, for instance, have been played by two acrobats, with one sitting on another's shoulders – a feat that would have been difficult to perform for an actor with no acrobatic training, but perfectly achievable for the female tumblers and rope-dancers belonging, for instance, to Mrs Saffry's company. The multi-faceted otherness comprised of the intersection of physical abnormality, foreignness and racial difference that acrobats shared with both fairground monsters and Behn's Giant and Dwarf would have made them all the more convincing in these parts. Fairground booths like Mrs Saffry's often advertised a mixture of acrobatics and theatrical performances, with the performers belonging to each booth likely engaging in both, and thus equipped to deliver the Giant's at times complex lines while performing sophisticated acrobatic feats. Troupes of rope-dancers and other acrobats frequently had child members, one of whom might have taken on the comparatively minor part of Behn's Dwarf. Further traces pointing to a potential involvement of acrobats like those belonging to Mrs Saffry's troupe can be found in the text. The Cavaliers' constant use of sexual innuendo when discussing the Giant in particular – while Fetherfool, during their first encounter, is encouraged by Shift to "mount" his intended bride (35), he later contemplates raping her – might be a reference to the female acrobats who portrayed the Giant and whose performances contemporaries described in highly sexualised

terms. Behn's Giant and Dwarf, then, might very well have been played by acrobats like Mrs Saffry and others belonging to her troupe.

Alternatively, the answer to who played the Giant and the Dwarf might simply be a giant and a dwarf. As outlined above, performances in which extraordinarily tall or short performers displayed a wide range of skills as well as their bodies were commonplace in late seventeenth-century London. While it is not possible to assign the roles of Giant and Dwarf to specific performers, this thesis's case studies demonstrate that both before and after *II Rover*'s initial performance, extraordinarily embodied people became actors, making use of both their physicality and their performance abilities to captivate audiences. In addition, there is specific evidence indicating that Behn's Giant and Dwarf might have been played by performers whose embodiment corresponded closely to that of their roles. Firstly, the close parallels between the supposed monstrosity of Behn's Giant and Dwarf and the London fairs' extraordinarily embodied performers would have made their performances in *II Rover* all the more convincing. Secondly, the fact that Blunt calls the Dwarf his "Fayrie Queen" (74), a common stage name for performers with dwarfism throughout the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century,[11] might indicate that the performer playing the Dwarf hailed from that milieu. Further, the involvement of fairground performers such as acrobats or extraordinarily embodied performers might explain the cast list's omission of the names of the performers who embodied the Giant and the Dwarf. Generally, fairground performances were perceived as less prestigious and more low-brow than those staged in the patent theatres. In his account of Bartholomew Fair in the tenth issue of *The London Spy* (dated 1699), Ned Ward distinguishes between an actor bearing "the Honourable Title of one of his *Majesties-Servants*" and a "*Bartholomew-Fair-Player*, a *Vagabond* by the Statue" (10: 10). The Duke's Company actors thus might have objected to having their names printed on the same list as a pair of monsters. Lastly, *II Rover* appears to have been first staged during the winter of 1680/81 ("London Stage Database January 1681") but, while London's fairs were usually held in the summer months, performances involving extraordinarily embodied individuals were staged throughout the year. Pepys's and Evelyn's encounters with female giants in 1669, for instance, took place in January and February. It is entirely possible, then, that two of the

[11] Morley quotes from several handbills originating from around 1700 advertising performances by "a Living Fairy" (251), "the Fairy Queen" (252) and "a Fairy Child" (255) as well as by "Maria Teresa, the amazing Corsican Fairy" in 1748 (336) and "Miss Morgan, the Celebrated Windsor Fairy" in 1781 (361).

extraordinarily embodied performers who had remained in the city were paid to participate in *II Rover*'s production.

Encountering Monstrosity: Reading Monsters

The influence of monster culture and monstrous performers on Behn's play becomes particularly apparent in the way in which Behn stages the encounters between the monstrous sisters and the English Cavaliers. These encounters, which rely on the interrelation between physicality, extraordinary embodiment and rhetorical dexterity, are distinctly similar to the way in which performances involving extraordinarily embodied individuals were staged on London's fairgrounds. Behn positions her monsters not as silent signs whose exterior can be easily read, but as active, desiring subjects with complex interiorities who reject the Cavaliers' readings of their bodies and instead take control of the way in which their bodies signify. Behn's monsters do not exist "only to be read" (Cohen "Monster Culture" 4), but instead read back. Here, as in the play as a whole, the Giant takes on a more dominant part – because her embodiment is both more visually spectacular and more threatening to her prospective husband, but also because she would have been more clearly perceptible for all audience members, including those seated further away from the stage. While Behn characterises both sisters as competent performers of sexual attraction able to conceal their true appetites and trick their hapless suitors, however, she portrays the Dwarf as able to perform femininity more convincingly. She both confronts her audiences with the sisters' monstrous physicality and makes them privy to their plans, thus constructing what Tiffany Stern terms "dramatic collusion" as opposed to dramatic illusion (*Rehearsal* 277). The monstrous sisters' sympathetic portrayal, Behn's construction of collusion between the sisters and her audience and the close parallels between their conduct and the way in which real-life fairground monsters typically conducted their performances suggests that *II Rover*'s monsters plot might have been co-created by Behn and the extraordinarily embodied performers who potentially played the Giant and the Dwarf.

Behn stages the initial encounter between Fetherfool, Blunt, and the sisters, which occurs in Act III, scene i, in a manner that closely parallels contemporary accounts of encounters between spectators and monsters outside of the theatre, with Behn's employment of embodied modes of performance pointing towards a possible co-creation with extraordinarily embodied performers. The scene opens with Shift leading the men to the

supposed mountebank's house, in which the sisters are lodging. Having bribed the sisters' guardian and come to the house in which "the Ladies . . . are . . . in safe Custody" (33), Blunt and Fetherfool have done what many people in the Dorset Garden Theatre's auditorium would most likely have done themselves at one point or another: they have paid to see a monster. The ensuing encounter, too, like monstrous performers' fairground exhibitions, is defined by intense physicality and close proximity. Fetherfool's first glimpse of his intended bride has a profound impact on his body. Shift encourages Blunt and Fetherfool to "draw Lots who shall have the Dwarf, and who the Giant," with Fetherfool drawing the Giant and Blunt drawing the Dwarf (33). Once Shift has left to fetch the sisters, Fetherfool professes, "My heart begins to fail me plaguily" and, upon seeing the sisters approach, he exclaims:

> hah! —— Mercy upon us! —— what's yonder! —— Ah *Ned*, my Monster is as big as the Whore of *Babylon* —— Oh I'me in a cold sweat —— . . . Oh Lord! she's as Tall as the St. *Christopher* in *Notre dam* at *Paris*, and the little one looks like the Christo upon his Shoulders—— I shall ne're be able to stand the first brunt. (33)

Terrified of the prospect of a courtship which he imagines as an "onset" (33), Fetherfool fretfully moves around the stage, as the long dashes, which intersperse his speech, suggest (33). Instead of having the sisters enter immediately, Behn builds up tension by delaying their arrival; with the evocative and at times colourful language that Fetherfool uses to describe what he sees serving not only to heighten the audience's anticipation but also to invite them to imagine what these monsters might look or behave like. Behn devotes much time to staging Fetherfool's fear of his intended bride, deriving humour from the extremity of the reaction he displays after "Peeping," presumably towards the back or side of the stage (33), to catch a first glimpse of the sisters. Once the sisters have entered, Fetherfool, unable to assume the position of the distanced spectator, is forced into close and prolonged physical interaction with his gigantic bride. Blunt, who has drawn the less terrifying prospective fiancée, urges Fetherfool to salute his bride, to which Fetherfool replies, "you speak of more than may be done, dear heart, without a Scaling Ladder" (34). Shift, disguised as the sisters' operator, immediately exits, only to "*Enter . . . with a* Ladder" which he then "sets . . . *against the Giant, and bows to* Fetherfool" before encouraging Fetherfool to "Approach, Mount, and salute the Lady" (35) – a pun which exploits the contrast between the association with sexual mastery of the term 'mount' and Fetherfool's apparent fear of his intended bride for comic effect. Fetherfool then "*Runs up the Ladder, salutes her, and runs down again*" (35). The

effect of the intense physical proximity of the Giant's body in particular would also have been palpable for spectators in the theatre, especially those sitting close to and even on the stage. Behn here presents a comically exaggerated vision of encounters with extraordinarily embodied performers as described, for instance, by Pepys and Plot, one in which monsters are, rather suggestively, mounted instead of measured. The closeness of Behn's portrayal to the lived realities of extraordinarily embodied fairground performers suggests that they might have been involved in crafting that portrayal.

In addition to the close physical contact between Fetherfool and his gigantic bride, the Cavaliers' initial meeting with the monstrous sisters is further defined by processes of reading, with the Cavaliers interpreting the physical markers of the multi-faceted otherness defining the sisters', particularly the Giant's, bodies. This process begins even before the Giant steps onto the stage, as her key characteristics – extraordinary height, Mexican origin, Jewish faith – are established in Act I. Fetherfool's fear of his intended bride is due to the fact that all of these markers carry with them cultural associations with monstrous, unnatural, all-consuming appetite. Contemporary audiences would likely have been aware of the blood libel, "the accusation that Jews killed Christian children in order to use their blood for medicinal or ritual purposes and in mockery or hatred of Christ" (Rose 1), so that the sisters' Jewishness could have been read as an indicator of monstrous appetite.[12] The sisters' Mexican origin, too, carries with it cultural associations with cannibalism, as inhabitants of the New World, particularly of the Americas, were frequently imagined as violent cannibals devouring white men (Loomba and Burton 177).[13] Descriptions of encounters with South American women by sixteenth-century European explorers connected their supposed cannibalism with an equally voracious sexual appetite, "[bringing] together cannibalism, female sexuality, and emasculation" (Braham 24). All these characteristics were embodied by the Amazon, a figure with which the Giant is directly associated when Fetherfool calls her his "Amazonian Princess" later in the scene (36). As Wagner describes, "Amazonian cannibal women were considered gender-deviant as well as fierce, savage, and hypersexual" (138). For an audience familiar with contemporary medical conceptions of the gendered body, the Giant's height,

[12] Evidence for this antisemitic lie's prevalence can be found for instance in the prologue to Behn's comedy *The False Count*, also first performed in 1681. There she claims that as a Tory propagandist she "Raised horrid Scandals on you [the Whigs], hellish Stories, / In Conventicles how you eat young Tories; / As *Jew* did heretofore eat *Christian* Suckling" (A2r).

[13] In early eighteenth-century London, close encounters with such an individual were not impossible – on 3 February 1701, for instance, the newspaper *The English Post* announced the arrival of a "monstrous Giant . . . from the Indies" who was reported to be a "Cannibal, or Man-Eater".

too, would have been indicative not only of a voracious sexual appetite but also of a certain degree of gender deviance. In the seventeenth century, many medical professionals and the wider populace still adhered to the 'one-sex' model, believing that "the male and female physiology of sex and sexual desire were similar" with "men and women [positioned] along an axis based on heat" (Evans 52). Great height was perceived as a characteristic of the 'hotter' male body (Evans 53) and indeed, throughout the scene, Fetherfool repeatedly compares the Giant to fictional or biblical male giants, including "St. *Christopher*" and "*Garigantua*" (33) or awkwardly attempts to compliment her by praising her "Heroical and Masculine" person (35). In addition, an excess of 'heat' was believed to bring with it certain behavioural qualities, including a stronger sex drive (Evans 53). Fetherfool addresses this, too, when he compares the Giant to the "Whore of *Babylon*" (33).[14] Behn has Fetherfool read the Giant's body and invites the audience to do the same. What emerges from this reading is the image of a woman defined by her threateningly all-consuming sexual and gastronomic appetites.

The Giant's association with appetite is significant because it occurs in a play in which the metaphors of appetite and consumption are consistently used to describe sexual desire and sex itself, with the Cavaliers' sexual appetites, and their pursuit of those appetites, functioning as the driving forces behind the play's plot. The play's male characters in general, and the Cavaliers in particular, consistently conflate their gastronomic and sexual appetites by imagining women as food, specifically as meat, and sex as the eating thereof. In Act I, for instance, Fetherfool compares La Nuche to "a Shoulder of Mutton" (12), while in Act III, Willmore calls La Nuche "Mans meat" (44). By using this language, the play's male characters position women as objects, as cuts of meat to be consumed for male pleasure. The Giant, however, disrupts this narrative by sheer virtue of her embodiment, which indicates both a voracious sexual appetite and literal cannibalistic desire. She even explicitly raises the possibility of literal consumption when she asks her suitor, "What, does the Cavalier think I'le devour him?" (34). Behn has the Cavaliers continue to use the language of appetite and consumption both during and after their terrifying and humiliating encounter with the Giant. When Fetherfool turns to flee from his prospective Bride after seeing her for the first time,

[14] Fetherfool calling the 'Whore of Babylon' might be reference to the popular Bartholomew Fair entertainment *The Whore Of Babylon, The Devil, And The Pope*, which is mentioned in the poem "Bartholomew Fair" (published as part of the collection *Wit and Drollery: Jovial Poems* in 1682). As there are no surviving scripts or descriptions of this entertainment, it is not clear how the 'Whore of Babylon' was portrayed on stage and whether an extraordinarily embodied actress was involved in the performance.

Blunt, for instance, asks, “Whe what a Pox are you so quezy stomach’d, a Monster wont down with you” (23). Even after the meeting, Blunt claims that they like their brides “well enough for the first course” (36). By highlighting the obvious disconnect between the Cavaliers’ bravado and the way in which they have reacted to the Giant’s body, Behn exposes the male language of appetite as ridiculous.

It is in this context, that Behn has the Giant respond to and reject Fetherfool’s reading of her body. In doing so, the Giant asserts her position as a subject who is more than an assortment of legible signs. The dynamism of that exchange and the wit and pathos which the Giant displays throughout the scene – qualities which the English Cavaliers Blunt and Fetherfool lack – are reminiscent of fairground encounters with extraordinarily embodied performers, who displayed not only their bodies but also their intellect. When the Giant asks Fetherfool whether he fears being devoured by her, she both acknowledges and mocks the processes of reading her body – its size, its ethnicity, its Jewishness – that have led Fetherfool to fear her appetite. She then quickly makes abundantly clear that she perceives her suitor as undesirable, defective, animalistic and impotent – to use the language of the play, she has no appetite for him. When Fetherfool, having ‘mounted’ and greeted his prospective bride, appears to gain courage and offers the Giant his hand in marriage, saying, “Madam, without inchanted Sword or Buckler, I am your Man,” the Giant rejects this rather insulting offer, exclaiming, “My Man! My Mouse. I'le marry none whose Person and Courage shall not bear some proportion to mine” (35). She continues to frame her body as an asset, not a defect, arguing, with remarkable pathos and eloquence, that only the lack of an equal leads her to seek transformation and consider Fetherfool as a spouse:

> I should make a better choice, not that I would change this Noble frame of mine, cou'd I but meet my Match, and keep up the first Race of Man intire: but since this scanty World affords none such, I to be happy, must be new Created, and then I shall expect a wiser Lover. (35)

Through her eloquent expression of her lack of appetite for Fetherfool, the Giant exposes Fetherfool’s – and the audience’s – initial reading of her body as erroneous. What is more, she takes control of the way in which her body signifies, reading her great stature not as a signifier of monstrosity but as a mark of nobility and superiority. Thereby, she positions herself as a reading subject instead of a readable object.

In addition to refuting Fetherfool's reading of her body as monstrous, the Giant asserts her subject status by 'reading back,' conducting her own reading of Fetherfool's body and describing him as undesirable, defective, animalistic and impotent. She implies, for instance, that Fetherfool's height, which she compares to her own and consequently frames as a physical defect, is accompanied by sexual inadequacy: when Fetherfool claims that by refusing to marry him the Giant risks "d[ying] a Maid", she replies, "I doubt you'l scarce secure me from that fear" (34), thus questioning his ability to consummate their marriage. The Dwarf participates in this, if to a smaller degree. When the Englishmen hesitate to approach their brides, for instance, the Dwarf tells the Harlequin, "Sure, Seignor *Harlequin*, these Gentleman are dumb," locating defectiveness with their suitors (34). The impact of the Giant's reading becomes apparent through Fetherfool's reaction, as he begins to rethink the way in which he experiences and perceives his own body. While the Giant's height indicates that her body is 'hotter' and therefore more 'male,' Fetherfool's comparative shortness renders him effeminate: in response to Blunt's question, "What a Pox art thou afraid of a Woman," he replies, "Not of a Woman, *Ned*, but of a She *Garigantua*. I am a *Hercules* in Petticoats" (82). Here, too, Behn includes a characteristic of contemporaries' accounts of encounters with 'real-life' giants, though again, she depicts a distorted and comically exaggerated version of such an encounter. Both Pepys's and Plot's accounts of their meetings with female giants, for instance, include a description of the woman stretching out her arm, so that "Men of ordinary stature might walk under it" (Plot 138). Apart from the close physical contact between spectator and monster this act facilitates, it also invites spectators to relate their own height to that of the extraordinarily embodied performer – what is 'acted out' is both the performer's height and the spectator's comparative smallness. Shift's ladder stunt appears like a comically exaggerated version of this, as it, too, stages the height difference between the characters and exploits it for comic effect. During their first encounter, which is reminiscent of the dynamic encounters between monsters and spectators which were staged on London's fairs, the Giant asserts her subject status by conducting her own reading of Fetherfool's body – a reading whose effectiveness is demonstrated by the way in which it alters Fetherfool's perception of his own body.

Behn further strengthens this sense of both the Giant's and the Dwarf's subject status by constructing an imbalance of knowledge between the sisters, Hunt, Shift and Willmore on the one side and Blunt and Fetherfool on the other side, thus urging her audience to collude not with the bumbling Cavaliers, but with their monstrous brides. Initially, the courtship scene

appears to set up a clear power imbalance between the sisters and their English suitors in which the odds are stacked against the monstrous sisters: two extraordinarily embodied women, whose consent is deemed irrelevant, are to be shown to two men, who have paid to see them and who aim to appropriate their wealth. Further, for an audience most likely familiar with the first part of Behn's *Rover*, Blunt and Fetherfool's drawing of lots for their brides would have conjured up memories of Act V, scene i of that play, in which the Englishmen, among them Florinda's brother Pedro, "draw cuts" (*Rover* 70) to determine who will be allowed to rape Florinda first. However, the scene's context as well as the way in which Behn positions her audience to what is happening on stage radically reverses this imbalance of power. Fetherfool and Blunt devise their scheme to court and marry the sisters in Act I, scene i. They believe that by courting the sisters "as they are" (7), prior to their transformation, they will have less competition from other men. However, in the same scene, Shift tells Willmore that he and his fellow Englishman Hunt have already formed relationships with the sisters: "The Gyant, Sir, is in love with me, the Dwarf with Ensign *Hunt*, and as we may manage matters it may prove lucky" (7). Thus, when the audience, in Act III, scene i, witnesses Blunt and Fetherfool's attempts to execute their plan by proposing marriage to the sisters, they do so knowing that the sisters are merely feigning their acceptance of their suitors due to their relationships with Hunt and Shift. Behn thus sets up an imbalance of knowledge between the sisters, Hunt, Shift and Willmore on the one side and Blunt and Fetherfool on the other side, repeatedly drawing the audience's attention to this imbalance and exploiting it for comic effect. She locates cognitive superiority with the monstrous sisters and, as this cognitive superiority is shared by the audience, enables spectators to 'collude' with them. Instead of powerless monsters caught in the hands of those who want to financially exploit them, Behn's monsters are in on the joke.

In the course of the courtship scene, Behn further strengthens this sense of the sisters' cognitive superiority by having the three Cavaliers appear in disguises that, while transparent to the audience and the monstrous sisters, nonetheless fool Blunt and Fetherfool. Here, Shift initially enters as himself when leading Blunt and Fetherfool into the house, before exiting and re-entering with the sisters "*as an Operator*" (37). While Blunt and Fetherfool do not recognise him – after his entrance, Fetherfool asks, "Whe what a flattering Son of a Whore's this" (37) – Shift remains recognisable to the sisters and to the audience which understands that Shift's apparent efforts to aid Fetherfool in his courtship, for instance when he supplies the ladder, really serve to further humiliate the two hapless Cavaliers. In the same scene, Behn

continually reinforces that imbalance of knowledge through her use of asides, exploiting it for comic effect. After the Giant's initial refusal to marry Fetherfool ("I'le marry none whose Person and Courage shall not bear some proportion to mine," 35), Shift, in an aside to the Giant, urges her "Dissemble, or you betray your Love for us" (35). Shift's interactions with the Giant are visible to the audience, serving to reinforce their knowledge of the true nature of their relationship, while remaining invisible to Blunt and Fetherfool. After his first failed proposal, Fetherfool, seeking to change the Giant's mind, vows "I love ye as if Heaven and Earth wou'd come together" (36). In response, the Dwarf, who, unlike her sister, appears skilled at feigning acceptance, assures him, "My Sister will do much, I'me sure to save the Man that loves her so passionately – she has a heart" (36). That the Dwarf is presented as a far more convincing performer of femininity might be due to her short stature which, unlike her sister's height, does not carry notions of gender deviance. Instead, her smallness, which, according to the 'one-sex' model is indicative of a lack of heat, positions her as particularly feminine. The audience, of course, knows that Fetherfool does not love the Giant – something the Giant knows herself, as she accuses him of courting "my Fortune, not my Beauty" (35) – but it also knows about the Giant's relationship with Shift. Fetherfool replies in a speech which the stage direction marks as an aside and which thus can be read as directed at the audience: "And a swinger 'tis, —— 'Sbud —— she moves like the Royal Soveraign, and is as long a Tacking about" (36). He mocks both the Giant's size and her hesitancy, but his attempt to establish a relationship with the audience fails, because the audience knows that the Giant's eventual change of mind is feigned. Thus, he becomes the butt of the joke he intends to make at the Giant's expense. In the courtship scene, the Giant and the Dwarf demonstrate their cognitive mastery over Blunt and Fetherfool by concealing what the audience knows to be their true appetites. Their 'dissembling,' their ability to conceal their true appetites and perform attraction invites the audience to collude with them, to see the interaction from the monsters' standpoint and to become complicit in the Englishmen's humiliation. That the sisters are positioned as performers who, through acts of performance are able to build a relationship with their audience further points towards extraordinarily embodied fairground performers as Behn's co-creators.

After their initial meeting, Fetherfool encounters his intended bride twice more in the course of the play. In Act V, Fetherfool, having just escaped from La Nuche's bedroom – in which he has encountered not, as he thought, the willing courtesan but a scantily clad Carlo – is led by the Harlequin into Willmore's house, where they discover, as the stage direction

describes, "*the She-Giant asleep in a great great Chair*" (75). Fetherfool contemplates raping the Giant before acknowledging that he would have little chance of overpowering her: "now wou'd some magnanimous Lover make good use of this opportunity, take fortune by the fore-lock, put her to't, and make sure work —— but Egad he must have a better heart, or a better Mistriss than I . . . I should crackle like a wicker Bottle in her Arms . . . there's no venturing without a grate between us" (75). As a sexual consumption is impossible, the Harlequin encourages Fetherfool to substitute a gastronomic consumption in the shape of the Giant's "delicious row of Pearls" (75). His appropriation of her pearls, this act of illicit eating, however, fails miserably. When he confesses what he has done during the play's resolution, Shift, who has since secretly married the Giant and thus gained ownership of her property, threatens to "dissect" him while Willmore proposes bringing him to his chamber and having the "Doctor Glyster him soundly" (84). The crassness of this moment, which threatens to reveal explicit insights into bodily processes, is reminiscent of Ward's description of the rope dancer, suggesting that such intense focus on embodiment was part of the fairground culture on which Behn draws here. What is more, as Hutner describes, Behn "utilizes the restoration of the Jewish women's jewels as a strategy to subvert the ideology of the passive, colonized, and commodified woman who is gazed upon, invaded, and controlled by men" (117). As in the courtship scene, it is the white male body that is scrutinised and undergoes "a symbolic rape" (Hutner 117). Here, an illicit act of eating that symbolically stands in for sex – Fetherfool consumes the pearls because he cannot consume the Giant's body – is committed not by the Giant, who supposedly is all appetite, but by the Englishman, who is then physically humiliated as punishment. The monsters, meanwhile, appear to be rewarded for their ability to conceal their appetites both from Blunt and Fetherfool and from their Guardian, as in Act V they emerge untransformed and married to Hunt and Shift, the men they have chosen for themselves. Nonetheless, at the end of the play, their happiness, like that of the play's other couples,[15] seems uncertain. That said, however, a potentially unhappy marriage appears an acceptable fate when compared to the outcome Killigrew constructs for his monsters in *Thomaso.* In Behn's source material, the sisters undergo the process of transformation which leaves the Giant so tiny that the men must "strain the broth from her" to find her "lying in the herbs" (450), her imposing height reduced to a meaty sludge that

[15] Beaumond and Ariadne agree, rather unenthusiastically, to contemplate marriage while La Nuche agrees to a non-marital relationship with Willmore, a man who comments on the death of his first wife one month after their marriage "With a Sham sadness" (5).

reminds Ferdinando of "spoon-meat" (449). Her sister, meanwhile, has gained body mass but appears deeply mentally disturbed after the experiment. In *II Rover*'s final scene, in which the only person whose bodily integrity is violated is English and male, Behn presents the antithesis to the violent end suffered by Killigrew's monsters.

Behn's Giant and Dwarf are, undoubtedly, the most complex 'stage monsters' I examine in this thesis. Frustratingly, it is not possible to identify the performers who played them. If, however, one or both of these parts were played by extraordinarily embodied performers, one can only imagine what it must have meant to them to step onto the patent stage and play characters whose embodiment corresponded so closely to their own. What it must have felt like to portray those characters as complex subjects who, while consistently being designated monstrous, insist on their bodies' beauty, deliver some of the play's funniest and most moving speeches, trick their foolish suitors, and end up with the men they have chosen for themselves, their bodies unaltered and intact. The sympathy that shines through Behn's portrayal of the monstrous sisters and the close parallels between Behn's characterisation of the monsters and their conduct and the way in which the performances of fairground monsters were structured and promoted suggests that extraordinarily embodied performers might have had a direct influence on Behn's writing. Indeed, Behn's unreadable, inedible women appear to anticipate and counteract the attitudes expressed by spectators who, like Ward in his 1699 account of a visit to a rope-dancing booth, imagined extraordinarily embodied women performers as readable, consumable objects with bushel-loaf buttocks and beefy thighs. The ambivalence of the play's ending might reflect the bind performers like Mrs Saffry might have found themselves in: operating as an extraordinarily embodied performer might result in popular acclaim and financial success; it could also, however, result in financial exploitation and physical abuse. In any case, it required extraordinarily embodied performers to subject themselves to a public gaze which they could attempt to direct but often not fully control.

Monster Culture, *II Rover*, and Generic Innovation

In *II Rover*, Behn does not only give a voice to extraordinarily embodied performers. She also helps clear the way for the future impact of the 'generic monstrosities' that originated on the London fairs, participating in a generic shift that began with the farce boom of the 1680s and was fully realised during the pantomime boom of the 1720s. During this period, creative exchange between the patent theatres and the London fairs intensified, with

profound implications for the kind of theatrical entertainments that were staged at both venues. Fairground theatre was becoming increasingly sophisticated, acquiring the technical capabilities of the patent houses and borrowing from their repertoires. From the beginning of the eighteenth century onwards, for instance, puppeteers began to erect permanent playhouses on the London fairs, which had scaled-down versions of the patent theatres' scenery and machinery, and presented plays from the patent theatres' repertory (Brewer 176, 180-1; Park 165). In a letter dated 28 August 1699, the writer Thomas Brown vividly describes his visit to Bartholomew Fair, commenting on the change its theatrical performances had undergone and positioning the fair as a 'formidable rival' to the patent theatres owing to the variety and the sophistication of the entertainments he encountered there:

> As I have observ'd to you, this noble *Fair* is quite another thing than what it was in the last Age; it not only deals in the humble Stories of *Crispin* and *Crispianus*, *Whittington*'s Cat, *Bateman*'s Ghost, with the merry Conceits of the little Pickle-herring; it produces *Opera's* of its own growth, and is become a formidable Rival to both the Theaters. It beholds *Gods* descending from Machines, who express themselves in a Language suitable to their dignity: It trafficks in *Heroes*; it raises *Ghosts* and *Apparitions*; it has represented the *Trojan Horse*, the Workmanship of the divine *Epeus*; it has seen St. *George* encounter the *Dragon*, and overcome him. In short, for *Thunder* and *Lightning*, for *Songs* and *Dances*, for sublime *Fustian* and magnificent *Nonsense*, it comes not short of *Drury-Lane* or *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*. (107-8)

Brown's reference to 'operas of the fair's own growth' highlights the fair's status as a site of generic innovation from which new genres emerged. His account demonstrates that at the turn of the seventeenth century, the London fairgrounds had become competitors to the patent houses, staging diverse, and always spectacular entertainments of improved quality with the aid of ever more sophisticated stage machinery.

Around the same time, there was increased crossover in terms of personnel, too, with playwrights and patent theatre actors beginning to write for and perform on the fairs during the summer months when the patent houses were closed. The playwright Elkanah Settle, for instance, began writing fairground drolls in the 1690s, having previously written several plays for the patent stage. The most popular of his fairground drolls, *The Siege of Troy*, premiered at Bartholomew Fair, probably in 1698, and continued to be performed "until at least 1734,

when it was performed by two different companies— one of them using puppets—at Southwark Fair" (Hall 439). Towards the end of his life, when his career as a writer was in decline, Settle was said to have played a dragon in the droll *St George for England* on Bartholomew Fair (Hall 444). In addition, contemporary rumours alleged that multiple professional actors, such as the King's Company's Joe Haines (d. 1701) or Drury Lane's William Pinkethman (c. 1660-1725), had "taken up mountebankery during theatre closures," playing either a quack or the clown accompanying him (Mayo 97). While the credibility of these rumours is limited, as they were often spread posthumously, it did become common practice for company actors, particularly comedians, to perform on the fairs during the summer months. At the turn of the century, Pinkethman, an actor among whose roles at Drury Lane was that of the Harlequin in Behn's *Emperor of The Moon* (1687), became the operator of booths at the Bartholomew and Southwark Fairs (Highfill et al. 11: 321-3). While he continued to act on the patent stage, mostly at Drury Lane, during the fair season he operated his booth, at times even recruiting other commercial actors to join him (Highfill et al. 11: 321-329). On 24 August 1724, for instance, the *Daily Post* announced a performance "By the Comedians from both Theatres. At Mr Penkethman's Theatrical Booth" (2). In addition to theatrical entertainments, Pinkethman's booth also staged miscellaneous entertainments and acrobatics, as well as acts involving animals, as an advertisement promoting his Southwark Fair booth and published in the *Daily Courant* on 18 September 1703 evidences:

> Mr. Pinkeman's Company of Rope-Dancers, . . . particularly the two famous French Maidens, and the Indian Woman; And also Italian Interludes of Scaramouch and Harlequin . . . And likewise extraordinary Performances on the Manag'd Horse by the famous Mr. Evans and Mr. Baxter, who both perform several new things in their way. And also Mr. Evans Walks on the Slack Rope, and throws himself a Somerset through a Hogshead hanging eight Foot high, with several other Entertainments too tedious to insert here.

A writer identified as G.S., in *An Account of the Last Bartholomew-Fair* (1702), claims that the involvement of commercial actors who usually worked for the patent houses improved the quality of fair theatre:

> I shall only add that *Smithfield* Stagery is now become worth of the City's special Cognisance, since Drolls and Interludes are (it seems) grown up into Comedies, highly Advanced in Wit, and as much in Wickedness, by Parties detach'd (in Vacation-time)

> from the Play-Houses, to be *Zaneys* at the Fair, and Interlope with the Strollers. 'Tis therefore no wonder that the Droll has (of late) been so Edifying, since its Acquaintance with the Drama, and the Discipline of the Booth Improv'd by the Morals of the Theatre. (7)

These accounts do not only evidence the intensifying creative exchange between the patent stage and the fair ground; they also position performers as influential agents of generic change.

This creative exchange, however, worked in both directions, with modes of performance which had originated in the fairground as well as the often extraordinarily embodied performers engaging in those modes finding their way onto the patent stage. From at least the 1670s onwards, for instance, afterpieces and between-act performances became a common occurrence in patent theatres (O'Brien *Eighteenth-Century Pantomime* 491). This shift culminated with the popularisation of the pantomime, "one of the most popular *and* most contentious of eighteenth-century English amusements" (Domingo 52). John O'Brien defines pantomime as a mode of performance fusing popular elements of fairground entertainments, such as "Continental commedia dell'arte characters, classical mythology, dance, opera, acrobatics, and farce" (*Pantomime and Entertainment* xiii). The enormous popularity of the pantomimes *Harlequin Doctor Faustus*, designed by Barton Booth and John Thurmond (Drury Lane, November 1723), and *The Necromancer*, designed by Lewis Theobald and John Rich (Lincoln's Inn Fields, December 1723), resulted in a pantomime boom that lasted from the 1720s through to the 1740s (O'Brien *Pantomime and Entertainment* xxii). Pantomimes generally consist of a 'serious' part, featuring a mythological story, which is interspersed with a 'comic' part, following Harlequin's efforts to win Colombine (Domingo 52). While the 'serious' part typically featured song, dance, and dialogue, the 'comic' part was mute (Domingo 52). Although as afterpieces, pantomimes were intended to be supplementary to the full-length mainpieces they followed, in practice they were not only the London patent theatres' "most consistently profitable product" (O'Brien *Eighteenth-Century Pantomime* 490) but also frequently "dominated or overwhelmed [the mainpieces] by placing emphasis on spectacular effects and by consciously avoiding or distracting from the thematic purpose of the main-piece" (Domingo 82). Indeed, pantomime's reliance on spectacle, "on the material components of theatre – scenery, stage effects, the bodies of performers" (O'Brien *Eighteenth-Century Pantomime* 491), became the genre's defining feature. Due to this focus

on materiality and embodiment, pantomime, a genre that itself "originated in the fairground" (O'Brien *Pantomime and Entertainment* xvii), enabled the extraordinarily embodied performers previously confined to fairground booths to enter the patent theatres. In *II Rover*, Behn anticipates this move of forms and performers from the fairground to the patent stage. By utilizing the visual language of embodied spectacle that would become characteristic of Behn's late plays, including the farces *The False Count* (first performed in November 1681) and *The Emperor of the Moon* (1687),[16] and her tragi-comedy *The Widdow Ranter* (first performed posthumously in 1689), and emerging modes of performance like pantomime, both Behn and the extraordinarily embodied performers who likely helped realize her vision significantly move theatrical practice forward.

While Mrs Saffry's name does not appear in any other sources beyond the 1682 advertisement promoting her booth, her company or a company like hers appears to have continued to perform at the London fairs. Newspaper evidence of the activities of one such group illustrates what this generic shift meant for the extraordinarily embodied performers who participated in bringing it about. Newspapers promote performances by "the famous Dutch Womans Companies of Rope-Dancers" (*Post Boy* 15-17 August, 17-20 August 1700), staged at "the Famous Dutch Womans Booth" (*Post Man and the Historical Account* 19-21 August 1701) in Bartholomew Fair. In both notices, the company is described as consisting of rope-dancers – all foreign, some of them children – as well as *commedia dell'arte* performers, with the 1701 notice promoting a particularly spectacular act performed by "an Italian Scaramouch, who Dances on the Rope with 2 Children and a Dog in a wheel-barrow, and a Duck on his Head". A 1732 notice, which appears to refer to the same troupe, demonstrates that as a result of the pantomime boom of the 1720s, the troupe was now no longer confined to a fairground booth. On 15, 17, 21, and 27 December 1731 and 2, 16, and 18 February 1732, the *Daily Post* printed a notice advertising a characteristically eclectic series of performances:

> At the New Theatre in the Haymarket . . . will be perform'd, by a famous Company of German, French, Italian, and Dutch Rope-Dancers, Tumblers, and Ground-Dancers all lately arrived:
>
> I. A Child of six Years of Age dances upon the Stiff-Rope
>
> II. The French Scaramouch performs wonderfully upon the Rope

[16] For a detailed discussion of elements of *commedia dell'arte* and fairground performance in *The Emperor of the Moon*, see Hobby and Hogarth 389-400.

III. The famous Dutch Woman dances a Jigg upon the Rope with Variety of Steps; also with a Deal-Board lying loose upon the Rope

IV. The famous High German Woman, who hath had the Honour to dance before most Courts in Europe, and challenges all the World for Truth and Height of Dancing 1. A Courant, 2. A Minuet, with as much Ease, and just Time, as any Dancing-Master can on the Ground: Likewise dances with Boots and Spurs, and cuts her own Height on the Rope.

V. A famous Woman walks on a Slack-Rope, forward and backward, several Times; then she stands on the Rope and swings to a incredible Distance.

VI. The famous Italian Tumblers, who tumble to Admiration.

VII. Several Entertainments of Dancing, both Serious and Comick, by Italian Masters and Italian Women, that never danced in England before. the Theatre.

The New Theatre in the Haymarket, opened in 1720, did not possess a patent and therefore tended to stage a somewhat experimental mixture of theatrical performances, predominantly farces and pantomimes, and dancing and acrobatics, often performed by foreign troupes. In 1730, the year prior to the appearance of the rope-dancing troupe, for instance, it had staged Henry Fielding's *Author's Farce* and *Tom Thumb*.[17] Having travelled to London outside of the August fairground season, the company which might have been Saffry's, had exchanged a fairground booth for the permanent stage of a London theatre.

For a troupe such as this, and particularly for its individual star performers, the way in which the theatre landscape had been altered by the pantomime boom of the 1720s brought new prestige and means of income. A notice printed in the *Daily Post* on 16 February 1732 specified that that day's performance was to be a benefit for one of the rope-dancers:

> For the Benefit of Mrs Dancey, the famous Dutch Woman, At the New Theatre in the Haymarket, this present Wednesday, being the 16th of February [1732], will be acted a Farce of three Acts, call'd The Cheats of Scapin . . . to which will be added, a

[17] More research would be needed to explore in how far Fielding's later experimental work at the Haymarket constitutes a continuation of the work of these extraordinarily embodied performers.

> Performance of Rope-Dancing and Tumbling, by a Company lately arrived from Germany, Italy, France, and Holland.

Dancey appears to have been Saffry's successor. Another 'famous Dutch Woman,' she rope-danced and acted both in fairground booths, and on the stages of the theatres in the Haymarket and at Drury Lane, frequently alongside her daughter Miss Dancey (Highfill et al. 4: 138-139). Mrs Dancey's benefit was not shared with another performer and occurred early on in the benefit period, suggesting that she was popular with audiences and enjoyed fairly high standing within the company. It might, in fact, have been an addition to any settlement between the theatre and the troupe as a whole, intended to acknowledge her status as the theatre's main draw. The difference between Mrs Saffry – confined to the fairground, albeit as proprietor of her own booth – and Mrs Dancey – able to perform both on the fairground and on the stages of London's theatres, with her performances being so successful that her efforts were being rewarded by inclusion into the theatres' financial rewards systems – demonstrates the change the London theatre landscape underwent between the 1680s and the 1730s as a result of the popularisation of modes of performance revolving around extraordinary embodiment.

Conclusion

In the late seventeenth century, monsters were a central component of both scientific discourse and popular entertainment culture. Key to this was the rise of monster culture – a performance culture which emerged from the London fairgrounds and encompassed a variety of entertainments revolving around the spectacular display of bodies deemed extraordinary in some way. Exhibitions involving supposed real-life monsters such as giants or dwarfs were a central element of monster culture. Contemporary sources, including newspaper advertisements and spectators' accounts, paint a picture of these exhibitions as often complex performances and spaces for dynamic, intensely physical encounters as well as interpersonal and intellectual exchange between audiences and the extraordinarily embodied. Examining the case of Mrs Saffry, a rope-dancer who became the proprietor of her own fairground booth and one of the few fairground performers from this period who is mentioned by name, reveals that even performers without physical impairments could be perceived as extraordinarily embodied. It also highlights the way in which rope-dancing performances were perceived as both gendered and sexualised, demonstrating that while extraordinarily embodied performers in general and women performers in particular could benefit financially from their

performances, they were putting themselves at risk not only of financial exploitation and abuse but also of making themselves the object of a gaze they could not control. In the 1680s, the impact of monster culture on the commercial stage became increasingly clear, with critics and commentators decrying the forms which resulted from that interplay between forms of embodied modes of performance which had previously been confined to the fairground and the patent stage as 'generic monstrosities'.

Monster culture's influence on the patent stage of the 1680s becomes particularly apparent in Behn's *II Rover*. Drawing on the fairground performances involving extraordinarily embodied individuals, Behn stages physical and dynamic encounters between her English Cavaliers Blunt and Fetherfool, and the Giant and the Dwarf. In doing so, she most likely directly involved fairground performers, such as acrobats like Mrs Saffry or individuals of extraordinary height, who were perceived as extraordinarily embodied in one way or another. In an echo of extraordinarily embodied fairground performers' complex performances, Behn does not present her monstrous sisters as two-dimensional signs or silent 'exhibits,' but positions them as complex subjects, as inedible, unreadable women. Behn thereby invites her audience not only to question their own way of 'reading' extraordinary bodies but also to engage and even collude with the monstrous sisters. Behn further draws on the aesthetics of contemporary monster culture and the generic experimentation and innovation that took place on London's fairs. Putting extraordinary embodiment, physicality and spectacle at the centre of her play, she includes elements of farce as well as characters from the *commedia dell'arte* – two forms which were popular on London's fairs and from there found their way into the patent theatres. In doing so, she anticipates and contributes to a period of generic change during which creative exchange between fairground theatre and the patent stage led to the popularisation of spectacular, embodied types of performance and ultimately the emergence of pantomime – a genre which also enabled fairground performers to perform on the patent stage – during the 1720s. The extraordinarily embodied performers who helped Behn realize that vision and who later stepped onto the stages of the London theatres significantly contributed to a generic shift which defined the nature of eighteenth-century theatre.

The impact of extraordinarily embodied performers' move from the fairgrounds onto the stages of the patent theatres is best illustrated by the vehemence with which the patent theatres' star actors reacted to it. In his 1740 autobiography *An Apology for the Life of Mr.*

Colley Cibber, Comedian, Colley Cibber bemoans the stage's appetite for extraordinarily embodied performers, particularly criticising the "extraordinary Prices [paid] to Singers, Dancers, and other exotick Performers, which were as constantly deducted out of the sinking Salaries of [the] Actors" (195). Cibber presents the Drury Lane patentee Christopher Rich's enthusiasm for "exotick Performers" as a threat to the very fabric of the theatre, by relating an episode in which an elephant, hired nightly and shown "in any Play, or Farce," not only caused the jealousy of fellow performers but threatened to "endanger the fall of the House" (196). In another anecdote, he describes his own resistance against the introduction of "a Set of Rope-Dancers" (196) with whom he publicly refused to share a stage, leaving the stage and telling spectators in the pit that "I hop'd, they would not think it a Mark of my Disrespect to them, if I declin'd acting upon any Stage, that was brought to so low a Disgrace" (196).

This exact episode is parodied in *An Apology for the Life of Mr. T--------- C-----, Comedian* (1740), a work which was not, as its title suggests, authored by Theophilus Cibber, but has been attributed to Henry Fielding.[18] Indeed, Joel Schechter has identified several letters exchanged between Fielding, the writer James Ralph and Theophilus's sister, the actress Charlotte Charke, which appear to prove that the work was co-authored by Fielding and Ralph. *An Apology for the Life of T--------- C-----, Comedian* is a satirical work that aims to capitalise on the success of Colley Cibber's *Apology* and repeatedly mocks Theophilus, often by drawing deeply unflattering parallels to the way in which Colley Cibber describes his conduct in his own *Apology*. This episode, too, is no exception. Here, a fictional version of Theophilus Cibber bemoans the Drury Lane's manager Charles Fleetwood's taste for "the monstrous and the marvellous" (103). The *Apology*'s Theophilus complains that "nothing could be brought to Town to be exhibited to the Vulgar, but [Fleetwood] was for having it exhibited on the Stage" (103). The engagement at Drury Lane of Daniel Cajanus, the performer at the centre of this thesis's next chapter, serves as an example here, with the *Apology*'s Theophilus furious that "such a Spectacle, proper enough for a Smithfield or Moorfields Booth, was thought a proper Personage to grace the Theatre Royal" (103). Just like Mrs Saffry and Mrs Dancey, Cajanus is represented as an active participant in financial negotiations from which Theophilus remains excluded: "Financial Negotiations were begun; but to my Honour be it spoke, I had no Concern in them . . . *Mynheer* soon agreed to some very advantageous Terms proposed to him" (103). Although Cibber grudgingly acknowledges

[18] I explore the specific challenges of engaging with this work in detail in the following chapter.

Cajanus's success, he argues that this is just due to the audience's foolishness, when he decries the "consummate Folly of the Town, who crouded to the House a great Number of Nights to see the *Tall Man*," 103). While this *Apology* clearly aims to portray Theophilus in as unflattering a light as possible, this passage nonetheless contains valuable insight into the status of extraordinarily embodied performers in the patent theatres. In both *Apologies*, extraordinarily embodied performers, having made the move from the fairground to the patent stage, are presented as recipients of considerable sums of money, to the chagrin of the other actors. The popularisation of pantomime and other modes of performance which centred the spectacular display of extraordinary embodiment – a process which had started in the 1680s with plays like *II Rover* and to which extraordinarily embodied performers themselves had contributed significantly – completely transformed what professional opportunities were available to them – as my next chapter about Daniel Cajanus will show.

Chapter 3. Enter the Giant: Daniel Cajanus's Performances of Self

Introduction

On 5 February 1734, spectators attending a performance of the pantomime *Cupid and Psyche, or Colombine-Courtezan* at London's Drury Lane Theatre witnessed a sensation. At the entertainment's climactic moment, Harlequin, disguised as a conjurer, stamped his foot. The stage's trap door opened to reveal a "formidable Figure," rising onto the stage, towering above the other characters and terrifying Harlequin's rivals for the love of Colombine (*Cupid and Psyche* 13). This figure, which later descriptions of the entertainment identify as the giant Gargantua, was played by the 'real-life giant' Daniel Cajanus (1702/3-1749), a Finn whom his contemporaries describe as between 2.35m (seven feet seven inches) and 2.64m (eight feet six inches) tall (Sliggers 10-1). His arrival in the city had prompted the Drury Lane management to alter a brand-new entertainment which had only just premiered on 4 February, adding an additional scene and two new characters, including Gargantua. This proved a sound business decision, as Cajanus's appearances were a spectacular success, becoming the main draw of the pantomime's twenty-night run, with audiences flocking to the theatre to see the performer whom newspaper notices described as "the Tall Man" (*Daily Journal* 26 February 1734). Cajanus's dramatic entrance onto the stage of the Drury Lane Theatre marked a high point of a remarkable performance career which spanned 25 years. Cajanus's performances in pantomimes and exhibitions were witnessed by thousands of people from all over Europe. For Cajanus, the son of a pastor from provincial Finland, they opened doors to the courts of Europe, the stages of London's Drury Lane and Covent Garden theatres, the Royal Society headquarters, and Oxford University. They made him lots of money – most of which he lost through bad investments – and were discussed in contemporary newspapers, praised in gushing verse and lampooned in satirical commentary by critics and theatre professionals. Most importantly, however, Cajanus's performances enabled him to assert his humanity, to position himself as an active subject, even as a celebrity performer – a significant achievement considering that some of his contemporaries considered Cajanus a subhuman monster. In this chapter, I illuminate the performance strategies which Cajanus adopted over the course of an extraordinary career in order to achieve this spectacular feat.

Cajanus was born in Paltamo, Finland and appears to have come from a respectable family (Sliggers 10-11). In *Verhaal van Reuzen boven zeven Voeten lang* ("History of Giants

above seven Feet tall"), a treatise published in Haarlem in 1751, possibly in response to Cajanus's recent death, to which its title page refers, Jan Marchant claims that Cajanus's father Anders studied theology at the university in Turku and became a Lutheran pastor in Paltamo in 1694 (109, Sliggers 10-1). Anders and his wife Anna had seven or eight children, of which Daniel was the youngest and the only extraordinarily tall one. Marchant states that Cajanus and his siblings attended both primary and secondary school (109), and indeed, as I will outline in this chapter, in the course of his life, Cajanus repeatedly demonstrated considerable intelligence, learning, and a particular talent for languages. He appears to have left Finland, which, during his youth, had been ravaged by war and famine, as a young man, but maintained links to his family – amongst the documents that were part of his estate are several letters written by his brothers and his siblings and their descendants were the main beneficiaries of his will (Sliggers 12).

Between 1724 and 1733, Cajanus seems to have travelled and performed across the European continent. Due to a lack of primary evidence, however, this early period of his performance career is difficult to reconstruct. Marchant and the Haarlem historian Theodorus Schrevelius claim that he earned large sums by visiting and performing at most European courts, amongst them that of Augustus II, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, whose cavalry he appears to have joined (Marchant 109-10, Schrevelius 585). Several pieces of evidence support this hypothesis: the military uniform in which he is typically depicted strongly resembles that worn in the Polish army at the time and a letter sent to Cajanus from Dresden, the city in which Augustus II had his court, was found amongst his possessions after his death (Sliggers 13). During this period, Cajanus might have also been in the service of Friedrich Wilhelm I, King of Prussia, who was known to recruit extraordinarily tall soldiers for a regiment known as the 'Potsdamer Riesengarde' ('Potsdam Giant Guard') (Sliggers 13). Evidence including newspaper advertisements and a drawing depicting Cajanus further indicates that he visited several Dutch cities including Amsterdam, The Hague and Haarlem during the early 1730s.[1]

[1] On 16 July 1733, for instance, a newspaper notice printed in the *Amsterdamse Courant* ("*Amsterdam Daily*") advertised Cajanus's appearances, while on 21 October 1733, the *s'Gravenhaegse Courant* ("*s'Gravenhage Daily*") announced that Cajanus, having arrived from Amsterdam, was now performing in the city. The French artist Bernard Picart, who lived and worked in Amsterdam, depicts Cajanus in an undated drawing entitled "De reus Cajanus te Haarlem" ("The giant Cajanus of Haarlem"). Picart died in 1733, so Cajanus must have visited the city some time before then.

From the 1730s onwards, he appears to have settled in Amsterdam while still touring and performing abroad. The journeys he made to London in 1734 – a trip during which he achieved spectacular success performing in pantomimes on the stage of London's Drury Lane theatre – and to London and Oxford in 1741/2 – a nine-month period during which he engaged in a wide range of performances, including pantomime and theatrical exhibitions – stand at the centre of this chapter and are comparatively well documented. In 1745, he moved to the Dutch city of Haarlem, effectively retiring from performing and instead composing and publishing poetry. A beloved and respected member of the Haarlem community, he received a spectacular public funeral and was buried in the city's Groote Kerk after his death in 1749.

In this chapter, I examine a wide range of sources which document three distinct moments of Cajanus's performance career – his two London stays of 1734 and 1741/2 and his retirement in Haarlem (1745-1749). I highlight instances in which Cajanus engaged in what Julia Fawcett calls "autobiographical performances" (6) or "performances of self" (33), that is, performances which are centred around shaping the public image of the performer engaging in them. Specifically, I look for evidence of Cajanus engaging in a performance strategy which Fawcett describes as overexpression and which "allows its practitioners at once to invite and to disrupt the public gaze, paradoxically, by enhancing or exaggerating the features through which they might be recognized and evaluated by their spectators" (3). I build on Fawcett's work on celebrity and overexpression by adapting her framework to examine the career of an extraordinarily embodied, monstrous performer like Cajanus, arguing that throughout his decades-long performance career, Cajanus engaged in a performance strategy I call oscillating overexpression. In his performances of self, he oscillates between presenting himself as an exaggeratedly other and potentially dangerous foreign giant and as a civilised, erudite and devout businessman, and, later, as a well-integrated and uber-patriotic Dutch citizen. What Cajanus creates through these acts of overexpression is not a seemingly coherent public image providing an illusion of seemingly authentic interiority, but rather a public persona whose defining characteristic is its contradiction. Unlike the celebrities whose case studies Fawcett outlines and who use overexpressive performances to ultimately protect their privacy (5), Cajanus's 'autobiographical performances' continually expose themselves as performances – through their exaggerated theatricality and through the contradiction of the 'Christian Goliath'

persona[2] which Cajanus constructs by employing oscillating overexpression. By highlighting the performativity of his intervention, Cajanus continually asserts his status as a performing subject, rather than an exhibited object. While the celebrities whose expression Fawcett describes are presumed to have a self whose privacy must be protected, Cajanus has the additional work of asserting the existence of something in need of protection. His acts of oscillating overexpression do not serve to present his audiences with a coherent public persona that supposedly reflects a stable, interior self, but rather, through their exaggerated performativity, assert that such an interior self exists in the first place. For Cajanus, his performances prove his personhood.

Cajanus and Eighteenth-Century Celebrity Culture

In this chapter, I position Cajanus as an extraordinarily embodied performer who attained celebrity status at a time in which the category of 'celebrity' first began to emerge. Mary Luckhurst and Jane Moody define celebrity as a "concept which focuses attention on the interplay between individuals and institutions, markets and media" (1). In the eighteenth century, mechanisms of publicity that facilitated this interplay included "image-making, puffing, idolatry, the collapse of distinctions between public and private, and an obsession with the body" (West 191). As Leo Braudy argues, "[e]ighteenth-century culture introduced the individual to an awareness that his life could be contemplated, shaped and sold" (397). In addition, the "expansion of print culture . . ., along with the rise of mercantilism, the lessening power of the aristocracy, the secularisation of society and the increase in leisure gave rise to a media apparatus that was essential to the construction of celebrity" (Nussbaum *Actresses* 148). Eighteenth-century actors were amongst the first who learned to manipulate these mechanisms in order to generate celebrity, and, by extension, a financial profit.

Cajanus's London visits fell into this period of cultural change and parallels between the way in which the celebrity of eighteenth-century star actors manifested itself and sources detailing the way in which Cajanus operated and was perceived suggest that many of the same dynamics were at play in the construction of Cajanus's celebrity status. In London, Cajanus initially achieved prominence through a mechanism whose workings I have outlined in the previous chapter, when he left behind the fairground booth in favour of the Drury Lane

[2] Contemporary English sources, including newspaper notices promoting his exhibitions, exclusively use the variant 'Goliah' in their allusions to Cajanus. While maintaining those sources' original spelling, I refer to Cajanus's persona as the 'Christian Goliath' as that is the variant he uses in his poetry.

theatre and a successful turn as the pantomime giant Gargantua. He then went on to utilise and manipulate the mechanisms of an emerging celebrity culture in ways that enabled him to achieve new levels of prominence and financial success. Like the star actors of his time, Cajanus played roles which had been created for him, with his appearances becoming both major box office successes and the subject of public and, at times, intense debates. Like the eighteenth-century star actors David Garrick (1717–1779), Sarah Siddons (1755–1831), or Mary Robinson (ca. 1756–1800), who used portraits by leading artists as tools for their self-fashioning (Engel 17, West 193-194), Cajanus was painted by artists including Enoch Seeman (Appleby 21), a successful painter whose subjects included both George I and George II (Cust and Herring). He cultivated an iconic image of himself by consistently performing in his Polish-style military uniform, in which he is also typically pictured, including in the Seeman painting (see Fig. 3.1). Particularly in the later part of his career, Cajanus, like many eighteenth-century performers who manipulated tools of public communication including their own autobiographical writings in order to perpetuate their popularity (West 191), became actively involved in shaping his image. In 1742, during his second London stay, the bookseller Thomas Boreman published a semi-fictional account of Cajanus's life, two years after Colley Cibber had established the genre of the actor's memoir with his *Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber* (Engel 14). As I will demonstrate, Cajanus was not only likely involved in the *History*'s publication, but also published two occasional poems in which he continued to negotiate his own complex public persona during his retirement in Haarlem. These parallels illustrate that Cajanus's extraordinary success was, at least in part, due to the emergence of celebrity culture and indicate that Cajanus was aware of and utilised that culture's mechanisms.

Figure 3.1 Enoch Seeman, “Portrait of Daniel Cajanus.” London, 1734. © The National Museum of Finland.

In order to make sense of Cajanus’s rise to prominence and his efforts to shape his public image, I draw on the works of theorists who have sought to identify mechanisms through which celebrity status is created and maintained. Joseph Roach, for instance, uses the

concept of 'public intimacy' to explain the mechanisms which are at work in the construction of celebrity. He posits that celebrities possess two separate bodies: the "body natural" and the "body cinematic," or 'image' which in turn circulates widely in absence of their persons (36, 17). Applying this concept to eighteenth-century notions of celebrity, Shearer West argues that contemporary audiences "saw performers through a kind of double vision – observing both their real and imagined bodies and attempting either to reconcile or elide any inconsistencies" (195). Felicity Nussbaum, in turn, explores how eighteenth-century actors utilised the mechanisms of public intimacy, contending that they cultivated a "theatrical version of a private persona" by "performing within the public realm with the express intent to expose private matters and to generate affect around one's own person in order to kindle celebrity" (*Rival Queens* 44). Nussbaum terms this kind of theatricalized intimacy, a marketing strategy that was employed particularly successfully by eighteenth-century actresses, the "interiority effect" (*Rival Queens* 45). It is this concept of public, theatricalised intimacy that Fawcett draws on in her description of overexpression as a performance strategy employed by eighteenth-century celebrities. She argues that "overexpressive performers don't reveal onstage a stable, interior self expressed from the inside out," but instead deploy "the illusion of interiority through the clever manipulation of surfaces" (6). Overexpression, as Fawcett puts it, enabled eighteenth-century celebrities to "me[e]t [the] public's demands to stare while paralyzing that public's power to interpret" (6), thereby ultimately enabling them to protect their privacy (5). In this chapter, I utilise and build on these theoretical approaches to analyse the mechanisms at play in the creation of Cajanus's celebrity. I also, however, highlight the specificity of Cajanus's position as an extraordinarily embodied celebrity who used acts of oscillating overexpression to assert his status as a performing subject.

London 1734

Cajanus first emerges in anglophone sources in connection with his London stay of 1734, during which he played the giant Gargantua in the successful pantomime *Cupid and Psyche* at Drury Lane. Here, Cajanus participates in a shift whose beginnings I have outlined in this thesis's second chapter and during which pantomime, a genre that itself originated in the fairground, enabled extraordinarily embodied fairground performers who often lacked acting training or command of the English language to leave behind the fairground booth in favour of the patent stage. Like Mrs Saffry and Mrs Dancey before him, Cajanus, too, appears to have been in control of the terms on which he performed, as several contemporary sources

suggest that Cajanus was able to determine the number of performances in which he participated and secured advantageous terms for his payment. The public image of Cajanus which emerges during this period and which proved so enduring that it continued to circulate in contemporary media after his departure is inextricably linked to his exploits as a pantomime giant. Critics and theatre professionals consistently perceived Cajanus as pantomime personified, with the central features of Cajanus's public image – foreignness, extraordinary, spectacular physicality and huge popularity – mirroring the qualities associated with pantomime as a genre. However, even though Cajanus appears to have been in control of the terms on which he performed, he himself, rather like the *commedia dell'arte* characters around whom pantomimes typically revolved, remained mute and his voice absent from the discourse surrounding him at this point in his career.

Cupid and Psyche

Cupid and Psyche, or Colombine-Courtezan, in which Cajanus appeared from 5 February through to 2 March 1734 and to whose success he was central, is, in many ways, a typical pantomime. As its surviving description reveals, the pantomime's serious part consists of short speeches interspersed with English and Italian songs written by the composer John Frederick Lampe, and stages the wedding of Cupid and Psyche and Psyche's transformation into a goddess. The second part consists of comic stage business, again interspersed with songs. This section of the entertainment follows Harlequin playing spectacular tricks on the suitors of his lover Colombine. Cajanus appears in the 'comic' section's climactic moment. During this episode, Harlequin disguises himself "as a Conjurer" and attempts to rob Colombine's suitors (13). When they become angry, he "stamps with his Foot, and a formidable Figure arises, who terrifies them into Compliance" (13). The "formidable Figure," having presumably entered the stage through its trap door, appears to vanish immediately after. Although neither his name nor the name of the character he played are included in the entertainment's description, contemporary sources suggest that it is almost certain that it was Cajanus who played the "formidable Figure". *An Apology for the Life of T--------- C-----, Comedian* (1740), for instance, contains a section that has Theophilus describing how Cajanus "was with all Secrecy convey'd into *Drury-Lane* Theatre, and was soon shown arising from a Trap-Door, to the no small Admiration of the Spectators" (103). Cajanus's performance – the spectacular appearance of a visually striking but mute extraordinarily embodied performer

whose embodiment is emphasised by the employment of stage machinery – unites many of the characteristics which made pantomime so popular.

In order to facilitate Cajanus's inclusion in *Cupid and Psyche,* the Drury Lane theatre's management had the brand-new pantomime's plot altered – a decision which proved prudent. The entertainment is first mentioned in a *Daily Journal* advertisement on Friday, 1 February, which announces "a new Pantomime Entertainment, call'd Cupid and Psyche; or, Colombine Courtezan . . . With New Scenes, Habits, and Decorations" (1). A note clarifies that "The Company is oblig'd to defer acting till Monday, by reason of the extraordinary Preparations that are requir'd for the Performance of the new Pantomime" (1). A further notice in the *Daily Journal*'s edition from 2 February repeats the announcement, adding a cast list which contains neither Cajanus's name nor the part of Gargantua (1). That version appears to have been performed on 4 February. On 5 February, however, another advertisement contains an altered cast list, which extends the original list by two additional characters: Pistolet, played by "Young Carney", and Gargantua, played by "Mynheer Cajanus" (2). This new version of the pantomime was then performed nineteen more times throughout February and until 2 March. As Richard Semmens notes, it was not unusual for a pantomime to "[re-invent] itself frequently, not just across productions, but within a single run" (22). Still, the *Daily Journal* notices reveal that the producers of *Cupid and Psyche* revised an entertainment on whose production, complete with "New Scenes, Habits, and Decorations," they had likely spent significant amounts of time and money, after just one night, presumably to include space for Cajanus. This proved to be a sound business decision, as Cajanus's appearance was a spectacular success and became the main draw of the pantomime during its twenty-night run. While a note in the *Daily Journal* on 26 February claims that "This is the last Time of Mynheer Cajanus, the Tall Man's Appearance on the Stage," between 27 February and 2 March the same paper clarifies that "Mynheer Cajanus is prevail'd upon (at the Request of several Persons of Distinction) to stay a few Days longer in England, and to appear as usual in the Entertainment of Cupid and Psyche" (2). Cajanus's immense popularity appears to have had a significant impact on the Drury Lane company's operation and programming in the winter of 1734. In the preface to his play *Don Quixote in England,* first performed in April 1734, Henry Fielding appears to blame Cajanus's prolonged success for his decision to stage that play not at Drury Lane, as originally intended, but at Haymarket. He claims that

originally, the "distrest Actors in *Drury Lane*" entreated him to revise the play for performance, before continuing:

> . . . it was often rehearsed on that Theatre, and a particular Day appointed for its Action; but the Giant *Cajanus*, of a Race who were always Enemies to our poor *Don*, deferred his Appearance for so long, that the Intervention of the Actor's Benefits would have put it off till the next Season, had I not brought it on where it now appears. (Preface)

The popular success of Cajanus's appearances at Drury Lane once more illustrates that the pantomime boom of the 1720s – itself the culmination of monster culture's impact on the patent stage – enabled extraordinarily embodied performers to step onto the stages of the London theatres, including the patent houses, and thereby enabled them to perform in elaborately produced entertainments before large crowds and, as l demonstrate below, in exchange for significant sums of money.

Cajanus as an Independent Operator

Newspaper notices advertising Cajanus's appearances as well as Fielding's comments do not only highlight the popularity of Cajanus's stint as Gargantua, but also portray him as an independent agent who was able to control the terms on which he performed and secure a significant financial reward for his engagement. A slightly more complicated source, namely the *Apology for the Life of Mr. T--------- C-----, Comedian*, confirms this sense of Cajanus as an independent agent and provides real insights into the practicalities of his engagement at Drury Lane. As outlined in the previous chapter, this *Apology* was a parody of Colley Cibber's *Apology*, which had been published earlier that year. It was not authored by Theophilus Cibber, as its title claims, but written by an anonymous author – potentially Henry Fielding – who mercilessly mocks Theophilus, presenting him as a ridiculous, vain show-off. The way in which this *Apology* presents Theophilus's perception of Cajanus's engagement at Drury Lane is no exception: the *Apology*'s Theophilus views Cajanus's engagement with disgust, and is not only powerless to stop it, but also fears that Cajanus's success might negatively impact audiences' perceptions of his own performances. Unfavourably comparing him with Cajanus, the popular giant, would have been an effective way of attacking Theophilus, as he himself was uncommonly short (Highfill et al 3: 242, Salmon). Because of its clear agenda, *An Apology for the Life of T--------- C-----, Comedian* is a difficult source to

work with. If one disregards the obvious slights against Theophilus Cibber, however, many of its claims about Cajanus's first London stay – about the mechanics of his performance, about his huge popular success, and about the manner in which he had been engaged – ring true, as similar claims resurface in other contemporary sources. Therefore, even though this *Apology*, a notorious theatrical hoax, needs to be treated with caution, it still provides valuable insights, as it provides information about the particulars of Cajanus's Drury Lane engagement and demonstrates his enduring presence in the consciousness of London theatre professionals even six years after his departure.

The *Apology*'s Theophilus account of Cajanus's engagement at Drury Lane appears in the work's eighth chapter, after a discussion of the return of the group of rebel actors who, led by Theophilus himself, had quit Drury Lane in protest against the management of John Highmore in 1733 (Salmon). The actors' return, prompted by Highmore's bankruptcy and withdrawal from the Drury Lane management in January 1734, coincided with Cajanus's stint at the theatre: the dissidents' first performance after their return occurred ten days after Cajanus's departure (Salmon). The *Apology*'s author has Theophilus recount this episode, contrasting his boasts about his adroitness at negotiation, which supposedly equals that of prime minister Robert Walpole, with his inability to prevent Cajanus's engagement at Drury Lane. The *Apology*'s Theophilus recounts the details of Cajanus's employment as follows:

> There was a Fellow of an enormous Height came from *Germany* to be shewn for a Sight, call'd *Mynheer Cajanus*: Such a Spectacle, proper enough for a Smithfield or Moorfields Booth, was thought a proper Personage to grace the Theatre Royal. Accordingly Negociations were begun; but to my Honour be it spoke, I had no Concern in them: I was kept out of the Secret, nor was I much affected that I was so . . . Mynheer soon agreed to some very advantageous Terms proposed to him; was with all Secrecy convey'd into Drury-Lane Theatre, and was soon shown arising from a Trap-Door, to the no small Admiration of the Spectators, and the no small Joy of my Co-Rival . . . that *Orion*, that *Polephemus* of a Man, with an Inanity of Voice and Gesture, excited Wonder and Applause. (103-4)

While this passage is clearly intended to mock both Theophilus's lack of influence and his own physical imperfections, its key claims about the manner in which Cajanus appeared on stage and about his appearances' popularity are corroborated by the sources I have outlined

above. The large sums of money which were spent on extraordinarily embodied performers hailing from the London fairgrounds, too, are addressed repeatedly by contemporary theatre professionals: while in his *Apology*, Colley Cibber criticises the "extraordinary Prices [paid to] . . . exotick Performers" (195), Fielding's satirical play *Pasquin* (1736) also mentions the "vast Price[s]" for which extraordinarily embodied performers were usually hired (55). Similarly, while presenting Cajanus as a powerful agent in financial negotiations from which the *Apology*'s Theophilus remains excluded clearly serves to mock Theophilus's inflated sense of his own importance, this *Apology*'s portrayal of Cajanus as an independent agent who has enough negotiating power to achieve "advantageous terms" for his engagement rings true because it echoes the way in which both *Daily Journal* notices and Fielding's comments in *Don Quixote in England*'s preface position Cajanus as clearly in charge of the terms on which he performed.

Pantomime and Persona

Cajanus's success as a pantomime giant led to the formation of a distinct public image or, to use Roach's term, a body cinematic. The defining traits of this public persona – foreignness, spectacular, extraordinary embodiment, and popular appeal – correspond to those of pantomime, the form with which he came to be associated. That other pantomime performers recognised the appeal of this 'brand' is evidenced by the fact that they began to use Cajanus's name to capitalise on his success after his departure. On 14 March 1734, a *Daily Journal* notice advertising a performance of the pantomime *The Necromancer* at Covent Garden mentions the character "Mynheer Cajanus's Sister, the Tall Woman," to be played by "Harlequin," likely a reference to John Rich (Highfill et al 3: 11). Shortly after, from 1 April to 9 May, a man claiming to be "Maynheer Cajanus Sr, Brother to the famous tall Man who lately appeared at [DL]" appeared thirteen times as Captain Bully in the pantomime *Britannia* ("London Stage Database"). That Cajanus continued to be talked about and that his image continued to circulate, however, was due not only to those who admired and sought to emulate his success, but to those who viewed his stint as an actor with distaste. Cajanus's appearances on the patent stage provoked a backlash led by critics and fellow theatre professionals whose reactions to his theatrical exploits were overwhelmingly negative. The vehemence of their reaction reflects both the level of Cajanus's success, and the way in which, for many critics, the success of a performer like Cajanus, a man understood as the living embodiment of pantomime, brought existing anxieties about the form's popularity to a

head. In an article published in February 1734 in *The Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal*, an author using the pseudonym Eucrates, for instance, laments the state of the English stage, where "*Harlequin*'s Sword draw[s] a larger Audience than all the *Magick* of *Shakespear*; his Grimace more captivating than the *softest Scenes* of *Otway*; and his *Agility* more pleasing than the Wit of a *Wicherley*, or a *Congreve*". Eucrates then turns towards Cajanus, stating that "Since Mons. *Harlequin* has conjur'd up his *Guaragantua* at *Drury Lane*, the Town have flock'd to that *Theatre* they just before *deserted*, and with Wonder beheld *Mynheer Cajanus* stalk round the Stage with a becoming Dignity" (92). As outlined by Stern, 'stalking,' a way of walking that involved taking huge strides, was associated with tragic performances, but when "literalised, . . . often came across as comic, . . . stiff, precious and bird-like" ("Performing Genre" 5). Eucrates' use of this word in particular might point to the stiffness of Cajanus' movements, implying that, during his performance, he was not able to translate the hugeness of his body into an appearance of greatness. Eucrates here presents the success of "Mynheer Cajanus," the gargantuan foreigner who need only rather ridiculously stalk around the stage for audiences to flock to see him, as standing in for the worst excesses of pantomime, the supposedly foreign genre relying on spectacular physicality and silent antics, on "Monsieur Harlequin's" sword, his grimaces and his agility.

The absence of Cajanus's voice from Eucrates's argument is representative of the way in which he features in the commentary surrounding his theatrical exploits in 1734 in general: as a body upon whom anxieties about the state of the English stage can be projected, but not as a subject with a potential interiority. This narrative continued to be circulated long after Cajanus's departure from the city. On 20 February 1735, for instance, *The Grub Street Journal* published an article by an author using the pseudonym "Arlequin Chef D'Oeuvre," which similarly connects its criticism of the English stage's reliance on pantomimes with an attack on Cajanus. The author describes a "*Play*, or opera, or farce, or Pantomime," called "*The history of the fall of the tower of Babel*" to ridicule pantomime's most distinctive features. At the centre of the author's criticism of pantomimes lies an attack on the people performing in them, specifically the foreign and extraordinarily embodied individuals who stepped onto the patent stages as pantomime performers. The author repeatedly alludes to Cajanus in particular, both mentioning him by name and hinting at his association with the Prussian army and the Netherlands. Describing the entertainment's cast, for instance, the author writes: "The giants, whom I suppose the builders of Babel, will be personated by some

deserters from the king of Prussia's tall regiment of grenadiers, who are, by several inches, better actors, than any yet shewn on the English Stage (Mynheer Cajanus himself not excepted.)". The author explains that the Prussian giants' presumed inability to speak English will not be an obstacle, as "I shall perform in High Dutch, and this for these reasons: 1st, my actors speak no other; 2dly . . . this was the original language; and therefore probably that which the builders of Babel spoke; and lastly it will be in no danger of being understood by any of my audience". These giants shall be joined by dancers, acrobats, including "Madame Violante, the rope-dancer," humans and animals with physical abnormalities, "and several other monsters too tedious here to mention".[3] Here, too, the key tropes associated with Cajanus's public image of the commercially successful foreign giant correspond to what the author presents as pantomime's worst excesses – its supposed foreignness, its reliance on spectacular materiality and 'monstrous' bodies, its prioritisation of embodiment and visuality over language and its overwhelming popular appeal.

Cajanus's rise to prominence as Drury Lane's Gargantua demonstrates what monster culture's impact on the patent stage and the pantomime boom of the 1720s which resulted from it did for extraordinarily embodied performers, enabling them to access the patent theatres, their audiences, and significant financial rewards. His contemporaries' reactions to his performances, however, also reveal that this newfound prominence exposed performers like Cajanus to sharp public censure. Although contemporary sources suggest that he was in control of the terms on which he performed, at this point in his career he was not yet able to utilise the mechanisms of celebrity culture in order to shape the way in which he was perceived publicly. This would change fundamentally when he returned to London in 1741/2 and started to actively construct a new public persona.

London 1741/2

Likely motivated by the spectacular success of his 1734 London stay, Cajanus returned to the city in November 1741, staying until November 1742. In the course of this second stay, he dramatically changed both his approach towards the modes of performance he engaged in and the way in which he dealt with his celebrity. He still played a pantomime giant

[3] This list of supposedly monstrous individuals, which includes both acrobats and performers with impairments, illustrates the intersectionality of the early modern category of monstrosity. It highlights the usefulness of extraordinary embodiment as a category which, in the early modern period and in the early eighteenth century, included both individuals with and without physical impairments.

in late 1741 – though only for a comparatively short time and not under his own name – but also accepted payments for performing in front of members of the Royal Society, scholars at Oxford University and all kinds of Londoners during elaborately costumed and choreographed exhibitions[4] in which he appeared for most of 1742 and which provided his main source of income. Upon his return to the city, Cajanus increasingly attempted to shape the way in which he was perceived publicly. As I demonstrate in this section, it is highly likely that Cajanus did not only choreograph his theatrical exhibitions but was also involved in devising the terms in which he was described in newspaper notices promoting those exhibitions. What is more, he might have been involved in the publication of Thomas Boreman's semi-biographical *History of Cajanus, The Swedish Giant* (1742). Both spectators' accounts of Cajanus's exhibitions and newspaper advertisements promoting them highlight Cajanus's use of oscillating overexpression, which Cajanus utilised to construct a new public persona, namely that of the 'Christian Goliath'. This new public image combined characteristics with which he had been previously associated, including his foreignness and his extraordinary embodiment, with an emphasis on seemingly contradictory features, such as Cajanus's Christian faith and his gentlemanly conduct. In his exhibitions, Cajanus countered his audience's desire to gain access to his body by staging "autobiographical performances" (Fawcett 6) which continually expose themselves as performances – both through their exaggerated theatricality and through the impossible contradiction of the 'Christian Goliath' persona. Thus, by continually highlighting the performativity of his intervention, Cajanus positions himself as a performing subject rather than an exhibited object.

There are several possible explanations for Cajanus's decision to get involved in the creation of his public image. By 1741/2, Cajanus had adopted a wider variety of performance modes and his public image was no longer inextricably linked to the mute antics of pantomime. This potentially contributed to the increasing prominence of Cajanus's voice in the discourse surrounding him, supporting his attempts to position himself as a performing subject. Further, in 1734, he had been one of many performers participating in an entertainment that had been devised and marketed by the Drury Lane theatre. His 1741/2 exhibitions, however, exclusively revolved around his person, access to which had become the product for which large parts of the London population were prepared to pay. Now, Cajanus and his associates took on the work of devising the performances in which he

[4] In this chapter, I use the term 'exhibition' in the way which I have outlined in the previous chapter of this thesis.

engaged as well as their promotion, processes during which Cajanus's public persona was both constructed and circulated. As a more experienced performer, potentially with an improved command of the English language, Cajanus was now in a position to manipulate the mechanisms of celebrity whose workings he might have observed during his first London stay.

Thanks to the survival of a contract in Amsterdam's Stadsarchief,[5] the specifics of Cajanus's second England trip can be reconstructed with some certainty. On 27 October 1741, Cajanus and Roelof Sweris, his business partner, signed a contract in front of the notary Joan Calkoen Andriesz, which fixes the terms of their journey to England. This document states the conditions of their journey as follows:

[5] Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam 1578-1915, No. 346: J. Van Calkoen, no. 150. For a scan of the original document, as well as a complete transcription and translation, see Appendix 1.

That the Parties within the period	Dat zij Comp:tn binnen den tijd
of eight days after this	van agt dagen nadato dezes –
with the other shall make a Journey	met den anderen een Reijse zullen
to England ^and other Places by mutual consent^ in order to –	doen naar Engelant ^en andere Plaatse onderling goed te vinden^ omme –
then exhibit the first Party to	aldaan hem eerste Comp:t aan
the world and this to	de werelt te vertoonen en dat tot
Such a Price as they shall both	Zodanigen Prijs als zij onderling
Come to find good	Zullen komen goet te vinden
and this {..} for the duration of	en dat {..} gedurendeden tijd van
eight months starting at the	agt maande te rekenen van den
Day of their departure,	Dag van hun vertrek,
That the profits after subtraction	Dat de winsten naar afftrek
of all costs as well as a	van alle onkosten als mede een
Parade coat for the First	kleet van Parade voor hem Eerste
Party shall be distributed	Comparant zal werden verdeelt
namely the Three Fifths	namentlijk de Drie vijffde
on Account of the	Parten voor Reek:g van hem
First Party and the Two remaining	Eerste Comp:t en de Twee overige
Fifths shall be taken and enjoyed	vijfde Parten bij hem Comp:t
By the second Comparant.	ter Tweeder zijde zullen werden
	getrokken en genooten.

The contract additionally fixes a penalty of "a hundred Golden ducats" ("een somme van honderd Goude ducaten") to be paid in case one party breaks the contract. This document provides invaluable insights into the terms on which Cajanus – and, potentially, other extraordinarily embodied performers like him – performed. It positions Cajanus as in control of the terms on which he operated, as his approval was needed to determine both the location of and the price charged for his performances. In addition, the contract proves not only that Cajanus was able to benefit financially from his performances but that he had the right to keep the majority of the profits. Lastly, the stipulation concerning the parade coat – presumably a reference to the Polish-style uniform Cajanus appears to have worn routinely during his

performances – again highlights the performativity that was inherent to the way in which Cajanus presented himself to his audience: instead of wearing the 'real' uniform he might have received at the court of Augustus II, he commissions a costume made for specifically for the journey to London. This contract suggests that the image of Cajanus as an independent agent and powerful operator in business negotiations, which surfaces in the discourse surrounding his 1734 London stay and particularly in the *Apology for the Life of T--------- C-----*, might have been rather close to reality. It paints the picture of a performer who had control over his movements, the nature of the performances in which he participated, and the price that was charged for entry, who was also able to keep the majority of his earnings and who had access to legal means to assert those rights.

Perseus and Andromeda; or, The Cheats of Harlequin

Cajanus and his business partner Sweris appear to have left for London soon after they had signed this contract in late October, but the first advertisements promoting Cajanus's exhibitions only begin to appear in January 1742. In late November, however, the newspaper *London Daily Post and Daily Advertiser* began publishing notices advertising the "Dramatic Entertainment call'd Perseus and Andromeda; or, The Cheats of Harlequin," staged at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden, in which the "Part of the Giant" would be played by "a Tall Man from Finland" (25 November). Although his name does not appear in any of the advertisements, it is highly likely that this was Cajanus, as his arrival in London coincided with the entertainment's initial performance and because he had previously joined a pantomime production at short notice and with great success. The notices indicate not only that this 'tall Man from Finland' appeared in 19 performances from 25 November through to 31 December, but also that his appearance was considered one of the entertainment's main draws – unlike the names and characters of the other actors, his character and description are printed in capital letters (see Fig. 3.2).[6] No record of this pantomime survives, but it was likely similar to *Cupid and Psyche*, with Cajanus's appearance part of a separate, spectacular episode utilising his extraordinary embodiment. Remarkably, these notices advertise Cajanus's appearances without disclosing his name. However, as Cajanus's further conduct reveals, it is likely that it was Cajanus himself who decided to initially keep his real identity a secret. This decision reflects Cajanus's move towards taking control both of his performances

[6] This prioritisation of the names of star actors or specific attractions on playbills or promotional notices, specifically those advertising new entertainments, was a common practice in the period (Freeman 28).

and of the way in which his image circulated publicly – a move which ultimately enabled him to position himself as a performing subject instead of an exhibited object.

COVENT-GARDEN.

By the Company of Comedians,

AT the Theatre-Royal in Covent-Garden,
To-morrow will be preſented a Comedy, call'd
The ROYAL MERCHANT;
OR,
BEGGAR'S BUSH.

The Part of the Royal Merchant, by Mr. Ryan; Clauſe, by Mr. Bridgwater; Woolfort, Mr. Roſco; Hemſkirk, Mr. Caſhel; Hubert, Mr. Hale; Vandunck, Mr. Mullart; Prince Prigg, Mr. Woodward; Orator Higgen, by Mr. Hippiſley; Prince Ferrit, Mr. Stoppelaer; Gincks, Mr. Bencraft; Merchant, Mr. Gibſon; the three Boors by Mr. James, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Marten. Bertha, Mrs. Bellamy; Jaqueline, Mrs. Vincent.

To which will be added a Dramatic Entertainment, call'd
PERSEUS and ANDROMEDA;
OR,
The Cheats *of* HARLEQUIN.

The Part of Perſeus to be perform'd by Mrs. Barbier; Cepheus, Mr. Leveridge; Æthiopian, Mr. Thompſon; Caſſiope, Mrs. Wright; Andromeda, Miſs Hillyard; Mercury, Mr. Salway; Amazons by Mrs. James, Madem. Renos, Madem. Moudet, Mrs. Le Brun, Mrs. Wright, Mrs. Le Font, and Mrs. Villeneuve. Infernals by Mr. Leveridge, Mr. Villeneuve, Mr. Dupre, Mr. Richardſon, Mr. Delegarde, Mr. Davenport, and Mr. Deſtrade.

Harlequin by Mr. Lun; Petit Maitre by Mr. Lalauze; Huſſar, Mr. Bencraft; Colombine, by Mrs. Kilby; Huſſar's Servant, Mr. Hippiſley; Valet de Chambre, Mr. James;

The Part of the GIANT by a TALL MAN from FINLAND.

Concluding with the GRAND DANCE in MOMUS.

With the other Parts as uſual.

Boxes 5 s. Pit 3 s. Firſt Gallery 2 s. Upper Gallery 1 s.

*** Places for the Boxes to be taken of Mr. Page, Houſe-keeper, at the Stage-Door of the Theatre.

To begin exactly at Six o'Clock.

Figure 3.2: Newspaper notice published in the *London Daily Post and Daily Advertiser* on 25 November 1741 advertising a performance of *Perseus and Andromeda*, including the "Part of the Giant" played by "a Tall Man from Finland".

The Royal Society

Cajanus was asked to appear before the Society's members on 21 January 1742, just after the end of his engagement at the Theatre Royal and at a time when he was already exhibiting himself to paying spectators. This invitation illustrates the close links between scientific discourses surrounding monstrosity and various forms of entertainment that depended on staging extraordinary bodies, which I have outlined in this thesis's previous

chapter.[7] The last item in the minutes of their 21 January meeting, the Society's Journal Book records this encounter as follows:

> During the meeting one Daniel Cajanus a Finlander about thirty two years of age was brought into the Society as a Sight and an instance of one of a gigantic Size of human Body. He stood by one of the Pillars [presumably pillars belonging to the Society's headquarters in Crane Court] & his Height was marked, which measured seven feet four inches and a quarter: and the Heels of his Shoes were about an Inch. He reached his hand with ease above [left blank] inches within the Architrave between the two Pillars, which from the Ground measured ten feet. The Man said his Father was 6 1/2 feet in height, and his Mother six feet three inches and yt he was Brother to one of the same Name shew'd for a Sight in London some Years ago. His Servant affirmed that his usual Meal was about 4 1/2 pound of Meat. But as some of the Society were of opinion that this Man was the very same person with the other formerly shown in London; there being a great resemblance in their Features, tho' this seemed more proportionally made: the Rev^{d}. Doct^{r}. Pearce, who happen'd to be one of the tallest Gentlemen in the Meeting, said he had some reason to think otherwise; For that he had observed he could not reach higher than the other Man's forehead, yet he could reach about an inch above the forehead of this Man. The Presid.^{t} [antiquary and natural philosopher Martin Folkes] ordered 2 Guineas as a Pres. to M^{r}. Cajanus. (JBO/18, 328-9)

The Journal Book's account of the Society's meeting in the following week, on 28 January, reveals that Cajanus's appearance continued to occupy members' thoughts:

> The President, on reading the Minute concerning the tall Finlander, said he had been since inform'd from M^{r}. Hogarth the Painter and others, that this Man was undoubtedly the very same Man, and not, as he pretended, a Brother to him who was shewn in London a few years ago: and said further that he had been informed by the Earl of Pembroke that upon an exact measurement being taken of the height of the Finlander by a Square, according to the method used in measuring the Men in the Regiments, he found his height to be precisely 7 feet 4 inches 7/8. (JBO/18, [3]30)

[7] For an exploration of the connections between theatre and science, particularly the Royal Society, see Paul Shanahan "The Dryden-Davenant Tempest, Wonder Production, and the State of Natural Philosophy in 1667".

The Society members make sure to measure him without his shoes – perhaps to ensure he did not artificially increase his height – discuss the best way to get the most accurate measurement and ask his servant to confirm his dietary habits. When he lies about his identity, they enlist the help of authorities, like William Hogarth and the Earl of Pembroke, to help confirm their theory. Their endeavours to establish Cajanus's identity and their efforts to measure his body, to determine the reasons for his embodiment and the way in which he maintains himself, are an expression of their desire to understand him, to gain access to and insights into the workings of his body.

In this instance, Cajanus subjects himself to being interrogated and measured by Society members but simultaneously transforms this encounter into a performance by inventing a similarly extraordinarily embodied brother[8] and then assuming his identity. Even though the financial reward he received for his appearance was significant – in 1742, two Guineas equalled twenty daily salaries of a skilled tradesman (National Archives Currency Converter) – Cajanus refuses to act as a mere "Sight," as an abnormal, passive body whose dimensions can be recorded and whose workings can be understood; by actively concealing his identity, he undermines and frustrates the Society members' inquiries. What is more, by assuming the identity of a brother specifically, Cajanus challenges the Society members' objectification of his body, reminding them that he, too, is a human being with a family. Cajanus's reference to his siblings might also have been a parody or reappropriation of the technique which other performers, who had claimed to be his siblings after his departure from the city in 1734, used to profit from his prominence. It is not clear how far Cajanus went while taking on this persona – whether he, for instance, assumed particular mannerisms, or attempted to alter his appearance – and in any case, his performance appears to have been wildly unconvincing, as several members of the Society seem to have recognised him immediately. Perhaps, however, it is precisely the ridiculousness of Cajanus's claim that enables him to highlight the performativity of his intervention so effectively. Regardless of how pronounced or convincing this persona was, in this instance, Cajanus appears to have used it as a protective barrier between his body and the Society members' gaze (and, indeed, their measuring rod) that ensured that he remained a performer, not a mere 'sight'. Through performance, Cajanus here asserts his humanity and personhood.

[8] Cajanus did have several brothers but they appear to have been of normal height (Sliggers 11).

Exhibitions

This strategy of countering spectators' desire for gaining insights into the workings of his body with a theatrical performance was central to the elaborately costumed and choreographed exhibitions in which Cajanus continued to perform until he left the city later that year. In these exhibitions, Cajanus constructed his highly contradictory 'Christian Goliath' persona, through which he positioned himself as a performing subject. In this section, I recover evidence of this performance strategy in newspaper notices advertising his performances to the public, in an account of one such performance contained in Thomas Boreman's semi-fictional biography *The History of Cajanus, The Swedish Giant* (1742), and in writings which record audience reactions. Identifying whether a specific source contains an account of or a response to Cajanus's performances of self or itself constitutes one, however, is not always possible, as the two categories frequently overlap. While Boreman's *History*, for instance, contains the only existing description of one of Cajanus's performances, it is possible that Cajanus was involved in its publication. This leads to two interlinked methodological challenges on which I reflect in the following section.

The first methodological challenge concerns Cajanus's influence on the construction of his public persona and leads to two key questions: was Cajanus able to exert influence on the way in which his public persona was constructed both in his performances and in the published texts connected to them? If yes, is there any evidence which links Cajanus specifically to heightened performativity and overexpression as performance strategies? In order to answer these questions, I base my claims about Cajanus's agency primarily on corroborating insights from three credible sources. Firstly, the contract Cajanus and his business partner Roelof Sweris signed before their departure to England establishes that Cajanus had the right to determine the terms on which he performed, both with respect to the location of his performances and the price that was charged for entry, and that he was also able to keep the majority of his earnings. It thus seems likely that Cajanus – an experienced performer who, by 1741/2 had travelled and shown himself all over northern Europe for the better part of two decades – had at least some influence both on the way in which he conducted himself during his performances and on the way in which he was described in promotional materials advertising those performances to the public. This contract also suggests, however, that decisions concerning Cajanus's performances and their promotion were likely made collectively by a group which included Cajanus, Sweris, and at least

temporarily John Pinchbeck, who was in the business of exhibiting spectacular clocks and automata on London's fairs. Secondly, the account of the Royal Society episode as recorded in the Society's Journal Book is particularly useful not only because, as a record meant to update absent members, it is likely accurate, but also because it records Cajanus's voice, particularly his claim to be his own brother. Therefore, it demonstrates that Cajanus adopted performativity as a strategy to highlight his personhood. The third key piece of evidence is Cajanus's poetry. In it, he adopts many of the terms in which he was described in 1741/2, including the image of the 'Christian Goliath,' which further supports the assumption that this was a performance strategy he devised, or, at least, was comfortable with employing. These key sources demonstrate that it is likely that Cajanus had at least some degree of influence over the way in which he was described in public. Claims contained in sources whose credibility is more difficult to determine, such as Boreman's semi-fictional biography, can be credible if they are corroborated by these key texts, which suggest that even though Cajanus likely was not the sole decision maker, it is highly likely that he was involved in the production and circulation of his public persona, in addition to acting out the contradictoriness that was becoming both the key characteristic of his performances and his public image.

The second methodological challenge concerns the question of how to negotiate contemporary sources' various biases and agendas. In order to address this challenge, I am using as many and as diverse a range of sources as possible – not only to corroborate information but also to identify and balance out the sources' respective weaknesses and biases. Newspaper notices advertising Cajanus's exhibitions, for instance, provide reliable information with respect to Cajanus's movements and the audiences in front of which he appeared, but reveal little detail about the content of his performances. Sources that comment on this, like the *Apology for the Life of T--------- C-----*, frequently have clear agendas, but information found in such sources too, can be credible, if it is corroborated elsewhere. The same is true for the only detailed account of Cajanus's performances, which can be found in Thomas Boreman's semi-fictional biography *The History of Cajanus, The Swedish Giant* (1742), discussed in detail below. In his description of Cajanus's London stay, Boreman does not only get details such as the price of admission and the venue for Cajanus's performances, which he claims to have attended himself, right, but also presents recognisable if likely exaggerated accounts of documented events such as Cajanus's arrangement with John Pinchbeck, his trip to Oxford, or the bout of illness he suffered in the summer of 1742. In

addition, central elements of Boreman's account of Cajanus's performance – including its intense theatricality and Cajanus's assumption of the 'Christian Goliath' persona – are hinted at in newspaper advertisements promoting Cajanus's exhibitions, making it likely that Cajanus's performances did, in fact resemble the picture Boreman draws of them in his *History*. Further, even sources that present information that is verifiably false can be valuable. Boreman's largely fictional account of Cajanus's early life, for instance, does not provide credible biographical information, but highlights the centrality of contradictoriness and complexity for the construction of Cajanus's public persona by echoing it in its unflattering – and likely unwarranted – description of Cajanus as a coward who, though tall, lacked greatness. Thus, while some texts, particularly newspaper notices, can be regarded as sources of reliable information, others, like Boreman's biography, need to be read as sources that are closer to literary texts than factual accounts, but that, as reactions to contemporary discourse, still contain valuable insights.

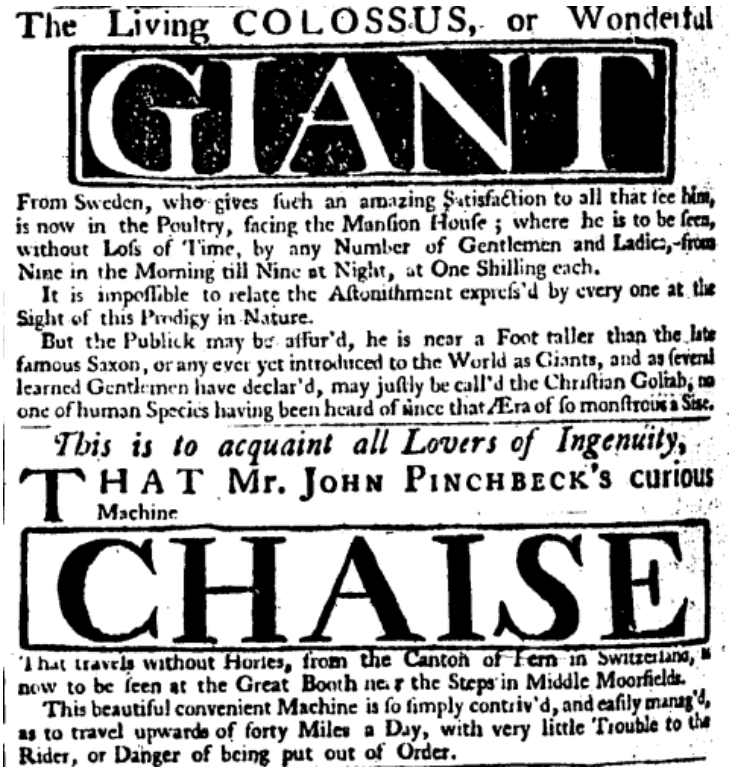
Newspaper notices promoting Cajanus's exhibitions prove that he regularly and successfully showed himself between January and November of 1742,[9] and also highlight the variety of venues and contexts in which he performed. During the first half of the year, Cajanus performed in several Charing Cross venues.[10] In late April, Cajanus travelled to Oxford, where he had been "a long time expected" at the university, and stayed there until late May (*London Daily Advertiser* 19 April, 21 May). It appears that in late June, on his return to London, he performed in the City, in a venue facing the Mansion House in which he remained until late November, when he moved back to Charing Cross shortly before returning to the Netherlands (*London Daily Advertiser* 23 June, 30 November). A small reference in a notice published in the *Daily Post* on 10 July, which references Cajanus's "Articles with Mr. Pinchbeck" which are to expire on 13 July, further reveals that Cajanus entered into an arrangement with a member of the Pinchbeck family, most likely John Pinchbeck, whose exhibitions of spectacular automata were advertised together with Cajanus's performances between May and July (see Figures 3.3 and 3.4).[11] The Pinchbecks were a family of renowned

[9] One of the very first notices advertising Cajanus's arrival in London was published on 12 January in the *London Daily Advertiser*. The advertisement states "That there is lately arriv'd from Sweden, by way of Holland, the tallest and most Giant-like Man in Europe". The last advertisement in which he is mentioned was published on 30 November in the same paper.
[10] The *London Daily Advertiser* records changes in venue on 12 January, 1 February, and 11 March.
[11] *London Daily Advertiser* notices on 31 May, 1-5 June, 9 June, 10 June, 12 June, 2 July, and 24 July either promote John Pinchbeck's exhibition of his horseless chaise and Cajanus's performances in advertisements with

clockmakers who, together with the family of the magician Isaac Fawkes, operated a joint booth at Southwark Fair, which staged both demonstrations of spectacular automata and comedic performances. The connection between Cajanus and the Pinchbeck family highlights the link between fairground entertainments and extraordinarily embodied performers. From late August to September, he appears to have been seriously ill, but resumed his performances once he recovered.[12] The notices further provide insights into the fees which spectators were charged for entry – fees in whose fixing Cajanus was involved, as his contract with Sweris evidences. Between January 1741 and June 1742, the entry fee was one shilling, the same sum a visitor would have had to pay to see Cajanus's performance in *Perseus and Andromeda* from a seat in the Theatre Royal's upper gallery. This illustrates the huge potential for profits – after all, Cajanus's performances seem to have been relatively inexpensive to put on and any profits would not have to have been shared amongst a large cast. On 23 June, *London Daily Advertiser* notice announced a concession available to "common People," who only needed to pay six pence for entry. From July, this new lower price was available to everyone. Newspaper notices further suggest that Cajanus's performances were enormously popular and attracted high-profile visitors. In April 1742, for instance, his performance was attended by "their Royal Highnesses the three Princesses" who reportedly greatly enjoyed seeing him and "made him a very handsome present" (*London Daily Advertiser*, 19 April). Notices published in late October and November claim that Cajanus had been seen by many members of the royal family, including "his Majesty, the Prince and Princess of Wales, all the Royal Family, and most of the Nobility and Gentry" (*London Daily Advertiser* 19 October; *Daily Advertiser* 4 November). From these notices emerges the picture of a disciplined performer who worked long hours almost daily for months on end and whose performances – presumably perfected in the course of his year-long stay – delighted a diverse range of audiences, including Oxford scholars, 'common people' and the royal family.

similar formatting or incorporate a notice about Cajanus's performance in an advertisement promoting Pinchbeck's chaise or vice versa.

[12] A notice published in the *Daily Advertiser* on 27 September states that Cajanus, "(Who has been these five Weeks very dangerously ill of a Fever, which has occasion'd the Report of his Death) is now so well recover'd as to be able to shew himself [again]".



The Living COLOSSUS, or Wonderful

GIANT

From Sweden, who gives ſuch an amazing Satisfaction to all that ſee him, is now in the Poultry, facing the Manſion Houſe; where he is to be ſeen, without Loſs of Time, by any Number of Gentlemen and Ladies, from Nine in the Morning till Nine at Night, at One Shilling each.

It is impoſſible to relate the Aſtonithment expreſs'd by every one at the Sight of this Prodigy in Nature.

But the Publick may be aſſur'd, he is near a Foot taller than the late famous Saxon, or any ever yet introduced to the World as Giants, and as ſeveral learned Gentlemen have declar'd, may juſtly be call'd the Chriſtian Goliah, no one of human Species having been heard of ſince that Æra of ſo monſtrous a Size.

This is to acquaint all Lovers of Ingenuity,

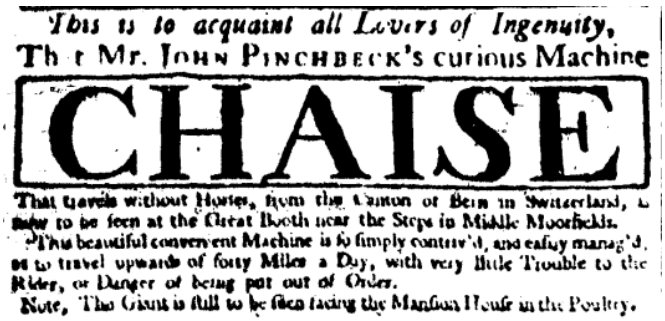
THAT Mr. JOHN PINCHBECK'S curious Machine

CHAISE

That travels without Horſes, from the Canton of Bern in Switzerland, is now to be ſeen at the Great Booth near the Steps in Middle Moorfields.

This beautiful convenient Machine is ſo ſimply contriv'd, and eaſily manag'd, as to travel upwards of forty Miles a Day, with very little Trouble to the Rider, or Danger of being put out of Order.

Figure 3.3: Newspaper notice promoting Cajanus's performances and John Pinchbeck's exhibition of a horseless chaise, *London Daily Advertiser*, 31 May 1742.



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CHAISE

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This beautiful convenient Machine is ſo ſimply contriv'd, and eaſily manag'd, as to travel upwards of forty Miles a Day, with very little Trouble to the Rider, or Danger of being put out of Order.

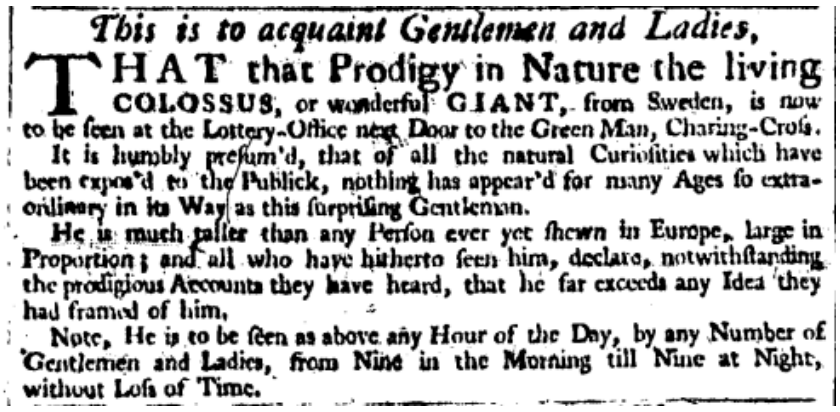
Note, The Giant is ſtill to be ſeen facing the Manſion Houſe in the Poultry.

Figure 3.4: Newspaper notice promoting John Pinchbeck's exhibition of a horseless chaise and containing a reference to Cajanus's exhibitions, *London Daily Advertiser*, 2 July 1742.

Advertisement and Persona

Newspaper advertisements do not only contain insights into Cajanus's movements and the practicalities of his performances, however, but are also puffs and therefore constitute a medium through which Cajanus, alongside Sweris and Pinchbeck, constructed and circulated Cajanus's public persona. An advertisement repeatedly published in the *London Daily Advertiser* in early February describes Cajanus as "that Prodigy in Nature the living Colossus,

or wonderful Giant, from Sweden" and claims that "of all the natural Curiosities which have been expos'd to the Publick, nothing has appear'd for many Ages so extraordinary in its Way as this surprising Gentleman". The notice continues: "He is much taller than any Person ever yet shewn in Europe, large in Proportion; and all who have hitherto seen him, declare, notwithstanding the prodigious Accounts they have heard, that he far exceeds any Idea they have framed of him" (*London Daily Advertiser* 1, 4, 5 February, see Fig. 3.5).



This is to acquaint Gentlemen and Ladies,

THAT that Prodigy in Nature the living COLOSSUS, or wonderful GIANT, from Sweden, is now to be ſeen at the Lottery-Office next Door to the Green Man, Charing-Croſs.

It is humbly preſum'd, that of all the natural Curioſities which have been expos'd to the Publick, nothing has appear'd for many Ages ſo extraordinary in its Way as this ſurpriſing Gentleman.

He is much taller than any Perſon ever yet ſhewn in Europe, large in Proportion; and all who have hitherto ſeen him, declare, notwithſtanding the prodigious Accounts they have heard, that he far exceeds any Idea they had framed of him.

Note, He is to be ſeen as above any Hour of the Day, by any Number of Gentlemen and Ladies, from Nine in the Morning till Nine at Night, without Loſs of Time.

Figure 3.5: Notice promoting Cajanus's appearances, published in the *London Daily Advertiser,* 4 February 1742.

Another *London Daily Advertiser* notice that was first published on 11 February and then appeared in the paper almost daily until well into June (see Fig. 3.6), describes Cajanus as "The Living Colossus, or Wonderful Giant From Sweden," before continuing:

> As it would be impossible to endeavour to relate the Astonishment that is express'd by everyone at the Sight of this Prodigy in Nature, we avoid it. But this the Publick may be assur'd of, that he is near a Foot taller than the late famous Saxon, or any ever yet introduced to the World as Giants, large in Proportion, and as several learned Gentlemen have declar'd, may justly be call'd the Christian Goliah, no one of human Species having been heard of since that Æra of so monstrous a Size.

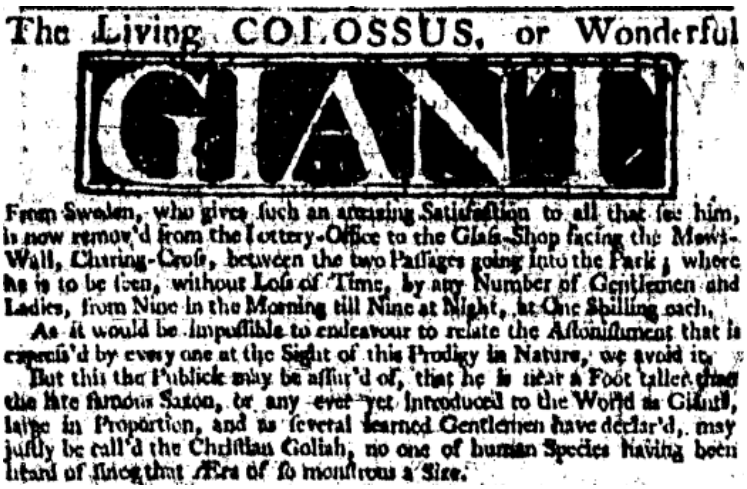

The Living COLOSSUS, or Wonderful
GIANT
From Sweden, who gives such an amazing Satisfaction to all that see him, is now remov'd from the Lottery-Office to the Glass-Shop facing the Mews-Wall, Charing-Cross, between the two Passages going into the Park; where he is to be seen, without Loss of Time, by any Number of Gentlemen and Ladies, from Nine in the Morning till Nine at Night, at One Shilling each.
As it would be impossible to endeavour to relate the Astonishment that is expres'd by every one at the Sight of this Prodigy in Nature, we avoid it.
But this the Publick may be assur'd of, that he is near a Foot taller than the late famous Saxon, or any ever yet introduced to the World as Giants, large in Proportion, and as several learned Gentlemen have declar'd, may justly be call'd the Christian Goliah, no one of human Species having been heard of since that Æra of so monstrous a Size.

Figure 3.6: Notice promoting Cajanus's appearances, published in the *London Daily Advertiser,* 11 February 1742.

These notices continue to highlight Cajanus's foreignness and extraordinary height, while his public image takes on a new complexity, foregrounding his ability to unite seemingly contradictory qualities within his person. This contradiction is presented as deriving from an apparent tension between what Cajanus *is* – a giant – and what he *does* – conduct himself as a gentleman. The advertisement published from 11 February onwards, for instance, characterises Cajanus's excessive height, which exceeds that of all who had previously been "introduced to the World as Giants," as 'monstrous' and, by invoking the name of Goliath, again highlights his foreignness and extraordinary height. This notion of Cajanus's monstrosity is immediately subverted, however, when the notice characterises him as a Christian, thereby implying that during his encounter with the 'learned Gentlemen,' perhaps a reference to Cajanus's appearance before the Royal Society, Cajanus conducted himself in a way that led them to draw this conclusion about his character. Both notices' continual emphasis on *doing* in addition to *being* further highlights the centrality of performance to the construction of Cajanus's complex public image.

The History of Cajanus, The Swedish Giant (1742)

This sense of Cajanus's public identity as both created through performance and defined by complexity and contradiction is echoed in a rather more colourful source, namely Thomas Boreman's semi-biographical work *The History of Cajanus, The Swedish Giant* (1742). This volume contains the only surviving detailed account of Cajanus's London exhibitions. Boreman, the first professional publisher to cater primarily to children (Demers),

appears to have had a penchant for giants: between 1740 and 1742, he published a series of miniature volumes ironically entitled the *Gigantick Histories of the Curiosities of London* (Demers) and the *History of Cajanus's* frontispiece refers to his bookstall "near the two giants in Guildhall".[13] Although the title page of the *History,* which, like the *Gigantick Histories* was published in miniature format and presumably aimed at children, does not specify the month of the volume's publication, cross-referencing the book's claims with information contained in newspaper advertisements reveals that publication is likely to have taken place in September of 1742. In the *History*'s eleventh chapter, Boreman states that at the time of writing, Cajanus was seriously ill (110) and indeed, in late September, newspaper notices promoting Cajanus's performances refer both to the illness from which he had recovered and to the *History*'s publication. An advertisement published in the *Daily Advertiser* on 27 September, for instance, both mentions Cajanus's illness and states that "The fictitious Life of this Giant, which has been publish'd, will be answer'd at a proper time". This rebuttal indicates that like the *Apology for the Life of T--------- C-----, Comedian*, Boreman's *History* is a valuable source that must be treated with caution due to its tendency to frequently and liberally blend fact and fiction. The book's opening chapters, for instance, present its juvenile readers with a rather fairy-tale-like version of Cajanus's early life, complete with vague references to his descent from a "race of Giants" (20) and a detailed and unflattering description of Cajanus's courtship with Dolla Rucina, a beautiful, virtuous, and accomplished farmer's daughter (24-5). However, despite the fact that large segments of the work are obviously and openly fictional, as I will demonstrate, much of what Boreman writes about Cajanus's movements in London can be corroborated by other contemporary sources. When engaged with carefully, then, the *History* provides valuable insights into the nature of Cajanus's London performances. Reading it in dialogue with sources such as advertisements promoting Cajanus's appearances reveals that Cajanus actively participated in the production of his public image – both by devising the terms in which he was described in newspaper notices and, potentially, through his involvement in the *History*'s publication.

Reading the *History* in dialogue with other sources, including newspaper notices and Cajanus's contract with Sweris, reaffirms the sense of Cajanus as an independent agent who actively takes control of the way in which he interacts with the public. In doing so, Boreman

[13] The *Gigantick Histories*' ten volumes discuss various 'curious' features of London landmarks, including the Guildhall, the Tower, St Paul's and Westminster Abbey (Stone 36-41). The volume on Cajanus is the tenth in the series.

is often far from complementary: the *History*'s 'Cajanus' is a successful businessman who chooses where and how he shows his body but does so primarily out of greed. This is exemplified by Boreman's account of Cajanus's arrangement with John Pinchbeck, which he frames in fantastical terms, perhaps in an attempt to cater to his juvenile audience. Here, John Pinchbeck appears as the "giant Pinchbone, *one of the sons of* Tubal Cain, *the inventor of a rich metal nearly resembling gold*" (77),[14] who pays Cajanus 200 pounds to "have the use of him" for a period of six months (80-1). Boreman's Cajanus agrees to the proposal and signs an agreement with Pinchbeck/Pinchbone. While Boreman's characterisation of Cajanus's arrangement with Pinchbeck is likely grossly exaggerated – it seems unlikely that an experienced performer and businessman like Cajanus would sign away control over his body like that – it is nonetheless remarkable that Boreman presents Cajanus's consent as essential to this trade. Boreman further implies that Cajanus was directly involved in shaping his public image. He states that immediately after his arrival in London, Cajanus "began to publish his arrival" (76). Indeed, when introducing Cajanus to his readers in the *History*'s introduction, Boreman claims to merely echo the way in which Cajanus describes himself:

> The character that this Swedish Giant gives of himself, of his being the greatest wonder, of the kind, that ever appeared in this kingdom; that all ranks of people receive a pleasing satisfaction that see him, and express their surprize at his huge stature; which, he says, exceeds that of any Giant since the great Goliah of Gath, whom David slew. (xvi-xvii)

Boreman continues to suggest that Cajanus devised the 'Christian Goliath' persona, stating that he wants to give his readers "the History of this mighty *Christian Goliah*, as he calls himself" (xviii). Boreman even goes so far as to suggest that Cajanus was involved in the publication of the *History*. In the *History*'s final chapter title, for instance, he claims to describe "*How well pleas'd Giant* Puff *will be, at the reading of this History. How many handfuls of little boys and girls six-pences he will give the author for writing of it; and whether he will not set down all the fibs the gigantick author has told, and puff them up*" (124-5). Whether this particular claim is true is difficult to ascertain. While the volume's list of subscribers includes "Giant Cajanus," who supposedly ordered "100 Books" (vii),

[14] Tubal-cain appears in the Old Testament, where he is described as "an instructer of every artificer in brass and iron" (KJV Genesis 4:22) – a reference to the Pinchbeck family's wealth which derived not only from their exploits as owners of fairground booths exhibiting automatons, but also from "the invention of 'pinchbeck', a copper and zinc alloy having the appearance of gold, by Christopher Pinchbeck [sr]" (Shenton).

Boreman was known to add imaginary subscribers to these lists.[15] Further, the rebuttal that was published in the *Daily Advertiser* on 27 September and which states that "the fictitious Life of this Giant, which has been publish'd, will be answer'd at a proper time," could have been a sign of genuine anger at the *History*'s frequently unflattering portrayal of Cajanus. At the same time, the fact that the exhibitions' advertisements and the *History* refer to each other might have been a strategy meant to encourage audiences to both attend Cajanus's performances and buy Boreman's books to shape their own opinion, thus increasing profits for both parties. The *History* could just as well have been an example of negative publicity – a tactic which actors like David Garrick successfully utilised to shape their public image (Ritchie 8). In any case, reading Boreman's *History* in dialogue with other sources documenting Cajanus's London activities suggests that Cajanus likely was involved in the production and circulation of his public image.

While Boreman's *History* provides valuable insights into the way in which Cajanus operated both as a performer and as a producer of his public image, it is the work's account of Cajanus's exhibitions that is most significant, as it indicates how Cajanus acted out the contradictory public persona which contemporary sources continually refer to in his performances. In the *History*'s eleventh chapter, Boreman includes an account of Cajanus's "present situation . . . with a description of him" (100), which he claims is intended specifically for those among his young readers who "have no opportunity to see this big Man" (xvii). He writes:

> [Cajanus] is generally seated in a great chair, suited to his bulk and dignity, and ready to receive company. His dress is a rich banjan, after the Turkish mode; double breasted, and ornamented with gold, and girt round the waste with a splendid sash, or girdle, like that of Giant *Gog*'s in Guildhall: All his other habit is answerable to this, and exactly fitted to the gravity of a peacable Giant. Having enter'd *Goliah*'s apartment, paid obeisance to his Giant Majesty, and survey'd him a little time sitting, he begins to rouse, for he generally seems drowsy; which we may impute to illness: he fills a glass of wine, and drinks to himself (for if any of the company are minded to drink with him, they must send for their bottle.) He then rises up, and surprizes all spectators with his great height and bigness. And having stalk'd backwards and

[15] The *Gigantick Histories*' second volume, for instance, puts the statues of the 'Guildhall giants' Corineus and Gogmagog down for 100 books each (vi, ix).

> forwards in his room, half a dozen turns, and entertain'd the company with a song, in a voice as loud as the great pipe of a large organ, and in a tune like *Tiddle-doll over his gingerbread*; he drinks another glass, and perhaps another, if he fancies it. Then he shews how high he can reach; answers civil questions, and suffers some parts of his body to be measur'd; and these are the chief exploits he performs, excepting it be to snuff a candle, or to let a fart. (103-6)

Boreman's Cajanus counters his audience's desire for gaining access to his body with a performance which continually exposes itself as performance – through its exaggerated theatricality and through the impossible contradiction of the 'Christian Goliath' persona which Cajanus constructs by using oscillating overexpression. Because the *History*'s description brings together key elements of other surviving accounts of Cajanus's public conduct and reflects the central features of his public persona as circulated in newspaper advertisements promoting his performances, it is highly credible.

Boreman's description of Cajanus's exhibitions reveals that, as during his encounter with members of the Royal Society, Cajanus presented his audiences with an exaggeratedly theatrical performance. Cajanus utilises both an elaborate costume – a "splendid sash," a "rich banjan, after the Turkish mode," presumably in addition to the elaborate double-breasted, gold-trimmed Polish uniform in which he is consistently pictured and whose purchase is mentioned in his contract with Sweris – and props – a wine bottle, a candle, a large chair, presumably custom-made to suit Cajanus's 'bulk and dignity'. Even the small room in which Cajanus receives his audience serves as a stage that, in the course of the performance, highlights both his size and the loudness of his voice. Boreman explicitly describes Cajanus as playing a character: spectators enter "*Goliah*'s apartment" and "pa[y] obeisance to his Giant Majesty". Pictorial evidence supports this impression of Cajanus operating much like an actor; two surviving images depicting Cajanus mid-performance both show him gesticulating and speaking to his audience. The frontispiece of Boreman's *History* shows Cajanus, wearing his uniform and his head nearly touching the room's ceiling, surrounded by what seems to be comparatively small but well-dressed adults who look up to him while he appears to point to something with his right hand (see Fig. 3.7).

Figure 3.7: Frontispiece of Thomas Boreman's *History*. London, 1742.

In a drawing by Bernard Picart, created during one of Cajanus's early Haarlem stays, this is even more pronounced. Here, Cajanus, again dressed in a double breasted, trimmed uniform, which he wears underneath a floor-length gown, is depicted with his mouth open, gesticulating and seemingly addressing a group of well-dressed spectators (see Fig. 3.8).

Figure 3.8: Bernard Picart, “De reus Cajanus te Haarlem” (“The giant Cajanus of Haarlem”). Haarlem (?), 1683 – 1733. Image provided by the Rijksmuseum. CC0 1.0.

This elaborately costumed and choreographed performance is interspersed with moments in which Cajanus seemingly indulges his audience’s desire to gain access to his authentic body. He moves about, allows them to speak to him, to touch and measure him. Even though Boreman presents Cajanus’s drinking and farting primarily as further evidence for his greediness, rudeness, and the roughness of his manners, if they were, indeed, regular parts of his performance, they can be read as actions which offer spectators particularly intimate insights into the workings of his body. Potentially, they constituted remnants of the more earthy and physical kind of fairground performance described in Ward’s *London Spy* and discussed in this thesis’s second chapter. These actions might further have served to highlight Cajanus’s authentic embodiment – perhaps not unimportant since he had chosen to collaborate with Pinchbeck, whose family was renowned for creating automata. When he

refuses to share his wine, only "suffers some parts of his body to be measur'd" and, presumably, refuses to answer uncivil questions, Cajanus demonstrates that, despite the tantalising glimpses into the workings of his body which he offers over the course of this theatrical, carefully choreographed encounter, he remains completely in control.

Boreman's account further demonstrates that during this theatrical performance, Cajanus continually engages in oscillating overexpression in order to create the highly contradictory public persona of the 'Christian Goliath'. During this episode, Cajanus's conduct serves to exaggerate both the extraordinary otherness of his embodiment and his gentlemanly manner. He receives paying spectators while seated in his custom-made chair, which, at first glance, might make it difficult to appreciate the full scale of his body, only to then suddenly rise to "[surprise] all spectators with his great height and bigness". He employs his voice in a similar way, breaking his initial silence by singing "in a voice as loud as the great pipe of a large organ" to stun his audience. No longer a silent pantomime performer, Cajanus now engages in highly controlled noise-making, with the sudden shift from static silence towards loudness and movement appearing like a calculated effort to display the extremity of his extraordinary embodiment to the greatest advantage. Here, Cajanus employs overexpression, as he "enhanc[es] . . . [and] exaggerat[es] the features through which [he] might be recognized and evaluated by [his] spectators" (Fawcett 3).

In the same performance in which he presents himself as an exaggeratedly, even frighteningly 'other' giant, however, Cajanus also employs overexpression to highlight those features that evidently prompted spectators to characterise him as a harmless Christian gentleman. Even though Boreman's *History* consistently characterises Cajanus as ill-mannered, greedy and cowardly, here, his account is more nuanced, for instance when he describes Cajanus as a "peacable Giant" who only responds to "civil questions". He describes how Cajanus counters his previous performance of potentially threatening physicality with the image of a gentleman who is able to make civil conversation. This sense of Cajanus's civility surfaces prominently in another account of his performances, published some time before Boreman's *History*. On 24 April 1742, the *London Daily Advertiser* published not only a

notice announcing Cajanus's imminent departure to Oxford, but also a poem entitled "*Written extempore by a Gentleman on seeing the Giant at Charing-Cross*":[16]

> Amazing Man! Of such stupendous Size,
>
> As moves, at once, our Wonder and Surprize.
>
> The Son of Kish (being Head and Shoulders taller)
>
> Was chose a King, to govern all the smaller:
>
> Had you been there, the stately Monarch Saul,
>
> Had had no Title to that sacred Call.
>
> Repair to Oxford, that sublime Retreat,
>
> The Source of Wisdom, and the Muses Seat;
>
> Her learned Sons (who rummage Nature's Ways)
>
> Shall come with Pleasure, and with Wonder gaze:
>
> In ev'ry Science there each curious Spark,
>
> May mark how Nature has o'er-shot her Mark.

While the poet does refer to the extraordinariness of Cajanus's "stupendous Size," the breathless terms in which he describes his encounter with Cajanus – which provoked amazement, wonder, surprise, even pleasure – suggests that Boreman's description downplays those elements of Cajanus's performances which elicited the 'Christian Goliath' moniker. The link he constructs between Cajanus and Saul, the Old Testament king, is particularly revealing here. In the first book of Samuel, Saul, the son of Kish, is described as "a choice young man, and a goodly: and there was not among the children of Israel a goodlier person than he: from his shoulders and upward he was higher than any of the people" (KJV 1 Samuel 9:1-2). The same text later describes how Saul was anointed as the first King of Israel and how he led his people in the battle against the Philistines, which was ended by David defeating Goliath (KJV

[16] It seems likely that this poem was not a puff but written by a spectator, as its title claims. Unlike the notices promoting Cajanus's previous appearances, this poem is printed not alongside other notices advertising goods or entertainments but in the paper's news section. Further, as the notice accompanying this poem reveals, Cajanus was supposed to leave London on the following day, so this would have been an inopportune moment for commissioning such an elaborate advertisement.

1 Samuel 17:1-58). The poem's author thus does not only, like the Bible text, construct a link between tallness and greatness, but also positions Cajanus as aligned not with the monstrous Philistine Goliath but with the king whose warrior defeated him. Both Boreman's *History* and this gentleman spectator's poem thus highlight that Cajanus's performances were not only constructed to highlight his otherness, but also to emphasise his civility.

The contrast between these contradictory modes as well as the performativity of the way in which Cajanus creates it is illustrated by Boreman's description of the song Cajanus sings immediately after having risen and "surprize[d] all spectators with his great height and bigness". This song, according to Boreman, is reminiscent of that sung by "*Tiddle-doll over his gingerbread*". "Tiddle-Doll," or "Tiddy-Doll" was an eccentric and "celebrated vendor of gingerbread" who was known to "dress like a person of rank" while selling his wares and whose nickname derived from the snippets of popular ballads which typically ended his harangue (Hindley 108-9). By creating a link with 'Tiddle-doll,' the singing street vendor who uses clothing to perform a social status which was higher than his own, Boreman highlights the performativity of Cajanus's conduct. What is more, even though it is impossible to determine whether Cajanus purposefully copied 'Tiddle-doll's' delivery, Boreman's account indicates that Cajanus, having presented himself as an exaggeratedly 'other,' foreign giant, confronted his audience with a tune that sounded both unthreatening and familiar. At the same time, however, Boreman suggests that the way in which Cajanus sings the song – "in a voice as loud as the great pipe of a large organ," an effect that was likely heightened by the smallness of the performance space – again drew attention to the extraordinariness of the body from which this voice emerges. Here, Boreman's Cajanus employs oscillating overexpression, switching rapidly between exaggerating seemingly contradictory facets of his persona and therefore highlighting the performativity of his intervention.

The clothing he wears during his exhibitions similarly highlights the contradiction inherent in Cajanus's 'Christian Goliath' persona. Boreman specifies, for instance, that Cajanus's sash was "like that of Giant *Gog*'s in Guildhall" (102-3), referring to Gogmagog and Corineus, two legendary giants whose effigies had been enshrined in London's Guildhall since at least the early seventeenth century (Scherb 75). Of course, Boreman might have noticed and pointed to this link solely due to his own connection to the Guildhall – a building in which he appears to have had a bookstall and to which he had dedicated two volumes of his *Gigantick Histories*, in which he discussed Gogmagog and Corineus. However, it is also

possible that somebody – perhaps Cajanus or one of his associates – added this sash, which is not featured in Picart's depiction of the costume he wore in Haarlem, precisely because it resembled that worn by "Giant *Gog*". The sash, then, does not only invoke associations of Britain's distant, mythical past, but also presents Londoners with a familiar picture. This tension between otherness and familiarity is also created by Cajanus's other apparel. Boreman's description appears to indicate that Cajanus wore a banyan cut "after the Turkish mode" over his Polish uniform, as depicted in Picart's drawing.[17] While Cajanus's uniform signified his allegiance to a foreign military, the banyan was an "Asian hybrid garment" which originated in Japan, but was, at least in the English-speaking world, associated with India (Lemire 372-3). Popular both in the Netherlands, Cajanus's country of residence, and in England, banyans were "[a]dopted by monarchs and aspiring gentry alike" and worn both by the European upper classes as well as by scholars and artists (Gernerd 402). Thus, when Cajanus puts on a banyan, he overexpresses his otherness by evoking associations with both Asia and Turkey but simultaneously positions himself as both a gentleman and a scholar or artist. As I will reveal in my discussion of his poetry, these were roles which Cajanus continually sought to perform publicly. In addition, as Beverly Lemire states, banyans were highly gendered items of clothing, representing "urbane, successful and erudite masculinity" (375). Aspiring men keen to embody this newly emerging "manly social ideal" (Lemire 376) took to wearing banyans at home and made sure to be pictured in them.[18] Through his conduct and clothing then, Cajanus, the son of a Finnish pastor, employs overexpression to present himself as much more 'other' – physically, ethnically, even temporarily – than he really was, while simultaneously signalling his membership of a new European urban, male, erudite elite.

During his 1741/2 London stay, Cajanus transformed himself from a performer who had attained celebrity status but whose voice had remained absent from public discourse into a celebrity who actively shaped his own public perception. As his contract with his business partner Roelof Sweris indicates, Cajanus was able to control the terms on which he performed and was further able to keep a majority of the profits resulting from his performances. No longer limited to only playing the pantomime giant, Cajanus now primarily performed in elaborate, carefully choreographed exhibitions, during which he employed oscillating

[17] That it is not included in the *History*'s engraving might be due to the volume's miniature format, which would have made producing a more detailed picture difficult.
[18] Samuel Pepys, for instance, records borrowing a banyan so that he could be depicted wearing it in his 1666 portrait (Lemire 375).

overexpression in order to construct the contradictory public persona of the 'Christian Goliath'. This public image was then circulated in promotional materials including newspaper notices and Boreman's *History* – works in whose publication Cajanus was likely involved. Through the starkness of the contradiction inherent in the 'Christian Goliath' persona, as well as through his exhibitions' exaggerated theatricality, Cajanus highlighted the performativity of his intervention and thereby positioned himself as a performing subject, rather than an exhibited object.

Haarlem 1745-1749: Cajanus's Poetic Self-Fashioning

After leaving London, Cajanus returned to the Netherlands, the country in which he had lived on and off since his first trip to England in 1734. While he appears to have operated as an itinerant performer during the first decades of his career, with his travels leading him all over Europe, he seems to have been based in Amsterdam between the early 1730s and 1745. In Amsterdam, he lodged in an inn called "Blauw-Jan" (Sliggers 16), which Jan Barentsz Westerhof, the inn's first proprietor, had transformed into a kind of cabinet of curiosities. The "Blauw-Jan" housed exotic birds and animals and, outside of the fair season, extraordinarily embodied performers, including people with gigantism, dwarfism, or other physical abnormalities, as well as acrobats and non-European people like Tartars or Inuit (Sliggers 16). What this assortment of human and animal performers might have looked like is indicated by a 1751 engraving attributed to the German artist Christian Friedrich Fritzsch, which depicts the courtyard of the "Blauw-Jan" (see Fig. 3.9). It shows a large cage with various exotic animals, with Cajanus – clad in his uniform, including a turban, and accompanied by a man with dwarfism whom the image description identifies as Wybrant Lolkes[19] – standing amidst a group of genteel spectators.

[19] Wybrant Lolkes is depicted in another engraving attributed to Fritzsch. It shows a well-dressed man with dwarfism smoking a pipe, depicted in front of a rural landscape. The caption states "Wybrand Lolkes is den 2 Maart 1749 / 24 Jaar out geweest, en is hoog negenentwintig duÿm Geboren in Frieslandt, op' t Dorp Oostem" ("Wybrand Lolkes was 24 Years old on 2 March 1749, and is twenty-nine thumbs high, Born in Friesland, in the Village of Oostem"). A potentially handwritten note at the top of the engraving states that "He is to be seen in the Blauwe Jan" ("Hÿ is to zien in Blaauve Jan"). Like Cajanus, Lolkes travelled to England in order to perform there. He travelled to London in 1790 and performed alongside his wife who was of average height. A commemorative print depicts the couple and describes Lolkes as "Mynheer Wybrand Lolkes / The Celebrated Man in Miniature".

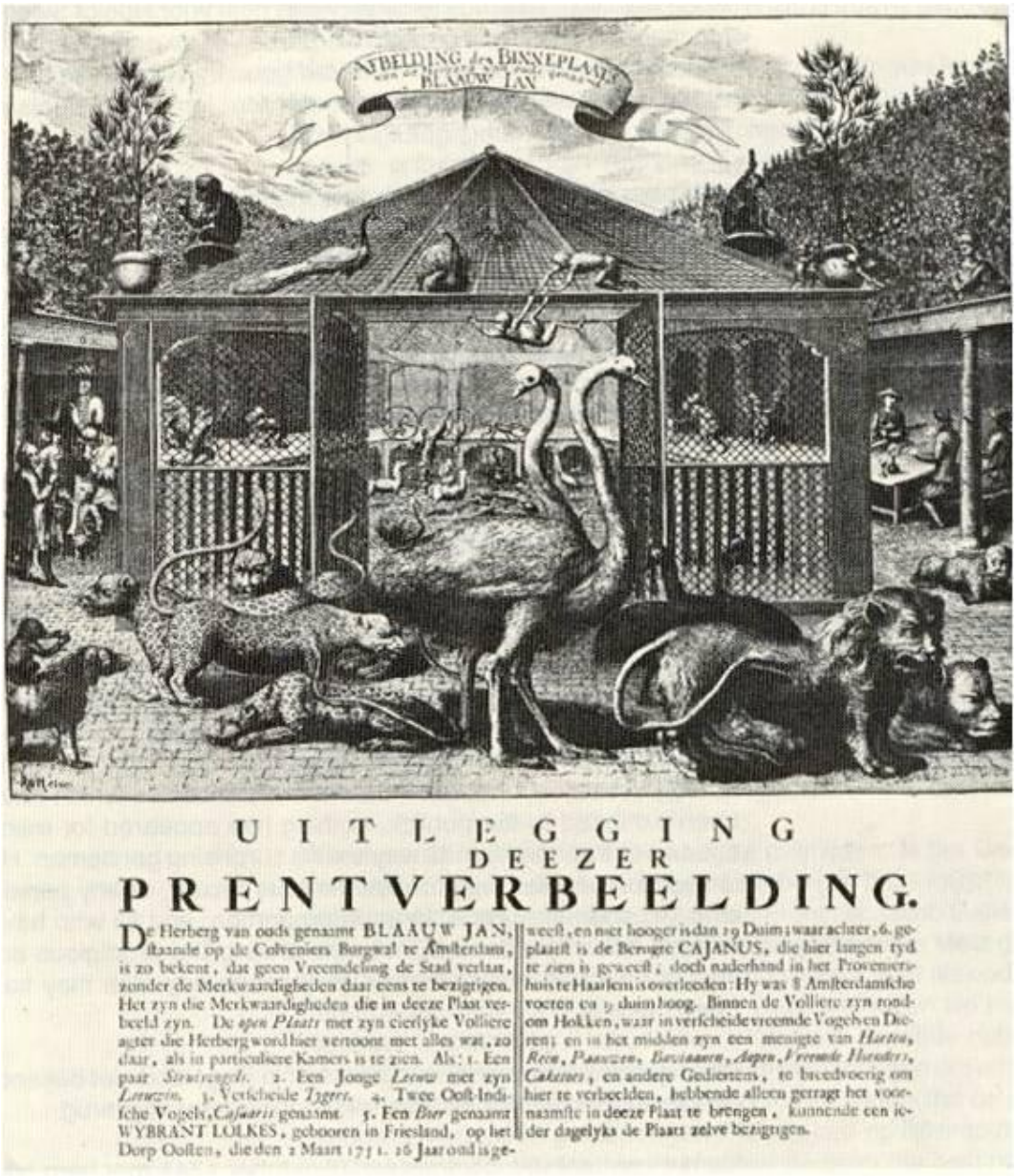


Figure 3.9: Christian Friedrich Fritzsch, “Menagerie van Blaauw Jan, 1751” (“Menagerie of the Blaauw Jan”). Amsterdam, 1751. Image provided by the Rijksmuseum. CC0 1.0.

Matthijs Schalekamp’s *Almanach Tot Nut Van 'T Algemeen, Voor het Jaar 1802* (*Almanach For The Benefit Of All, For the Year 1802*), meanwhile, describes how, in the “Blauw-Jan,” Cajanus would display his body to paying spectators during the day before spending his evenings with Amsterdam’s distinguished citizens, often playing checkers (115). The volume contains an engraving depicting this episode, which shows Cajanus, dressed not in his military uniform but in civilian clothing, playing checkers with a companion in a well-furnished room.

While they are surrounded by several male figures, none of them look at Cajanus, but instead either smoke or converse (see Fig. 3.10).

Figure 3.10: Engraving with the caption “Cajanus in de Herberg Blaauw jan” (“Cajanus in the Inn Blaauw Jan”) included in Matthijs Schalekamp’s *Almanach Tot Nut Van 'T Algemeen, Voor het Jaar 1802*, Amsterdam, 1802.

If the frontispiece of Boreman’s *History*, or Picart’s drawing of Cajanus in Haarlem had showed Cajanus as a performer who emphasises his otherness in theatrical performances, then this engraving depicts Cajanus as a private individual and member of polite society. This is further hinted at by Wilhelmus Greve, who, in *Natuur- En Geschiedkundige Verhandeling, Over De Reuzen En Dwergen* (*Natural And Historic Treatise On Giants and Dwarfs*, published in 1818), claims that Cajanus was frequently invited to visit the houses of

Amsterdam citizens, to which he travelled kneeling in a coach whose benches had been removed (24) – an anecdote which is repeated in Schalekamp's account (116). Taken together, then, these accounts suggest that it was by clearly separating his on-and offstage personas, that Cajanus managed to establish himself as a respectable Amsterdam citizen, thereby avoiding being considered an 'exhibit' whose status did not differ from that of the exotic animals who were kept on the premises.

Thanks to the success of his journeys abroad and his work as a performer in the "Blauw-Jan," Cajanus was financially stable enough to retire from performing and move to Haarlem in 1745 – a remarkable feat considering that he was only about 43 years old at the time. While Cajanus had visited Haarlem several times before retiring there (Marchant 111), it is likely that his eventual move to the city was due to his connection to the Metz family, which owned not only the "Blauw-Jan" but also the Haarlem inn "Het Vergulde Vlies" ("The Golden Fleece," Sliggers 21). The Metz family was one of the parties to whom Cajanus lent some of the money he had earned during his travels in the hope of earning a pension through interest payments – an endeavour whose success was limited as Cajanus's business partners, including the Metz family, often failed to pay up, which then required Cajanus to chase them with the help of agents acting on his behalf (Sliggers 21-2). Regardless of the scheme's eventual success, the largeness of the sums he lent to a range of people – in 1737, he lent 9000 Gulden to one merchant, in 1738, 3000 to another (Sliggers 22) – is testament to the success of his performances. Indeed, Schalekamp calls him a "very wealthy man" ("zeer gegoed man," 117). Therefore, in September 1745, Cajanus was able to move into Haarlem's Proveniershuis, a kind of rented property whose residents would pay a lump sum in exchange for accommodation and help with tasks such as cooking or cleaning (Sliggers 22). Once he moved to Haarlem, Cajanus effectively retired from the stage, only making occasional trips to Amsterdam to show himself in the "Blauw-Jan" and earn money (Schalekamp 115).

As I will demonstrate in this chapter's last section, however, Cajanus's retirement from the stage did not mean that his 'autobiographical performances' stopped. Rather, they took on new forms, as now his performances of self occurred primarily in his poetry, in which he not only commemorated political events of national importance but also playfully engaged with and continued shaping his complex public persona. While his London exhibitions were intended to attract paying customers, the overexpressive poems he produced in Haarlem did not serve as saleable products but rather as tools with which he shaped his fellow

Haarlemmers' perceptions of and attitudes towards him. In his poetry, he translates the exaggerated theatricality and performativity that defined his exhibitions into a distinct literary style, which he then utilises to evoke the same contradictions that stood at the heart of his 'Christian Goliath' persona. As he had done in London in 1741/2, here, too, he employs oscillating overexpression to construct contradictory personas – that of the civilised, accomplished gentleman and man of letters and that of the exaggeratedly 'other' giant – and then puts them in dialogue with each other. Through the starkness of the resulting contrast, Cajanus again highlights the performativity of his intervention and thereby positions himself as a performing subject. In his Dutch poetry, however, Cajanus adds a new, distinct facet to this persona: he presents himself not only as generally civilised, intelligent or Christian, but displays an almost aggressive Dutch patriotism and devout Protestantism. This suggests that Cajanus was able to navigate changing cultural contexts as well as a change in the market he was addressing: while in London, descriptions of his intriguing and contradictory persona were intended to attract paying spectators, in Haarlem, he was attempting to establish himself as an exemplary citizen of his new home town. That these efforts achieved some level of success is evidenced by contemporary poetry, which echoes the terms in which Cajanus described himself.

This last section of the chapter poses unique methodological challenges. Cajanus's poems are the only sources he authored himself and therefore offer unique insights into his efforts to shape his complex public persona. Written on the occasion of the election of the Stadhouder[20] and the birth of the Stadhouder's son respectively, these poems contain distinctly autobiographical elements. Cajanus repeatedly manages to insert himself and his own complex public identity into his work, for instance when he compares himself to biblical and historical giants like Goliath or Klaas van Kieten or when he protests his devotion to his new home country and the Protestant religion. However, though it might be tempting, I am not reading these poems as expressions of Cajanus's 'authentic' self. I cannot and do not want to, for instance, prove that Cajanus 'really was' as aggressively patriotic and devoutly religious as he presents himself in his poetry. Instead, I am reading these poems as autobiographical performances, which continue, on the page, the work of creating and maintaining the public persona which Cajanus had begun long before he first put pen to paper. This sense of Cajanus's poems as performances rather than true expressions of his feelings is

[20] 'Stadhouder' or 'Stadholder' is the "title borne by the chief magistrate of the Dutch republic" (OED.2.b.).

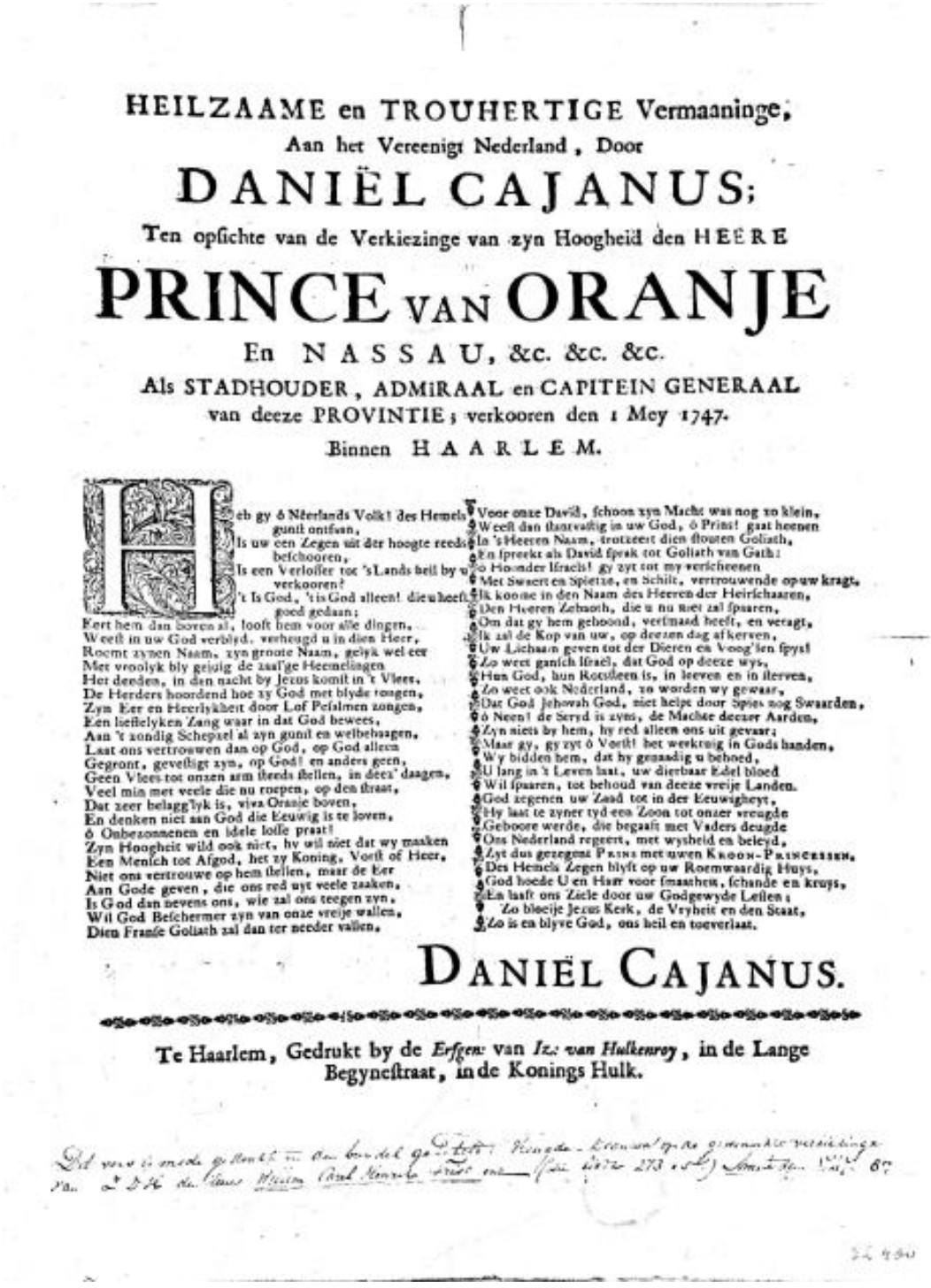
reinforced by his decision to write not in his native language, Finnish, but in Dutch, the language of his adopted home country. This, however, leads to this section's second methodological challenge: the question of how to translate and engage with these Dutch-language works. Both my translation and my analysis of these lyrical performances of self clearly prioritise content over form. While I have endeavoured to translate the poems' contents as accurately as possible, my translations are decidedly non-literary. I have not, for instance, replicated the poems' metre or rhyme scheme, but have focused instead on identifying the reference points which Cajanus uses to negotiate his own identity and the sources he incorporates into his writing. Further, I am not attempting to determine the literary quality of his writings. Indeed, for the purposes of my analysis, whether his poems are formally accomplished is less interesting than the question of why he chose poetry, and, specifically, occasional poetry, as a medium for his performances of self. To ensure transparency, as I have done throughout this chapter, when quoting from Cajanus's poetry, or other Dutch-language sources, I am including the original Dutch sections as well as my translation. I have reproduced, transcribed and translated Cajanus' poems in the appendices.

"Salubrious and True-Hearted Exhortation," May 1747

Cajanus's first published poem, "Heilzaame en Trouhertige Vermaaninge, Aan het Vereenigt Nederland, Door Daniël Cajanus; Ten opsichte van de Verkiezinge van zyn Hoogheid den Heere Prince van Oranje en Nassau, &c. &c. &c., Als Stadhouder, Admiraal en Capitein Generaal van deze Provintie, verkooren den 1 Mey 1747 Binnen Haarlem" ("Salubrious and True-Hearted Exhortation, To the United Netherlands, by Daniël Cajanus On the event of the Election of his Highness the Lord Prince of Orange and Nassau &c.&c.&c. as Stadhouder, Admiral and Captain General of these Provinces; elected the first of May 1747. In Haarlem") was published in 1747.[21] In the poem, Cajanus comments on the election of the Stadhouder William IV, praising the new sovereign, but also examining the Dutch people's reaction to that event. The roughly A3-sized sheet has survived in Haarlem's Noord-Hollands Archief, which houses several pieces of writing documenting Cajanus's time in Haarlem (see Fig. 3.11). However, as an undated handwritten note on the bottom of the pamphlet indicates, the 58-line poem, along with 118 others, is also included in a collection entitled *Vreugde-Klanken Op De Gewenschte Verkiezinge Van Zyne Doorluchtige Hoogheid*

[21] For a complete transcription and translation, see Appendix 2.

Den Heere Willem Carel Hendrik Friso ("*Sounds of Joy Upon The Desired Election Of His Highness The Lord Willem Carel Henrik Friso [William IV]*"), which was published in Amsterdam, also in 1747. Differences between the poem's two printed versions are minimal and limited to slight variations in spelling, punctuation and capitalisation. In the following section, I will quote from the original pamphlet, as Cajanus's influence on the design and layout of the initial, Haarlem version of his work was likely far greater than his ability to determine the specifics of the Amsterdam reprint.



HEILZAAME en TROUHERTIGE Vermaaninge,
Aan het Vereenigt Nederland, Door
DANIËL CAJANUS;
Ten opſichte van de Verkiezinge van zyn Hoogheid den HEERE
PRINCE VAN ORANJE
En NASSAU, &c. &c. &c.
Als STADHOUDER, ADMIRAAL en CAPITEIN GENERAAL
van deeze PROVINTIE; verkooren den 1 Mey 1747.
Binnen HAARLEM.

Heb gy ô Nêerlands Volk! des Hemels gunſt ontfaan,
Is uw een Zegen uit der hoogte reeds beſchooren,
Is een Verloſſer tot 'sLands heil by u verkooren?
't Is God, 't is God alleen! die u heeft goed gedaan:
Eert hem dan boven al, looft hem voor alle dingen,
Weeſt in uw God verblyd, verheugd u in dien Heer,
Roemt zynen Naam, zyn groote Naam, gelyk wel eer
Met vroolyk bly gezigt de zaal'ge Heemelingen
Het deeden, in den nacht by Jezus komſt in 't Vlees,
De Herders hoordend hoe zy God met blyde tongen,
Zyn Eer en Heerlykheit door Lof Pſalmen zongen,
Een lieflelyken Zang waar in dat God bewees,
Aan 't zondig Schepzel al zyn gunſt en welbehaagen,
Laat ons vertrouwen dan op God, op God alleen
Gegront, geveſtigt zyn, op God! en anders geen,
Geen Vlees tot onzen arm ſtreds ſtellen, in deez' daagen,
Veel min met veele die nu roepen, op den ſtraat,
Dat zeer belaggʼlyk is, vivat Oranje boven,
En denken niet aan God die Eeuwig is te loven,
ô Onbezonnenen en idele lolle praat!
Zyn Hoogheit wild ook niet, hy wil niet dat wy maaken
Een Menſch tot Afgod, het zy Koning, Voorſt of Heer,
Niet ons vertrouwe op hem ſtellen, maar de Eer
Aan Gode geven, die ons red uyt veele zaaken,
Is God dan nevens ons, wie zal ons teegen zyn,
Wil God Beſchermer zyn van onze vreije wallen,
Dien Franſe Goliath zal dan ter needer vallen,
Voor onze David, ſchoon zyn Macht was nog zo klein,
Weeſt dan ſtantvastig in uw God, ô Prins! gaat heenen
In 's Heeren Naam, trotzeert dien ſtouten Goliath,
En ſpreekt als David ſprak tot Goliath van Gath:
ô Hoonder Iſraels! gy zyt tot my verſcheenen
Met Swaert en Spiettse, en Schilt, vertrouwende op uw kragt,
Ik koome in den Naam des Heeren der Heirſchaaren,
Den Heeren Zebaoth, die u nu niet zal ſpaaren,
Om dat gy hem gehoond, verſmaad heeft, en veragt,
Ik zal de Kop van uw, op deezen dag afkerven,
Uw Lichaam geven tot der Dieren en Voog'len ſpyst
Zo weet ganſch Iſrael, dat God op deeze wys,
Hun God, hun Roſtleen is, in leeven en in ſterven,
Zo weet ook Nederland, zo worden wy gewaar,
Dat God Jehovah God, niet helpt door Spies noch Swaarden,
ô Neen! de Seryd is zyns, de Machte deezer Aarden,
Zyn niets by hem, hy red alleen ons uit gevaar;
Maar gy, gy zyt ô Vorſt! het werktuig in Gods handen,
Wy bidden hem, dat hy genaadig u behoed,
U lang in 't Leven laat, uw dierbaar Edel bloed
Wil ſpaaren, tot behoud van deeze vreije Landen.
God zegenen uw Zaad tot in der Eeuwigheyt,
Hy laat te zyner tyd een Zoon tot onzer vreugde
Geboore werde, die begaaft met Vaders deugde
Ons Nederland regeert, met wysheid en beleyd,
Zyt dus gezegend PRINS met uwen KROON-PRINCESSEN,
Des Hemels Zegen blyft op uw Roemwaardig Huys,
God hoede U en Haar voor ſmaasheit, ſchande en kruys,
En laaft ons Ziele door uw Godgewyde Leſſen:
Zo bloeije Jezus Kerk, de Vryheit en den Staat,
Zo is en blyve God, ons heil en toeverlaat.

DANIËL CAJANUS.

Te Haarlem, Gedrukt by de *Erfgen:* van *Iz: van Hulkenroy*, in de Lange Begyneſtraat, in de Konings Hulk.

Figure 3.11: Daniel Cajanus's poem "Heilzaame en Trouhertige Vermaaninge" ("Salubrious and True-Hearted Exhortation"), printed in Haarlem in 1747.

Cajanus's literary activity, particularly his decision to adopt poetry as a medium for his self-fashioning, as well as the way in which he disseminates the resulting work, displays several parallels to the overexpressive performances in which he had engaged prior to his

retirement from the stage. Indeed, in his poems, Cajanus appears to translate the techniques he had employed during his London exhibitions onto the page. Like those London exhibitions, for instance, Cajanus's literary performances of self are exaggeratedly performative. His "Exhortation to the United Netherlands" is not a casual, private reflection on the state of the nation and his own place within it, but a long, rhyming poem which Cajanus wrote in a language that was not his mother tongue. What is more, as its title indicates, the poem's raison d'être is to seek out an audience and to not only remind that audience of the occasion the poem claims to mark but also to familiarise it with the name and views of its author. That Cajanus's poem is as much about himself as it is about the newly elected Stadhouder is indicated by the way in which it is presented to its audience. While Cajanus tended to perform under monikers like the 'Swedish Giant,' during the later part of his career, he increasingly used his own name when promoting his work. Here, too, the poem's title highlights not only the name of its subject, the Prince of Orange, in large capital letters, but also that of Cajanus, its author. Cajanus's name – again printed in large capitals – is repeated at the end of the poem, in the manner of a signature.[22] The preface of the Amsterdam collection in which his poem was reprinted further suggests that Cajanus took pains to seek out a national, in addition to a regional audience for his work. In the preface, the collection's editors provide some insights into the way in which it was assembled. They state that they published an advertisement in the newspapers asking poetry enthusiasts to provide them with poems celebrating the election of the Stadhouder, regardless of whether they had been published previously or not (*2). They also insist that they obtained all authors' or printers' consent before including them in this collection (*2-*3). This suggests that Cajanus used the wealth he had accumulated during his performance career to actively seek a larger audience later for his work. Cajanus's decision to voice his opinion on a political event of national importance in the shape of a rhyming poem, written in his second language and addressed to the people of his adopted country, and to then distribute that poem both on a regional and a national level demonstrates the high level of performativity that lay at the heart of his literary self-fashioning.

In his "Exhortation," Cajanus translates the excessiveness that was a central feature of his overexpressive London exhibitions, during which he exaggerated selected features of his public persona, onto the page. In London, he, the son of a Finnish vicar, had overexaggerated

[22] This capitalisation is maintained in the Amsterdam version.

his foreignness by presenting himself as an oriental giant. Here, he presents himself as an uber-devout Protestant by employing extensive, even excessive, references to the Bible. Cajanus references both the birth of Christ, "Praise [God's] Name, his great Name, just like in the past / With joyful, happy cheer, the blessed Inhabitants of Heaven / Did it, in the night at the coming of Jesus in the Flesh" ("Roemt zynen Naam, zyn groote Naam, gelyk wel eer / Met vroolyk bly gejuig de zaal'ge Heemelingen / Het deeded, in den nacht by Jezus komst in 't Vlees") and Goliath's defeat at the hands of David, "The French Goliath shall then fall down / Before our David" ("Dien Franse Goliath zal dan ter needer vallen, / Voor onze David"). At times, Cajanus adopts biblical language verbatim while managing to incorporate it into his poem's rhyme scheme, demonstrating both his religiosity and his linguistic skill. His retelling of the David and Goliath conflict, for instance, is strikingly close to the corresponding passage in 1 Samuel 17, 45-46 of the *Statenvertaling*, the most influential Dutch Bible translation at the time.[23] Slightly earlier, he includes an obscure and slightly unwieldy reference from the Old Testament: "Let us then trust in God, in God alone / Be grounded, settled, in God! and never, / Never make Flesh our arm, in these days" ("Laat ons vertrouwen dan op God, op God alleen / Gegront, gevestigt zyn, op God! En anders geen, / Geen Vlees tot onzen arm steeds stellen in deez' dagen"). This phrase, a reference to the translation of Jeremiah 17:5 in the *Statenvertaling*,[24] contains a warning against deriving strength from worldly matters which ties in well with Cajanus's agenda for this poem. By extensively referencing Biblical stories and appropriating Biblical language, by incorporating Bible verses, including this awkward translation of the originally Hebrew phrase, verbatim into a rhyming poem, Cajanus establishes his status as a learned, devout and linguistically accomplished man of letters, drawing attention to this facet of his public persona through overexpression.

[23] Cajanus, for instance, closely adapts David's address to Goliath. In the *Statenvertaling*, David exclaims: "Gij komt tot mij met een zwaard en met een spies en met een schild; maar ik kom tot u in den Naam van den Heere der heirscharen, den God der slagorden Israëls, Dien gij gehoond hebt" (1 Samuel 45). Cajanus's David delivers a remarkably similar speech:

> ô Hoonder Israels! Gy zyt tot my verscheenen
> Met Swaert en Spietze, en Schilt, vertrouwende op uw kragt,
> Ik koome in den Naam des Heeren der Heirschaaren,
> Den Heeren Zebaoth, die u nu niet zal spaaren,
> Om dat gy hem gehoond, versmaad heeft, en veragt.

[24] The *Statenvertaling*'s version is "Zo zegt de Heere: Vervloekt is de man die op een mens vertrouwt en vlees tot zijn arm stelt, en wiens hart van den Heere afwijkt". The King James Version translates Jeremia 17:5 as "Thus saith the Lord; Cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm, and whose heart departeth from the Lord".

A similar mechanism is at play in Cajanus's negotiation of his own position as a Dutch patriot. Cajanus's poem does not celebrate the Stadhouder's election and the festivities accompanying it uncritically. Rather, as the piece's title indicates, it takes the shape of an exhortation which Cajanus addresses to the Dutch people, devoting much space to admonishing them for their misguided expressions of patriotism, in which the quasi-religious celebration of the monarch threatens to displace genuine religious devotion. In the poem's opening passage, Cajanus asks, "Have you, O Dutch People, received Heaven's favour, / Has a Blessing from on high already been conferred onto you, / Has a Redeemer been elected to the Country's benefit?" ("Heb gy o Nêederlands Volk! Des Hemels gunst ontfaan, / Is uw een Zegen uit der hoogte reeds beschooren, / Is een Verlosser tot 's Lands Heil by u verkooren") – rhetorical questions which he then answers through the exclamation, "It is God, it is solely God! Who has done good for you" ("'t Is God, 't is God alleen! Die u heeft goed gedaan"). He continues, warning his readership not to join in "with the many who now call viva Orange above / In the street, which is very ridiculous, / And do not think of God who is to be praised Eternally" ("met veele die nu reopen, op den straat, / Da zeer belagg'lyk is, viva Oranje boven, / En denken niet aan God die Eeuwig is te loven"). Cajanus distances himself from such 'very ridiculous' manifestations of patriotism, addressing the Dutch from the position of an outsider who nonetheless assumes a certain authority. He proposes a new kind of patriotism that is loyal to the monarch but acknowledges God, not the house of Orange, as the source of all goodness, with his appropriation of biblical language lending his argument moral authority. In the course of the poem, he shifts towards presenting himself as a member of this group of conscientious patriots: "Let us then trust in God, in God alone" ("Laat ons vertrouwen dan op God, op God alleen"). Later, he imagines himself as sharing a nationality with his audience even more explicitly, when he refers to the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748) during which French troops occupied numerous regions belonging to the United Netherlands. Here, he casts the Netherlands, and specifically the new Stadhouder, as the Protestant David opposing Catholic France's Goliath:

If God then is beside us, who shall be against us,	Is God dan nevens ons, wie zal ons teegen zyn,
If God wants to be the Protector of our peaceful ramparts,	Wil God Beschermer zyn van onze vreije wallen,
The French Goliath shall then fall down,	Dien Franse Goliath zal dan ter needer vallen
Before our David.	Voor onze David.

It is through his criticism of supposedly irresponsible expressions of national pride and his performance of 'appropriate' patriotism that Cajanus imagines himself becoming a part of the people he is addressing. That Cajanus, a man who was not only a foreigner but was also considered a monster by some of his contemporaries, here positions himself as someone who may not only join in the national celebrations but who might judge and correct the Dutch people's expressions of patriotism, constitutes another act of overexpression.

In his "Exhortation," however, Cajanus does not only use overexpression to draw attention to the facets of his public persona that would have enabled him to appear as a well-integrated Dutch citizen. Instead, as in his exhibitions, he continues to engage in oscillating overexpression, contrasting the learnedness, the devoutness and the Dutch patriotism which he claims for himself in the first part of the poem with his extraordinary embodiment and his foreignness, thereby highlighting the features of his public persona that render him definitively 'other'. In doing so, he reproduces the contradiction that was so central to his London 'Christian Goliath' persona, once again employing that Biblical myth for his self-fashioning. Cajanus utilises the David and Goliath comparison to describe both the power dynamic between the Netherlands and France and to position the Netherlands as the morally superior and truly Christian conflicting party:

If God wants to be the Protector of our peaceful ramparts,	Wil God Beschermer zyn van onze vreije wallen,
The French Goliath shall then fall down,	Dien Frane Goliath zal dan ter needer valen,
Before our David, although his Power was ever so small,	Voor onze David, schoon zyn Macht was nog zo klein,
He was steadfast in your God, O Prince! Go forth	Weest danstantvastig in uw God, ô Prins! Gat heenen
In the Name of the Lord, defy this naughty Goliath,	In ’s Heern Naam, trotzeert dien stouten Gliath,
And speak as David spoke to Goliath of Gath:	En spreek als David sprak tot Goliath vn Gath:
O Mockers of Israel! You have appeared in front of me	ô Hoonder Israëls! Gy zyt tot my verscheenen
With Sword and Pike, and shield, trusting in your strength,	Met Swaert en Spietze, en Schilt, vertrouwende op uw kragt,
I come in the Name of the Lord of Hosts,	Ik koome in den Naam des Heeren der Heirschaaren,
The Lord Zebaoth, who will not spare you,	Den Heeren Zebaoth, die u niet zal spaaren,
Because you have mocked, scorned and despised him,	Om dat gy hem gehoond, versmaad heeft, en veragt,
I shall cut off this Head of yours on this day,	Ik zal de Kop van uw, op deezen dag afkerven,
Give your Corpse to the Animals and Birds as food!	Uw Lichaam geven tot der Dieren en Voog’len spys!

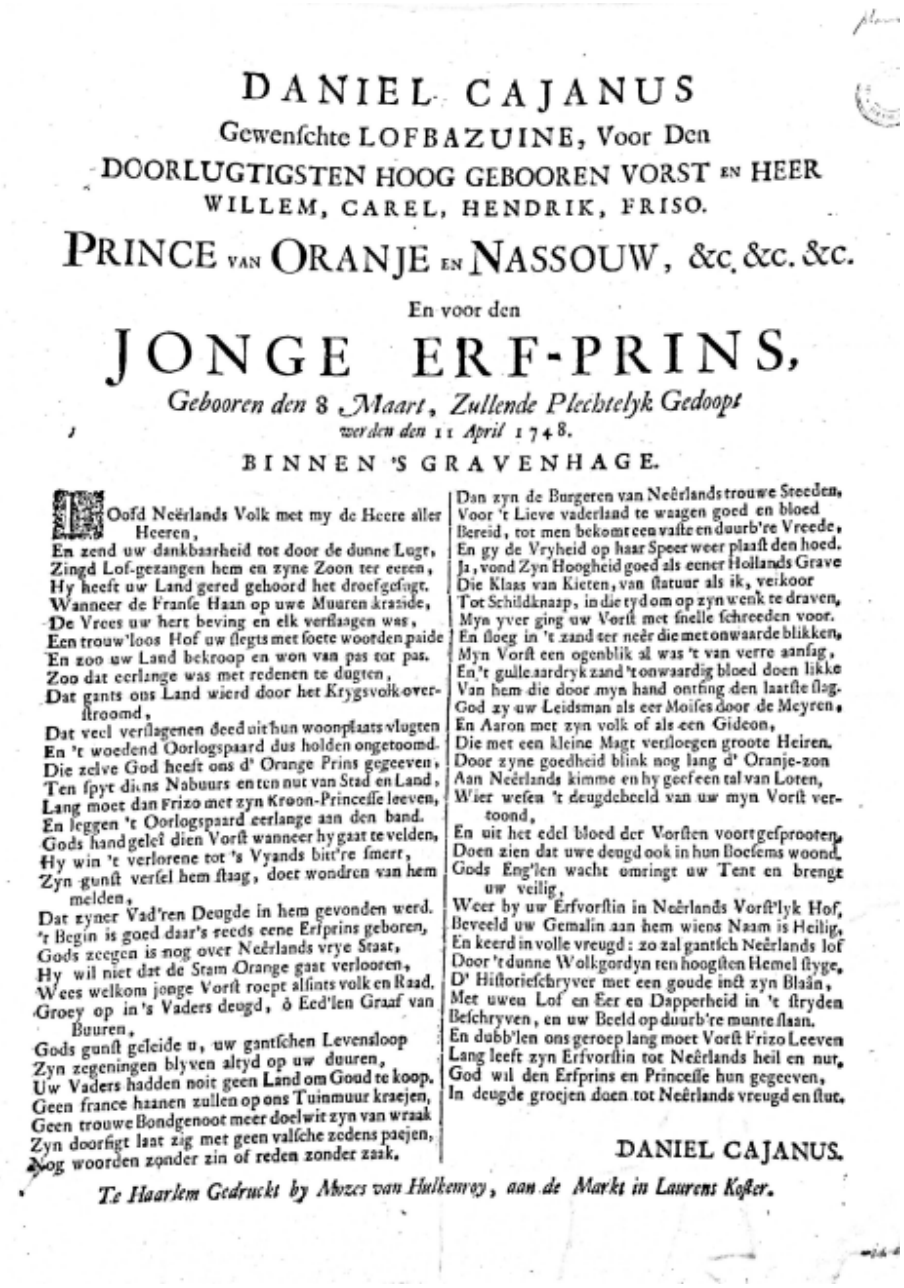
In this spirited passage, Cajanus abandons the somewhat dry, moralising tone of his poem’s first section and instead uses martial, physical language. In a jarring shift, he constructs a link between the persona of the learned, devout, civil and conscientiously patriotic Dutchman which he establishes for himself in the first part of the poem and that of Goliath, the brutish heathen defined by his physicality. Immediately after constructing this link, however, Cajanus subverts it by positioning himself as firmly on the side of David, who not only kills Goliath, but cuts up and disposes of his body. This connection with the Dutch David is strengthened by Cajanus’s previous overexpressive performances of his Protestantism and his Dutchness.

Here, Cajanus poetically replicates the oscillating overexpression that had been central to his performances as London's 'Christian Goliath'. The starkness of the contrast between these two personas and the resulting contradiction expose Cajanus's intervention as highly performative and thereby works to position him as a performing subject able to play at being a monster.

"Daniel Cajanus Wishes Praise," 1748

In his second surviving published poem – written in 1748 on the occasion of the birth of the crown prince and again published as a roughly A3-sized one-page pamphlet in Haarlem – Cajanus takes this lyrical exploration of oscillating overexpression as a mode of self-fashioning even further. The poem's full title is "Daniel Cajanus Gewenschte Lofbazuine, Voor Den Doorlugtigsten Hoog Gebooren Vorst En Heer Willem, Carel, Henrik, Friso. Prince Van Oranje En Nassaouw, &c. &c. &c. En voor den Jonge Erf-Prins, Gebooren den 8 Maart, Zullende Plechtelyk Gedoopt werden den 11 April 1748. Binnen 'S Gravenhage" ("Daniel Cajanus Wishes Praise, For The Most Noble, High-Born Sovereign And Lord Willem, Carel, Hendrik, Friso. Prince Of Orange And Nassau, &c. &c. &c. And for the Young Crown Prince, Born on 8 March, To be Solemnly Baptised on 11 April 1748. In 'S Gravenhage").[25] Again, Cajanus's authorship is highlighted through the inclusion of his name in large, capital letters both in the poem's heading and as a signature (see Fig. 3.12). In this poem, Cajanus credits the Stadhouder with saving the country from war and destruction through the French and welcomes the young crown prince before voicing his good wishes for the Stadhouder and his family. This second poem's tone is secular – it contains only occasional references to the Bible – as well as militaristic. Cajanus no longer urges the Dutch to show moderation when expressing their national pride, but instead displays aggressive patriotism, combined with strong anti-French sentiments. This escalation of Cajanus's tone was likely due to the French army's invasion of the Austrian Netherlands in 1748 – a development which likely was particularly traumatic for Cajanus, who had witnessed his homeland being invaded by Russian forces as a teenager during the Great Northern War (1700-1721) (Sliggers 11).

[25] For a complete transcription and translation, see Appendix 3.



DANIEL CAJANUS
Gewenſchte LOFBAZUINE, Voor Den
DOORLUGTIGSTEN HOOG GEBOOREN VORST EN HEER
WILLEM, CAREL, HENDRIK, FRISO.
PRINCE VAN ORANJE EN NASSOUW, &c. &c. &c.
En voor den
JONGE ERF-PRINS,
Geboren den 8 Maart, Zullende Plechtelyk Gedoopt werden den 11 April 1748.
BINNEN 'S GRAVENHAGE.

HOofd Neêrlands Volk met my de Heere aller Heeren,
En zend uw dankbaarheid tot door de dunne Lugt,
Zingd Lof-gezangen hem en zyne Zoon ter eeren,
Hy heeft uw Land gered gehoord het droefgeſugt.
Wanneer de Franſe Haan op uwe Muuren kraaide,
De Vrees uw hert beving en elk verſlaagen was,
Een trouw'loos Hof uw ſlegts met ſoete woorden paide
En zoo uw Land bekroop en won van pas tot pas.
Zoo dat eerlange was met redenen te dugten,
Dat gants ons Land wierd door het Krygsvolk over-ſtroomd,
Dat veel verſlagenen deed uit hun woonplaats vlugten
En 't woedend Oorlogspaard dus holden ongetoomd.
Die zelve God heeft ons d' Orange Prins gegeeven,
Ten ſpyt dions Nabuurs en ten nut van Stad en Land,
Lang moet dan Frizo met zyn Kroon-Princeſſe leeven,
En leggen 't Oorlogspaard eerlange aan den band.
Gods hand geleî dien Vorſt wanneer hy gaat te velden,
Hy win 't verlorene tot 's Vyands bitt're ſmert,
Zyn gunſt verſel hem ſlaag, doet wondren van hem melden,
Dat zyner Vad'ren Deugde in hem gevonden werd.
't Begin is goed daar's reeds eene Erfprins geboren,
Gods zeegen is nog over Neêrlands vrye Staat,
Hy wil niet dat de Stam Orange gaat verlooren,
Wees welkom jonge Vorſt roept alſints volk en Raad.
Groey op in 's Vaders deugd, ô Eed'len Graaf van Buuren,
Gods gunſt geleide u, uw gantſchen Levensloop
Zyn zegeningen blyven altyd op uw duuren,
Uw Vaders hadden nooit geen Land om Goud te koop.
Geen france haanen zullen op ons Tuinmuur kraeijen,
Geen trouwe Bondgenoot meer doelwit zyn van wraak
Zyn doorſigt laat zig met geen valſche zedens paeijen,
Nog woorden zonder zin of reden zonder zaak.
Dan zyn de Burgeren van Neêrlands trouwe Steeden,
Voor 't Lieve vaderland te waagen goed en bloed
Bereid, tot men bekomt een vaſte en duurb're Vreede,
En gy de Vryheid op haar Speer weer plaaſt den hoed.
Ja, vond Zyn Hoogheid goed als eener Hollands Grave
Die Klaas van Kieten, van ſtatuur als ik, verkoor
Tot Schildknaap, in die tyd om op zyn wenk te draven,
Myn yver ging uw Vorſt met ſnelle ſchreeden voor.
En ſloeg in 't zand ter neêr die met onwaarde blikken,
Myn Vorſt een oogenblik al was 't van verre aanſag,
En 't gulle aardryk zand 't onwaardig bloed doen likke
Van hem die door myn hand ontfing den laatſte ſlag.
God zy uw Leidsman als eer Moiſes door de Meyren,
En Aaron met zyn volk of als een Gideon,
Die met een kleine Magt verſloegen groote Heiren.
Door zyne goedheid blink nog lang d' Oranje-zon
Aan Neêrlands kimme en hy geef een tal van Loten,
Wier weſen 't deugdebeeld van uw myn Vorſt vertoond,
En uit het edel bloed der Vorſten voort geſprooten,
Doen zien dat uwe deugd ook in hun Boeſems woond.
Gods Eng'len wacht omringt uw Tent en brengt uw veilig,
Weer by uw Erfvorſtin in Neêrlands Vorſt'lyk Hof,
Beveeld uw Gemalin aan hem wiens Naam is Heilig,
En keerd in volle vreugd: zo zal gantſch Neêrlands lof
Door 't dunne Wolkgordyn ten hoogſten Hemel ſtyge,
D' Hiſtorieſchryver met een goude inkt zyn Blaân,
Met uwen Lof en Eer en Dapperheid in 't ſtryden
Beſchryven, en uw Beeld op duurb're munte ſlaan.
En dubb'len ons geroep lang moet Vorſt Frizo Leeven
Lang leeft zyn Erfvorſtin tot Neêrlands heil en nut,
God wil den Erfprins en Princeſſe hun gegeeven,
In deugde groejen doen tot Neêrlands vreugd en ſtut.

DANIEL CAJANUS.

Te Haarlem Gedruckt by Mozes van Hulkenroy, aan de Markt in Laurens Koſter.

Figure 3.12: Daniel Cajanus's poem "Daniel Cajanus Gewenschte Lofbazuine" ("Daniel Cajanus Wishes Praise"), printed in Haarlem in 1748.

The passage at the centre of Cajanus's performance of self appears in the poem's middle, where Cajanus once again constructs a parallel between himself and a mythological giant in order to engage in oscillating overexpression. In this poem, too, Cajanus translates the performance strategies that he had utilised during his London exhibitions into a distinct literary style defined by jarring tonal shifts. In the poem's second half, Cajanus shifts from a tender welcome of the new-born crown prince and a spirited description of the Dutch people's

devotion to their sovereign to a startling, almost comically violent passage in which he imagines himself as a contemporary version of Klaas van Kieten, a legendary thirteenth-century giant:

Yes, His Highness liked, as a Count of the Netherlands	Ja, vond Zyn Hoofheid goed als eener Hollands Grave
Who elected Klaas van Kieten, of a stature similar to mine,	Die Klaas van Kieten, van statuur als ik, verkoor
As Squire, at the time to run at his beck,	Tot Schildknaap, in die tyd om op zyn wenk te draven,
My ardour preceded your Sovereign with swift steps.	Myn yver ging uw Vorst met snelle schreeden voor.
And struck down in the sand those who look, with unworthy glances,	En sloeg in ‘t zand ter neêr die met onwaarde blikken,
At My Monarch even just for a moment from afar,	Myn Vorst een ogenblik al was ’t van verre ansag,
I made the loose sand of the soil lick the unworthy blood	En ’t gulle aardryk zand ’t onwaardig bloed doen likke
Of him who, through my hand, received his last blow.	Van hem de door myn hand ontfing den laatste slag.

Van Kieten, as Cornelius Aurelius states in *Divisie Chronijk* (*Divisional Chronicle*, 1517), was a man of great size who was born in Spaarnwoude (354), a village close to Haarlem, Cajanus’s new hometown. Cajanus here refers to an episode recorded in Anthonius Hovaeus’s *Chronyck Ende Historie Van het Edele ende Machtige Gheslachte vanden Huyse van Egmondt* (*Chronicle And History Of the Noble and Powerful Family and House of Egmond*, 1558), according to which, in 1296, van Kieten became a member of the entourage of Willem II van Egmont and Dirk II van Brederode and accompanied them to negotiations with Edward I in England (48). For Cajanus, then, comparing himself to van Kieten makes sense due to the parallels between their biographies – both giants, both lived in or around Haarlem, both visited England. As in the “Exhortation,” Cajanus abruptly abandons the lofty terms in which he had welcomed the new prince in the poem’s first part in favour of martial, physical language which he then employs to construct a connection between himself and a historical giant. Immediately after casting himself as an eighteenth-century van Kieten who engages in extreme violence, Cajanus performs another jarring tonal shift by falling back into the biblical

metaphors so characteristic of his literary style: “May God be your Guide like Moses through the Seas, / And Aaron with his people or as a Gideon, / Who with little Power defeated great Armies” (“God zy uw Leidsman als eer Moises door de Meyren, / En Aaron met zyn volk of al seen Gideon, / Die met een kleine Magt versloegen groote Heiren”). The startling tonal shifts Cajanus performs in this poem parallel his use of oscillating overexpression during his London exhibitions. Thus, his lyrical performances of self can be read as a continuation of his previous theatrical self-fashioning.

In addition to the way in which this comparison is incorporated into the poem stylistically, Cajanus’s Klaas van Kieten comparison, like the Goliath metaphor in his “Exhortation,” exemplifies the strategy he employed for his performances of self. Here, too he employs oscillating overexpression to construct a public persona whose contradiction exposes it as a performance and thus positions him as a subject with a complex interiority. In order to achieve this effect, Cajanus overexpresses his otherness by comparing himself to a very specific version of van Kieten – one which was decidedly not historically accurate. Medieval chroniclers do not characterise van Kieten as a man who would engage in acts of excessive violence – quite the opposite: while Aurelius claims that Spaarnwoude’s school children were frightened of van Kieten and did not dare look at him, he also describes him as “a gentle and kind man” (“een sachtmoedigh ende goedertieren man”) who was “not fierce nor evil” (“niet fel noch quaet,” 354). Due to the proximity of Haarlem to Spaarnwoude, where stones on the church wall marked van Kieten’s height (Greve 16) and because van Kieten had become a protagonist of local folktales, songs, and poems, Cajanus’s audience would likely have recognised that he was not referring to the van Kieten they were familiar with. They might, however, have also recognised the version of van Kieten which Cajanus does refer to here: not van Kieten the historic figure, but van Kieten the dramatic character. As Sliggers notes, this violent episode in Cajanus’s poem appears to be directly influenced by a description in Joost van den Vondel’s *Gijsbrecht van Aemstel* (first performed in 1638), a play which had been performed annually at the Amsterdam Shouwburg theatre since its initial performance (24). In the history play, which tells the story of the murder of Floris V and the subsequent siege of Amsterdam, van den Vondel’s Gijsbrecht describes a version of van Kieten that closely resembles that which Cajanus presents here: “I saw [van Kieten] fling about man after man like rabbits, / Three times around his head, holding on to one leg, / And smash the head on the stones” (“Ick zagh hem man op man gelijck konijnen slingeren / Wel driemael om zijn

hoofd, gevat by 't eene been, / En kneuzen dan den kop op stoepen of op steen," 86). By comparing himself to an excessively violent theatrical giant, Cajanus overexpresses his otherness, doing so in the highly theatrical manner which had become characteristic for his self-fashioning.

The van Kieten comparison, however, also enables Cajanus to overexpress in the opposite direction, to contrast his 'monstrous giant' persona with that of the educated man of letters and exemplary Dutch patriot. Through his van Kieten reference, Cajanus demonstrates that he is familiar both with van Kieten the historical figure and with van den Vondel's dramatic character, thereby touting his knowledge of Dutch history and culture. What is more, by linking himself to van Kieten, Cajanus, the foreigner, presents himself as a kind of ultra-Dutch figure with direct links to a legendary cultural and historical character. The connection he constructs here has both a local and a national dimension. In addition to asserting his place in his new community – for the 'second Klaas van Kieten', Haarlem is the natural place to be – Cajanus claims his own space in Dutch national history as van Kieten's logical successor. The place next to and even in front of the sovereign which Cajanus claims for himself in the poem, is another overexpression intended to highlight Cajanus's Dutchness; there is no evidence that suggests that there was any kind of relationship between him and William IV. As in the "Exhortation," Cajanus is not content with casting himself as an ordinary Dutch citizen participating in public expressions of joy. While he, in his first lyrical exploit, had presented himself as a judge of appropriate manifestations of national pride and as a representative of a new kind of conscientious patriotism, here he portrays himself as someone who is not only ultra-Dutch but whose commitment to the protection of the sovereign's person goes far beyond that of ordinary citizens. Cajanus's Klaas van Kieten comparison enables him to present himself as both a learned writer of religious and patriotic poetry and as a frightening brute capable of extreme violence, as an exaggeratedly 'other' foreigner and as the ultra-Dutch successor of a legendary national figure and the Stadhouder's devoted protector. It allows him to construct the impossible contradiction that eventually exposes his self-fashioning as a performance, and to therefore position himself as a performing subject with a complex interiority.

Responses to Cajanus and his Self-Fashioning

That Cajanus had some success when it came to shaping his public perception is illustrated by the texts which his contemporaries wrote about him and which consistently describe his otherness in the terms in which he had framed it in his performances on stage and page. In his 1751 volume *Verhaal van Reuzen boven zeven Voeten lang (History of giants above seven feet tall),* Jan Marchant, for instance, describes how Cajanus "daily walked openly on the street: so that everybody could see him for pleasure" ("wandelende daaglyks openbaarlyk over straat: zodar ieder hem naer genoegen zien kost", 111). He includes Cajanus in a list of major cities and their landmarks, customs, objects or persons that are the source of local pride. This list includes "Amsterdam with its glorious Stadhuis, . . . Königsberg with its long Sausage, Moscow with its great Clock, . . . Rotterdam with its learned *Erasmus*, . . . [and] us Harlemmers, with our . . . great Kajanus' ("Amsterdam met zyn pragtig Stadhuis, . . . Koningsbergen met zyne lange Worst, Moskow met zyne groote Klók, . . . Rótterdam met zynen geleerden *Erasmus*, . . . wy Haarlemmers, met onzen . . . grooten Kajanus," 120).[26] Here, the effect of the possessive and affectionate 'our' is strengthened further by the use of a 'Dutchified' spelling of Cajanus's name. Marchant continues:

> Kajanus was of the Lutheran Religion, and, in terms of appearance, died as a godly man. He was taciturn by nature and did not usually have much to contribute; yet he spoke several languages. His Face did not show a sharp Nature, but in terms of intellect he was like a second Starchaterus, of whom Olaus de Groot, in the 5th Book of his Theatre of the Northern Countries, finds four Poems.
>
> Kajanus was van den Luthersen Godsdienst, en is, voor het uiterlyke, zeer godzaalig gestrorven. Hy was zwygend van aard, en had doorgaans niet veel intebrengen; nogtans sprak hy verscheide taalen. Zyn Gelaat toonde geen schrander Wezen, maar van verstand was hy als een tweede Starchaterus, van wien by Olaus de Groot, in 't 5de Boek, van zyn Tooneel der Noordse Landen, vier Gedichten vind. (115)

In Olaus Magnus's work *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus* (A *Description of the Northern Peoples*, 1555), which Marchant refers to here, Starchaterus is described as a virtuous giant who hates gluttony and writes verses on the virtues of temperance and frugality

[26] Cajanus remains present in Haarlem until today, as one of the columns of the town's central Groote Kerk, in which he was buried, is marked to indicate his height.

(Ashton 33-6), thus appearing not unlike Cajanus and his poetic warnings against excessive displays of patriotism. Other sources, too, consistently describe Cajanus as a kind and gentle man. Schalekamp characterises him as "very gentle in character and demeanour" ("zeer zachtzinnig van character en omgang," 115). Greve calls him "very gentle in character and good in demeanour" ("zeer zachtzinnig van aard en hups van omgang," 23) and further claims that he was renowned for his "good and virtuous character" ("goed and braaf karakter," 24).

The unknown author of "Ter Gedagtetnisse Van den alom Beruchten en bekenden Heer, Daniel Cajanus, Overleden den 27 Feburary 1749 Binnen Haarlem" ("In Memory Of the universally Famous and well-known Heer, Daniel Cajanus, who Died on 27 February 1749 in Haarlem") goes even further, echoing not only Cajanus's oscillatingly overexpressive style, but also the very terms in which Cajanus himself had described the tensions inherent in his multi-faceted persona. The poem starts somewhat abruptly, with the exclamation "Cruel Monster! King of Terror" ("Wreed Monster! Koning der Verschrikking"). Considering the poem's subject matter, at first glance, this could be mistaken for a reference to Cajanus. However, in the lines that follow, the terrifying figure which "Completely carelessly, cut[s] down / Many hundred thousand People with [his] iron Staff, / And send[s] them to the dark Grave" ("Gy maait met uwen yz'ren Staf, / Gants onmédoogend heen en wéder, / Veel onderd duizend Mensen néder, / En zendze na het duist're Graf") is revealed to be not Cajanus, but Death, who is berated for taking away Cajanus: "Why did you strike down / Degenerate! A Goliath?" ("Waarom hebt gy ter neêrgeslagen / Ontaarde! Eenen Goliat?"). Here, though the poet reveals that the 'monster' they are addressing here is not Cajanus, they nonetheless draw attention to Cajanus's extraordinary embodiment by calling him a 'Goliath,' employing a comparison which Cajanus himself had used in his overexpressive performances of self both in newspaper notices advertising his London exhibitions and in his poetry. In a later line, the poet does so again when they describe him as "the second *Klaas van Kieten*" ("de tweede *Klaas van Kieten*"). Significantly, the poem's 'othering' of Cajanus occurs exclusively through terms Cajanus himself had previously employed to make sense of his own embodiment, which indicates that Cajanus had at least some success in shaping the way in which he was perceived by his contemporaries.

However, the poem's author does not only use the metaphors and comparisons which Cajanus had used to 'overexpress' his otherness, they also emulate the way in which Cajanus put his contrasting public personas in dialogue with each other. Immediately after the poem's

initial lines, which build up the image of a violent monster, the author subverts that image and, in doing so, performs the kind of jarring tonal shift which Cajanus had employed in order to translate the oscillating overexpression of his theatrical performances onto the page. The poet contrasts the frightening image of death with an affectionate portrayal of Cajanus, whom they characterise not as a 'monster' but as a "Man who nowhere had his equal" ("Een Man die nergens weêrgâ had"). They then go on to describe Cajanus as a successful businessman, who amassed a fortune thanks to his ability to skilfully control a paying audience's gaze and who then enjoyed his hard-earned retirement in Haarlem:

Let himself be seen in many Countries:	Zig laaten zien in veele Landen:
He came to Haarlem's Flower-meadows,	Kwam hy in Haarlems Bloem-warande,
And has there earned his living.	En heeft aldaar zyn kóst gekógt.
Here he plucked the sweet fruit	Hier plukte hy de zoete vrugten
Of his wanderings, to and fro;	Van zyn' omzwerving, gints en daar;
Here, he strolled publicly;	Hier wandeld' hy in 't openbaar;
Here, he lived very pleasantly.	Hier leef'd hy nu in veel genugten.

Cajanus's endeavours to establish himself as a patriotic Dutchman appear to have been successful, as the poet, while acknowledging Cajanus's travels across Europe, does not mention his foreignness. Instead, the poet describes Cajanus's decision to retire in Haarlem, and particularly to let the city's citizens freely see the body whose exhibition had earned him his fortune, as a source of local pride. Here, the poet echoes both Cajanus's literary style and the terms through which Cajanus had constructed his contradictory public persona in his performances of self.

The success of Cajanus's self-fashioning is further evidenced by the poem's emphasis on Cajanus's status as an artist. Having discussed Cajanus's career and the wealth which had enabled him to retire in Haarlem, the poet then turns towards Cajanus's exploits as a poet, which they describe as his true legacy:

His swift Mind, nearly as fine	Zyn vlugge Geest byna zo schoon
And great as he, has flown out of sight	En groot als hy, was uit de oogen
Up the steep Mountain Parnassus:	Op Parnas stylen Berg gevloogen:
Where he as a Son of Apollo	Daar hy al een Apóllós Zoon
Is bathed in the streams of Pegasus	Gelaafd wierd in Pegazus stroomen:
So that he told us in God's Language	Zodat hy ons in Góde Taal
A detailed Story,	Deed een omstandiglyk Verhaal,
To what purpose the Sovereign Friso had come.	Wartoe Vórst Frizo was gekommen.
There he lies now, is mortus, dead,	Daar legt hy nu, is mortus, dood:
One will enjoy no more little Verses.	Geen Vaersje zal men meer genieten.

Here, Cajanus is unequivocally positioned as a poet – as a son of Apollo, the Greek god of poetry, as a resident of Parnassus, home to the Muses, and as bathed in the streams of inspiring water opened up by Pegasus's hooves. The space which the poet dedicates to highlighting Cajanus's artistic exploits is remarkable, particularly because it far outweighs any discussion of his embodiment. The large majority of their references to Cajanus's size, including comparisons with Goliath or, later on, van Kieten are implicit; only the epitaph accompanying the poem specifies his height has "nine Feet or thereabouts" ("négen Voet óf daar omtrent"). The poet appears to have been familiar with Cajanus's writings, as they reference the Stadhouder, whose election prompted Cajanus to publish his first poem, in addition to their earlier reference to the images through which Cajanus had negotiated his own identity. The poet ends their work with a promise to Cajanus to build a monument commemorating him as a man "Who, faithfully driven by Art, / Was so great and long in his life" ("Die trouw'lyk door de Konst gredreeven, / Zo groot en lang was in zyn léven"), again prioritizing Cajanus's dedication to art over his embodiment. This commemorative poem demonstrates the success of Cajanus's performances of self in several ways. That the poet so clearly references the occasions of and the metaphors and stylistic devices used in Cajanus's poetry shows that at least some Haarlemmers were reading his work. What is more, that the poet adopted the terms in which Cajanus constructed his own contradictory public persona

demonstrates that Cajanus's self-fashioning, the oscillating overexpressions of his performances of self, were at least to some degree successful. He evidently *was* perceived, at least by some, as a complex personality, as a subject with interiority, as an intelligent and accomplished poet, as a successful business man and as a valued member of Haarlem society. Perhaps even more significantly, this poem shows that even posthumously, the otherness of his embodiment was understood in the terms through which he had framed it.

Conclusion

Daniel Cajanus died in Haarlem on 28 February 1749 (Sliggers 29), at the age of about 47. His spectacular public funeral can be considered his last overexpressive performance. Prior to his death, Cajanus had changed his testament three times, but one of its central requests, his plea for an "honest funeral" ("eerlijke begravenis") appropriate for his extraordinary body, had remained the same (Sliggers 27). The executors of his will – Jan Staats and Pieter Schaagen Clementsz, two Lutherans from Amsterdam who also lived in the Proveniershuis (Sliggers 28) – appear to have followed his wishes to stage what contemporary sources describe as a spectacular event. Marchant outlines how Cajanus's body and his coffin were too large and heavy for the pall bearers and the usual mourning coach, which necessitated the use of a four-wheeled wagon pulled by two horses covered in mourning cloths (112). The large coffin was draped in fabric, to which Cajanus's sword and his great leather gloves were attached (Marchant 112). Marchant describes the funeral procession, which consisted of 65 pairs of mourners, as "very dignified" ("zeer deftig") and claims it was witnessed by thousands of people (112). Cajanus was buried in the choir of Haarlem's central Groote Kerk (Marchant 112), with his grave, which was likely originally unmarked, occupying four plots (Sliggers 30). This carefully staged and highly theatrical ceremony can be read as Cajanus's last overexpressive performance. It simultaneously highlights his otherness – his body now contained in a huge coffin, to which parts of his 'costume' are affixed, too heavy to be transported in the usual way and too large for a normal plot – but the elaborateness of his funeral and his grave's location in Haarlem's geographic and spiritual centre also highlight the success of his efforts to be perceived as a wealthy, well-respected, devout citizen. If Cajanus's funeral was his last overexpressive performance, his last assertion of his subject status, then what happened to his body after his funeral illustrates the stakes of his life as a monstrous celebrity. Sometime after Cajanus's death, his plots in the Groote Kerk were sold, with at least some of his bones being removed and bought up by a number of

Dutch museums (Sliggers 38-9) – the exact scenario which Cajanus had likely sought to avoid with his requests for an 'honest funeral'. This episode illustrates that while extraordinary embodiment could be a prerequisite for achieving lasting celebrity, those whose extraordinary embodiment was perceived as monstrous and who made their living by exposing themselves to the public's gaze were in danger of losing their subject status. It demonstrates why the manipulation of that gaze through the formation of a public image, the construction of a "body cinematic" as a protective shield for the "body natural" (Roach 36), and the continual assertion of their subject status was of such vital importance for a supposedly monstrous celebrity like Cajanus.

In this chapter, I have brought together approaches which I have adopted and trends whose beginnings I have outlined in this thesis's first two case studies. As in my first chapter on Jeffrey Hudson, I have focused on reconstructing the career of a single extraordinarily embodied performer. However, unlike Hudson's career, Cajanus's did not play out in the elite environment of the court but was, instead, deeply intertwined with developments occurring in mainstream, popular culture. While Cajanus's first stint at London stardom was enabled by the pantomime boom whose beginnings I have outlined in this thesis's second chapter, it also occurred against the backdrop of an emerging culture of celebrity. In the course of his performance career, which lasted for 25 years, Daniel Cajanus successfully learned to manipulate the mechanisms of eighteenth-century celebrity culture to his advantage. In his performances of self, which primarily took the shape of elaborately costumed and choreographed exhibitions, he employed oscillating overexpression to create a public persona whose defining characteristic was its contradiction, oscillating between presenting himself as an exaggeratedly 'other,' foreign, even frightening giant and as a civilised, learned and devout businessman. During his Haarlem retirement, Cajanus's performances of self not only acquired a new facet – Cajanus now displayed a pronounced, even aggressive Dutch patriotism – but also shifted from stage to page. In his poetry, Cajanus translates the excessive theatricality and the oscillating overexpression that had been the defining features of his London exhibitions into a distinct literary style, continuing the work of creating and maintaining his contradictory public persona which he had begun as an active performer. Whether they occurred on the premises of the Royal Society, in small venues in London's City, or in his occasional poetry, Cajanus's autobiographical performances continually expose themselves as performances – through their exaggerated theatricality and through the

contradiction of the ‘Christian Goliath’ persona which Cajanus constructs by employing oscillating overexpression. By highlighting the performativity of his intervention, Cajanus continually asserts his status as a performing subject, rather than an exhibited object. Having thus ‘proved’ his personhood through performance, Cajanus was free to operate as a performer negotiating contracts with London’s biggest theatres, as a successful businessman (and unsuccessful moneylender), as a well-respected and beloved Haarlem citizen and as a published poet. Daniel Cajanus’s remarkable performance career can only be understood in the context of the emergence of eighteenth-century celebrity culture. That a man whom some of his contemporaries considered a monster, managed to construct a complex public persona which he then marketed and monetised is proof for the power of that culture. Above all, however, it is a testament to the brilliance of the man who understood how to manipulate its mechanisms.

Conclusion

This thesis began with an interest in the monstrous sisters in the Behn's *II Rover*, especially in the Giant. When reading the play, I was surprised by the complexity and the sympathetic nature of Behn's characterisation of this 'maximally other' monster: *II Rover* derives much of its humour not from staging the humiliation of the Jewish, Mexican Giant and Dwarf but from the bumbling of Englishmen. In a play which highlights the vulnerability of women's position in the sexual economy, the Giant emerges as an inedible woman who appears impervious to the dangers which continually threaten female characters in both of Behn's *Rover* plays. She, along with her sister, survives the play's conclusion unviolated and untransformed, with their extraordinary bodies still intact, much unlike the characters on which they are based. In Killigrew's *Thomaso*, the Giant and the Dwarf remain absent from the stage altogether and, at the play's conclusion, are irreparably harmed in the course of the mountebank's failed attempt to correct their heights. My efforts to make sense of these characters led to a whole host of questions, the first set of which concerned the problem of how to approach a character who is so consistently labelled as monstrous. I turned towards monster theory but found that its mode of treating monsters as silent, legible signs, as monstrous bodies "exist[ing] only to be read" (Cohen "Monster Culture" 4) did not really work for my purposes. After all, is it possible to reduce a stage monster – especially one that is as vocal as Behn's Giant – to a two-dimensional, silent sign? What happens – as is the case with the Giant – when a stage monster uses her voice to reject her categorisation as monstrous and takes control of the way in which her body signifies? When she resists the very reduction to metaphor on which monster theory's approach depends? The second set of questions related to the practicalities of staging the Giant's body. Frustratingly, the play's printed edition omits the names of the performers who played the sisters. The play, however, repeatedly stages dynamic encounters between the Giant and her suitor. These scenes, most prominently Fetherfool's mounting of his gigantic bride with the aid of a ladder, require the Giant to move about the stage and exercise complex movements. This led to even more questions. Who played the Giant and her sister? Could it have been a real-life giant? If yes, were there more like her? More conceptually, this led me to wonder, what happens when a performer who might be considered a real-life monster played a monster on stage? When the signifier is the signified, and thus ends up signifying herself, communicating insights into her lived experience in the process? This thesis constitutes an attempt to answer all these questions.

I have explored performances of monstrosity which occurred in three distinct performance traditions. Each of these traditions engages audiences in diverse ways, holds different social and cultural status and takes place in different physical spaces. All of these performances were produced by performers whose embodiment led them to be perceived as real-life monsters. I have demonstrated that in the early modern period, monstrosity was a highly contingent and contextual category, with individuals being designated monsters due to their physical impairment, sexuality or gender identity, racial, ethnic or religious difference, or foreignness – or, as was often the case, a combination of these characteristics. In order to reflect the complexity and intersectionality of early modern perceptions of bodily anomaly in general and monstrosity in particular, I have introduced extraordinary embodiment as a capacious conceptual category encompassing these various features. The key concepts which I have developed in this thesis's chapters – authentic extraordinary embodiment, monster culture and oscillating overexpression – have worked to illuminate how extraordinary embodiment was perceived in the early modern period and how extraordinarily embodied performers went about performing monstrosity.

I have both built on and critiqued the work of monster theorists by proposing a new way of looking *at* and *with* monsters, thereby performing a change of focus away from processes of 'monstering' and the ways in which they ascribe metaphorical meanings to extraordinary bodies, and towards the monsters themselves. Instead of focusing on what the monstering of these specific performers and the characters they played reveals about the society in which it occurred, I have explored how the performers at the centre of my thesis both resist and play into their designation as monstrous. Doing so demonstrates that, like performance itself, monstrosity is not a state of being, but a collection of actions, both on the part of those who categorise an individual as monstrous and on the part of the supposed monster. The performances which resulted from extraordinarily embodied performers' engagement with their designation as monstrous were spaces in which they could invite and meet their audience's gaze. In them, performers were able to control the way in which their bodies signified, enabling them to determine and communicate what they meant to themselves and how they wanted others to perceive them. Their performances resist being reduced to metaphors and instead highlight the specificity of their authentic extraordinary embodiment. Performing monstrosity enabled performers to transcend their status as objectified, legible signs and to establish their status as performing subjects capable of looking back. These

performances constitute intersections of disability histories and disability representations: in them, extraordinarily embodied performers were able to provide insights into their lived experience and shape the way in which extraordinary embodiment was portrayed on stage.

This thesis challenges dominant narratives in theatre history. Existing work on performances of disability and monstrosity revolves primarily around portrayals which were produced by normatively embodied authors and performers and in which anomalous embodiment is predominantly positioned either as a metaphorical device or as a source of comic relief. I have shifted this balance of perceived power by demonstrating that extraordinarily embodied performers like Hudson, Saffry, and Cajanus were not only involved in theatrical production but also became innovators of contemporary theatrical practice by contributing to bringing about generic change. The late seventeenth-century popularisation of supposedly monstrous genres such as farce as well as the 1720s pantomime boom are prime examples for this dynamic. This thesis has further traced the evolution of a performance culture revolving around the spectacular display of extraordinary bodies which crosses period boundaries, from the Caroline to Georgian eras and through the English Civil War, Interregnum and Glorious Revolution. Both the multiplicity of reactions to and the interest in monstrous embodiment endured across the entirety of the period I have examined. Similarly, modes of performance which drew on supposedly monstrous genres and the work of monstrous performers influenced theatre practice in both centuries. Further, I have outlined ways in which monstrous performers like Cajanus were able to utilise the mechanisms of an emerging eighteenth-century celebrity culture.

This thesis opens up several new avenues for further research into extraordinarily embodied performers and their impact on performance practice. Firstly, the studies of performers' careers and their impact which I have presented here are far from exhaustive, with much still left to uncover. Further work could explore the impact which the presence of extraordinarily embodied performers like Cajanus on the late seventeenth-and early eighteenth-century patent stage had on the acting practice of performers who were not considered monstrous. The *Apology for the Life of T--------- C-----, Comedian*, for instance, has Theophilus complain that the success of Cajanus' literal largeness got in the way of his attempts to embody metaphorical greatness:

> It regretted my Soul, frequently and oft, when on Buskins a Foot and a half high I was to personate a great Heroe, and had my wavy Plume high o'er my Brow, Nod ever and anon with tragic Grace; yet was thought diminutively great, and rais'd the Audience a mock Laugh, while he – that Orion, that Polephemus of a Man, with an Inanity of Voice and Gesture, excited Wonder and Applause. (104)

The *Apology*'s intent to satirise Theophilus by mocking his short height is clear here. However, this passage nonetheless raises intriguing questions about the way in which the success of authentically extraordinarily embodied performers might have made their fellow actors rethink the ways in which they framed and utilised their embodiment.[1] This is particularly pertinent when read in dialogue with Ballaster's work on the emergence of an aesthetics of presence in the mid-eighteenth century – a turn for which embodied modes of performance in whose production extraordinarily embodied performers were involved might have laid the groundwork. The *Apology*'s references to "Buskins" and tragic acting, which it connects to tensions between metaphorical greatness and literal bigness further raise questions about the ways in which (extraordinary) embodiment might have been applied differently in comedy and tragedy. In addition, the influence of monster culture and of the work of supposedly monstrous performers on the emergence and popularisation of other genres deserves further scrutiny. Burlesque operas, for instance, which rose to prominence in the 1730s, frequently featured stage monsters such as giants or dragons who were played by performers who acted on the London fairgrounds during the summer. James Bencraft acted the Dragon in a 1739 production of burlesque opera *The Dragon of Wantley* (initially performed in 1737), and, in 1740, played the part of the Giantess in *The Opera of Operas* (1740), which suggests that he might have been extraordinarily tall. Bencraft frequently performed on Bartholomew Fair and, between 1739 and 1742 was billed 'Signor Bencraftini' ("London Stage Database"), likely due to his association with burlesque opera, a genre which mocked opera's supposed foreignness. Secondly, methodologies which I have developed and employed in this thesis, such as the category of extraordinary embodiment or the mode of

[1] In this context, David Garrick's popularisation of the 'natural' style of acting constitutes a particularly intriguing avenue of enquiry. When it first emerged, theatre critics and practitioners derided Garrick's reliance on physicality, explicitly connecting it to pantomime, the low-brow form in which he had made his professional theatrical debut (Thomson), with Theophilus Cibber condemning Garrick's "pantomimical Manner of acting" (56) in his *Two Dissertations on the Theatres* (1756). Future research could further explore this link between Garrick's 'natural' style and pantomime, a form which, as I have demonstrated, was strongly influenced by and drew on monster culture and the work of supposedly monstrous performers, thereby further illuminating the impact of extraordinarily embodied performers on British theatrical practice.

looking *at* instead of *through* monsters, could be applied in the study of other modes of performance which had at its centre a focus on the extraordinary body. Such approaches could be applied across various disciplines. Scholars of music history might, for instance, use them when exploring the careers of celebrity castrati, predominantly foreign performers to whose success the combination of extraordinary embodiment – they frequently were visibly 'overgrown' and effeminate due to the effects of their castration – and extraordinary skill was vital, rendering them objects of fascination and disgust. Future studies which employ methodologies developed in this thesis, then, could continue the work of recovering the contributions of performers whose embodiment was perceived to deviate from the norm.

In addition, the category of extraordinary embodiment itself might be extended even further to include, for instance, characteristics such as age. Indeed, there is potential for exploring that particular facet in some of the case studies I have presented in this thesis, as bodies marked by (extreme) age are repeatedly paired with those of extraordinary height. Jeffrey Hudson, for instance, was repeatedly pictured not only together with the giant William Evans but also alongside Thomas Parr, whose status as a court wonder derived from his claim to have been born in 1483 (Thomas). While the pamphlet "The Three Wonders of this Age" (1636) contains depictions and brief biographic accounts of Hudson, Evans, and Parr, John Taylor begins his treatise *The Olde, Old, Very Olde Man* with a dedication to Charles I, in which he congratulates him on having "the old'st, the greatest, & the least" subjects. Like Hudson and Evans, Parr might have even participated in theatrical performance. A costume sketch made by Inigo Jones, inscribed "Romansike" and "Sr Thomas Persons" and depicting an old man, suggests that Parr either played himself in an unknown masque or that an actor played a part that was based on him (Simpson and Bell 152). During Willmore's mountebank performance in Act II of *II Rover*, meanwhile, it is not the monstrous sisters who seek transformation but La Nuche's elderly bawd Petronella Elenora, who enters "carried in a Chair, Dress'd like a Girl of Fifteen" (25). Here, too, comments on her embodiment are connected to speculations about her sexuality, when Blunt, punning on her name Elenora, states "she may be that of *Troy* for her Antiquity, tho fitter for God *Priapus* to ravish than *Paris*" (25). There, too, remains work to be done on the many child performers who were active both on the London fairgrounds and, later, as pantomime performers and on the ways in which they were described as extraordinarily embodied.

This thesis does not only reveal new insights into theatre history but also speaks to live debates about how anomalous embodiment is presented in performance and about the participation of performers with disabilities in theatrical production. In recent years, disabled theatre practitioners have increasingly challenged the practice of 'cripping up,' where non-disabled actors play disabled characters, mimicking their impairments on stage. As Schaap Williams puts it, "Cripping up reduces the lived identity of disability to a temporary impersonation by an able-bodied actor" (7). What is more, it "reproduces the logic of the medical model of disability, locating disability as a problem within a particular body, rather than an encounter with a disabling world, much less a variation of human flourishing" (Schaap Williams 7). Cripping up is the result of notions of acting which position a supposedly neutral body – a body that, as Carrie Sandahl puts it, is "stripped of individuality and idiosyncrasy as a prerequisite to creating a role" – as its starting point (262). Such a body has the "capacity to assume – and then discard – extravagant markers of somatic difference at will" (Schaap Williams 7). Because disabled actors cannot assume this position of neutrality, they risk "having [their] performance taken for reality, as if [they] were simply onstage 'being disabled' rather than – in a demonstration of skill, like any other actor – acting" (Schaap Williams 7-8). Disabled theatre-makers have connected their criticism of cripping up with calls for 'authentic casting' – casting actors with disabilities to play disabled characters. These demands are articulated in a 2024 article in the *Guardian*, in which Hannah Simpson captures the reactions of disabled theatre-makers to the Globe's decision to have its (non-disabled) artistic director Michelle Terry play Richard III – a decision many of the performers interviewed characterised as an example of cripping up. The theatre-makers Simpson interviews argue that authentic casting is vital because it facilitates the participation of disabled actors in theatrical production. Authentic casting further makes it possible for disabled performers to both tell their own stories and to shape the way in which disability is portrayed and perceived. When a disabled actor plays Richard III, it becomes impossible to see Richard's embodiment as a metaphor. Instead, such a performance confronts audiences with disability as a lived experience.

The performers Simpson interviews, however, do not only argue that authentic casting is a matter of fairness and a means of creating authentic disability representations, but also point to authentic casting's unique ability to generate particularly impactful performances. Here, Simpson quotes Mat Fraser, an actor who played Richard in 2017:

> Fraser points specifically to the advantage that actual impairment offers in productions of Richard III, in which the king uses his own disability to manipulate the court to his own ends. At one point in the play, Richard dramatically reveals his impaired arm, proclaiming it to be the result of witchcraft enacted against him by his enemies: 'Look how I am bewitched. / Behold, mine arm / Is like a blasted sapling, withered up.' Fraser, who has visible limb difference, says: 'Let me tell you, when I held up my arm and said that line, it terrified the audience with its visceral reality – irreplaceable by a non-disabled actor.'

In the same article, Simpson quotes Robert Softley Gale, artistic director of the disability-led theatre company Birds of Paradise, who reiterates the idea that the authentic casting of disabled characters can lead to better theatre: "'Acting, theatre, is about authenticity; it's about believability. It's the same for Black and ethnic characters: it's about an authentic voice'". As this statement indicates, demands for authenticity have not been limited to debates about the casting of disabled characters. In Simpson's article, Fraser likens what he calls 'crip face' to the practice of blackface and blacking up. In 2021, meanwhile, screenwriter and television producer Russell T Davies discussed casting gay actors in his drama *It's A Sin*, stating, "You wouldn't cast someone able-bodied and put them in a wheelchair, you wouldn't black someone up. Authenticity is leading us to joyous places" ("Russell T Davies"). These debates reveal the usefulness of extraordinary embodiment as a category encompassing these various markers of perceived difference as well as their intersections, as it is exactly those characteristics - physical impairment, sexuality or gender identity, racial, ethnic or religious difference and foreignness - that are framed as deviations from the neutral ideal. They also reveal a shift in perceptions of what it means to be an actor and of the purpose and value of dramatic performance in general. Here, a performance's quality is no longer measured by the actor's ability to assume "extravagant markers of somatic difference" (Schaap Williams 7), with actors earning particular acclaim for portraying bodily and social experiences that are vastly different to their own, but rather by their ability to utilise their embodiment to authentically tell a story that relates to their lived reality. The intersection of disability representation and disability history here contributes to the production of a particularly effective theatrical performance. This shift replaces the ideal of the neutral body with that of the authentically extraordinary body and, in doing so, highlights the exclusionary nature of the ideal of neutrality. Softley Gale, Fraser and Davies argue that the value of authentic casting

lies not only in its alignment with ideas of equality, diversity, and inclusion (EDI), but also in its ability to utilise authentic extraordinary embodiment to great dramatic effect. These performers' inability to assume a position of supposedly neutral embodiment does not detract from but rather enhances the effectiveness of their performance. They are uniquely able to play these parts.

The case studies I have examined in this thesis speak to the demands of present-day campaigners and to this shift towards authenticity in powerful ways. Performances by Hudson, Cajanus, or extraordinarily embodied fairground performers like Mrs Saffry consistently resist their bodies' reduction to metaphor and instead strike a balance between authenticity and virtuosity. Even though their authentic extraordinary embodiment is a vital part of their performances, they are never merely, as Schaap Williams puts it, "onstage 'being disabled'" (8). Instead, their performances both communicate insights into the performers' lived experience and are simultaneously carefully choreographed demonstrations of skill. In this thesis, I have demonstrated that the idea of authentic casting is not a novel idea but rather a concept that was successfully applied in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Therefore, the participation of extraordinarily embodied performers in theatrical practice should be perceived not as a generous gift on behalf of the able-bodied mainstream or an effect of novel EDI initiatives but rather as the continuation of a performance tradition which historically had a transformative effect on the British stage.

So far, efforts to re-examine, stage and reclaim early modern disability representations have focused exclusively on canonical texts like Shakespeare's *Richard III*, with the work of extraordinarily embodied performers like the ones at the centre of this thesis remaining unexamined. The reasons for this are clear: audiences are familiar with the formal features of a Shakespeare play, potentially even its plots, which makes it more accessible than, say, a court masque with its complex allegorical plots and opaque references to mythology and seventeenth-century politics. Shakespeare's status as *the* canonical English playwright both lends prestige and acts as a guarantee for public interest and media coverage. Forms like masques, pantomimes (at least in their eighteenth-century iteration), or exhibitions by extraordinarily embodied performers as well as the settings and cultural contexts from which they emerged, meanwhile, are, to a large extent, no longer extant. Re-examining portrayals of disability in and reclaiming disabled characters from canonical texts like *Richard III* is, of course, extremely valuable, as it interrogates both early modern and present-day attitudes

towards bodily anomaly. However, exclusively focusing on these efforts implies that there is nothing else to recover, that all early modern disability representations were produced by able-bodied writers and actors and were implicitly and explicitly ableist. This, in turn, reinforces a sense of absence, of extraordinarily embodied individuals' complete exclusion from theatrical practice. In this thesis, I have sought to demonstrate that the story of the involvement of extraordinarily embodied performers in theatrical production is not that of a move from (historical) absence to (modern-day) presence, but rather that of a continuum. If one looks beyond the canon and especially at modes of popular performance, a whole other range of disability representations and disability histories, and, indeed, intersections of the two, becomes available.

Appendix

"Contract twischen Heer Daniel Cajanus ter Eenere En Mons:r Roeloff Sweris ter andere Zijde En dato 27:e October 1741."

Appendix 1

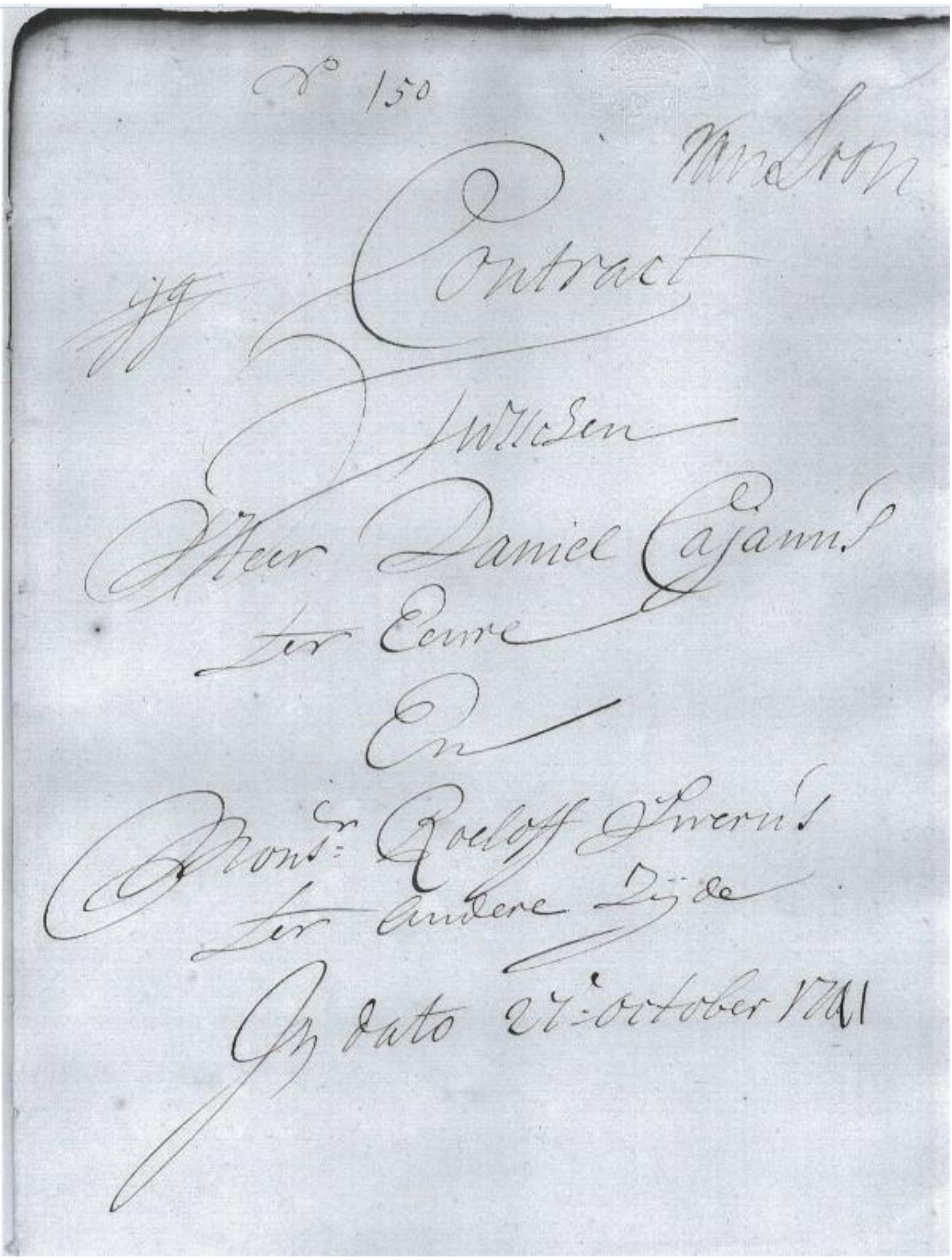
Note on Text

This is the contract which Cajanus signed alongside his business partner Roeloff Sweris prior to his 1741/2 trip to England. It is part of the collection of the Stadsarchief Amsterdam.

Due to fire damage (visible at the top of the page in the first image), this item is not available for in-person study. I accessed it through a scan, which means that I do not have information on the document's size, or on whether each page was written on an individual sheet of paper.

In my transcription, I maintain original capitalisation, spelling and abbreviations. I explain abbreviated terms in the annotations. I use a caret to indicate text that has been inserted between lines (e.g. ^with^). Illegible deletions are indicated through the use of braces, with the number of dots indicating the number of lost letters (e.g. {...}).

In my translation, I maintain original capitalisation but extend abbreviated terms for ease of reading. I have maintained original line breaks as much as possible.


N° 150

van Loon

jg

Contract

tusschen

d'Heer Daniel Cajanus

ter eenre

En

Mons:r Roeloff Swerus

ter andere Zijde

In dato 27: october 1741

[Folio 1]

Nº 150

van Loon

Contract

twischen

Heer Daniel Cajanus

ter Eenere

En

Mons:r Roeloff Sweris

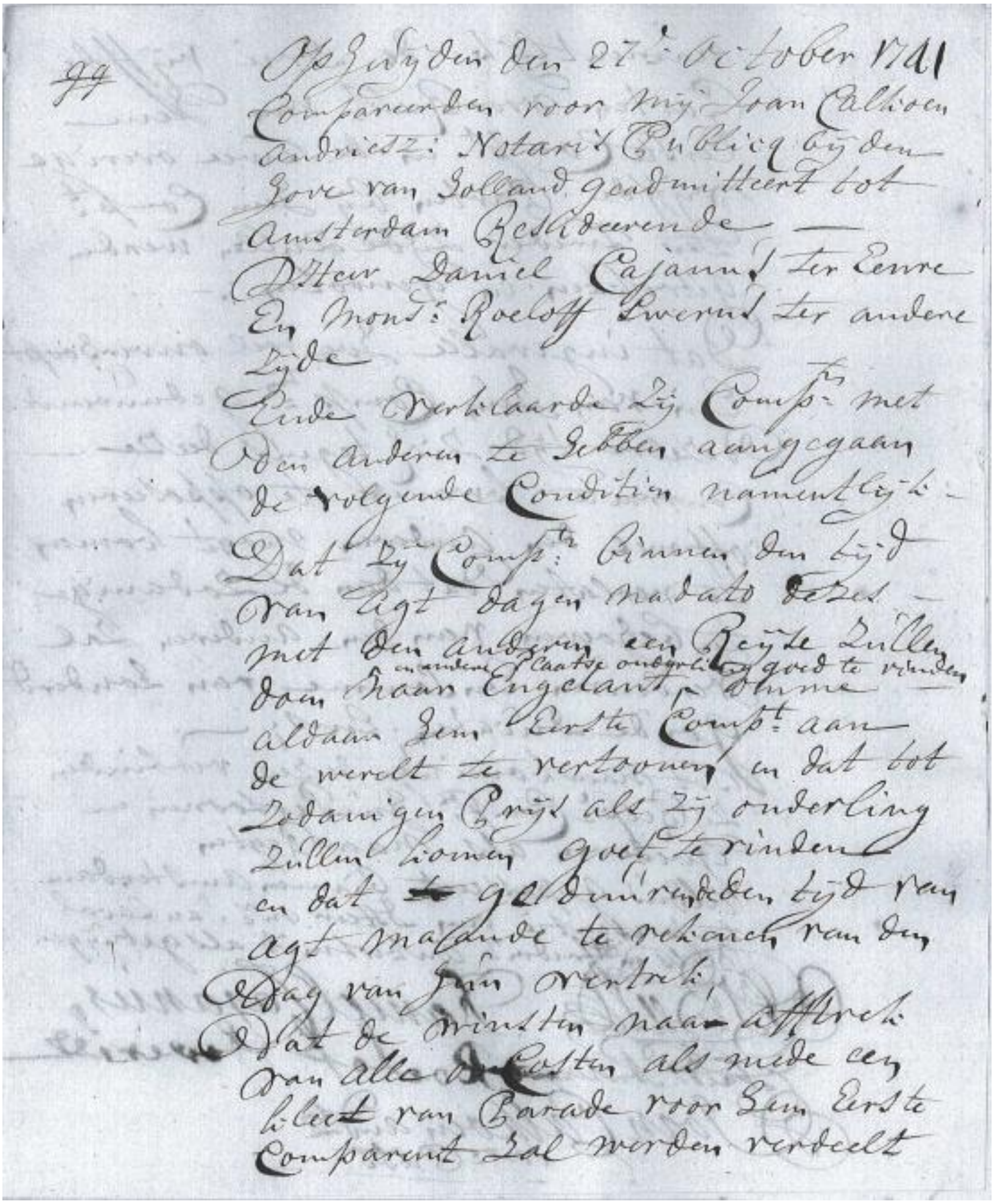
ter andere Zijde

En dato 27:e October 1741

Annotation

9 Mons:r] Monsieur, see also lines 19 and 58.

11 27:e] Indicating the date, i.e., the 27th of the month; modern Dutch: 27e, see also line 13.



~~44~~

Op Heden den 27e October 1741
Compareerden voor mij Joan Calkoen
Andriesz: Notaris Publicq bij den
Hove van Holland geadmitteert tot
Amsterdam Residerende —
D'Heer Daniel Cajanus ter eenre
En Mons: Roeloff Swerus ter andere
Zijde
Ende verklaarde Zij Compten met
den anderen te hebben aangegaan
de volgende Conditien namentlijk —
Dat Zij Compten binnen den tijd
van agt dagen nadato dezes —
met den anderen een Reyse zullen
doen naar Engelant en andere plaatse onderling goed te vinden omme —
aldaar hem Eerste Compt: aan
de wereldt te vertoonen en dat tot
zodanigen Prijs als zij onderling
zullen komen goet te vinden
en dat ~~—~~ gedurende den tijd van
agt maanden te rekenen van den
dag van zijn vertrek,
Dat de winsten naar aftrek
van alle de Costen als mede een
kleed van Parade voor hem Eerste
Comparant zal worden verdeelt

Op huyden den 27:e October 1741

Compareerden voor mij Joan Calkoen

Andriesz: Notaris Publicq. bij den

Hove van Holland geadmitteert tot

Amsterdam Resideerende –

D'Heer Daniel Cajanus ter Eenre

En Mons:r Roeloff Sweris ter andere

Zijde

Ende verklaarde zij Comp:tn met

Den anderen te hebben aangegaan

de volgende Condition namentlijk –

Dat zij Comp:tn binnen den tijd

van agt dagen nadato dezes –

met den anderen een Reijse zullen

doen naar Engelant ^en andere Plaatse onderling goed te vinden^ omme –

aldaan hem eerste Comp:t aan

de werelt te vertoonen en dat tot

Zodanigen Prijs als zij onderling

Zullen komen goet te vinden

en dat {..} gedurendeden tijd van

agt maande te rekenen van den

Dag van hun vertrek,

Dat de winsten naar afftrek

van alle onkosten als mede een

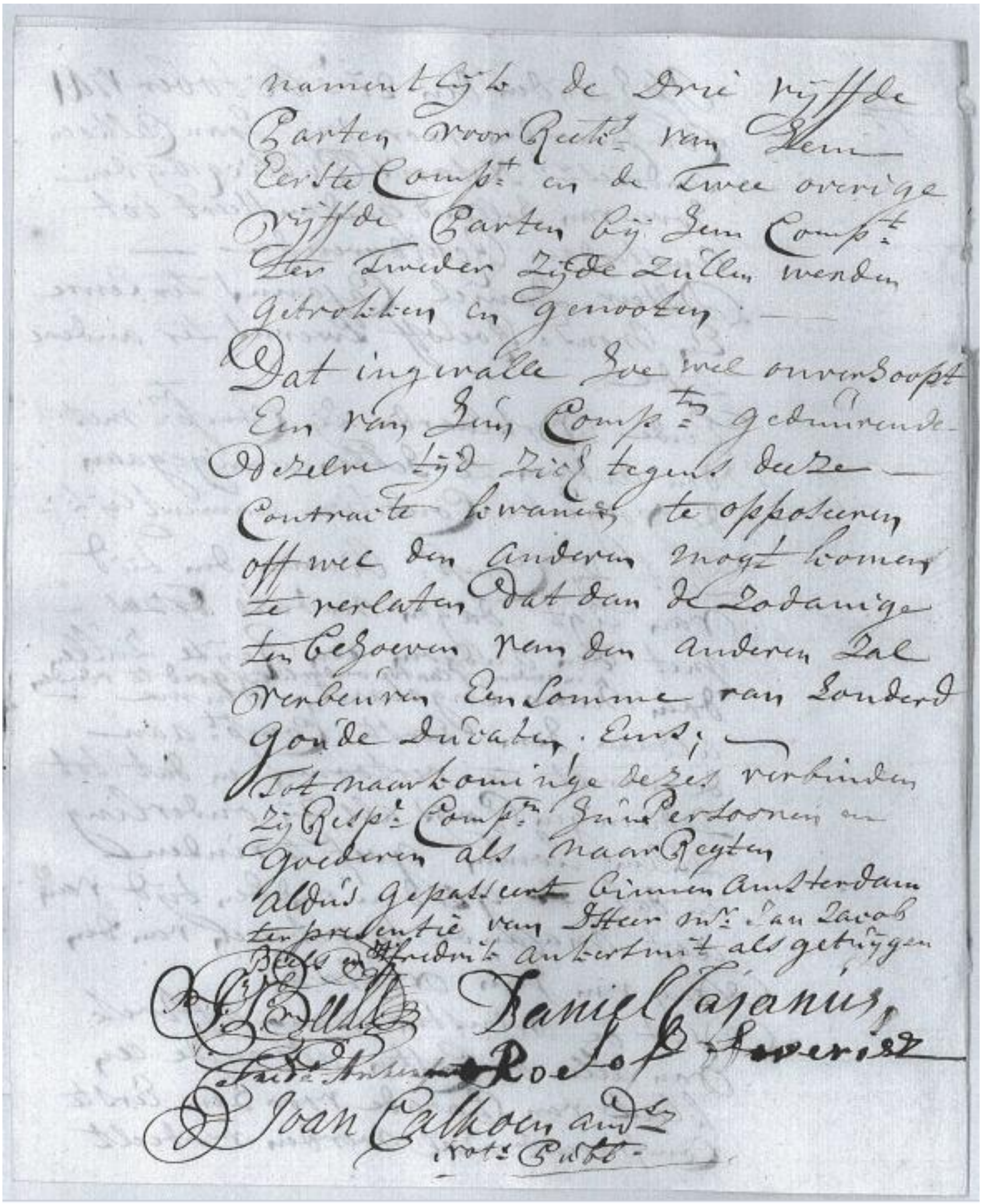
kleet van Parade voor hem Eerste

Comparant zal werden verdeelt

Annotatation

15 Notaris Publicq.] Notaris Publicus: public notary, see also line 63.

21 Comp:tn] comparanten, plural of comparante: the parties of a contract, or in a legal dispute, see also lines 24, 28, 41, 42, 46, 55.


namentlijk de Drie vijffde
Parten voor Reek.ge van den
Eerste Compt. en de Twee overige
vijffde Parten bij den Compt.
ter tweeder Zijde zullen werden
getrokken en genooten. —
Dat ingevalle Soo wel onverhoopt
Een van den Compten gedurende
deselve tijd Sich tegens deeze
Contracte kwamen te opposeeren
off wel den anderen mogt komen
te verlaten dat dan de zodanige
ten behoeven van den anderen zal
verbeuren Een Somme van honderd
goude ducaten. Eens; —
Tot naarkominge dezes verbinden
zij Resp: Compten: hun Persoonen en
goederen als naar Regten
Aldus gepasseert binnen Amsterdam
ter presentie van D'heer Mr. Jan Jacob
Bulle en Frederik Aubertin als getuygen

J J Bulle Daniel Cajanius,
Frederik Aubertin Roelof Soverist
Joan Calkoen
Nots. Publ.

namentlijk de Drie vijffde
Parten voor Reek:[g] van hem
Eerste Comp:[t] en de Twee overige
vijfde Parten bij hem Comp:[t]
ter Tweeder zijde zullen werden
getrokken en genooten –
Dat ingveralle hoe wel onverhoopt
Een van hem Comp:[tn] gedurende
dezelve tijd zich tegens deeze –
Contracte kwanen te opposeeren
off wel den anderen mogt komen
te verlaten dat dan de zodanige
ten behoeven van den anderen zal
verbeuren Een Somme van honderd
Goude Ducaten; Eens; -
Tot naarkominge dezes verbinden
Zij Resp:[e] Comp.[tn] hun Perzoonen en
Goederen als naar Regten
Aldus gepasseert binnen Amsterdam
ter presentie van D'Heer M:[r] Jan Jacob
Beels en Fredrik Ankersmit als getuijgen
J.J. Beels, Daniel Cajanus
Frederik Ankersmit, Roelof Sweriss
Joan Calkoen Andr:[sz]
Not: Publ:

Annotation

40 Reek:[g]] Reekening, modern Dutch: rekening: account.

55 Resp:[e]] Respectieve: respective.

62 Andr:[sz]] Andriesz

[Folio 1]

Number 150

Van Loon

Contract

between

Heer Daniel Cajanus

on the One

And

Monsieur Roeloff Sweris

on the other Side

On the date of the 27th of October 1741

[Folio 2]

Today the 27th of October 1741

Appearing before me Joan Calkoen

Andriesz Public Notary admitted at the

Court of Holland

Residing in Amsterdam –

The Heer Daniel Cajanus on the One

And Monsieur Roeloff Sweris on the other

Side

And the Parties declaring that they have with

The other agreed on

The following Conditions namely –

That the Parties within the period

of eight days after this –

with the other shall make a Journey

to England ^and other Places by mutual consent^ in order to –

then exhibit the first Party to
the world and this to
Such a Price as they shall both
Come to find good
and this {..} for the duration of
eight months starting at the
Day of their departure,
That the profits after subtraction
of all costs as well as a
Parade coat for the First
Party shall be distributed

[Folio 3]

namely the Three Fifths
on Account of the
First Party and the Two remaining
Fifths shall be taken and enjoyed
By the second Comparant –
That in case however unexpected
One of the Parties during
that same time
comes to oppose this Contract
or comes to want
to leave the other that then the same
for the benefit of the other shall
forfeit A Sum of one hundred

Golden Ducats; One; –

To follow this

The Parties commit their Persons and

Goods according to the Law

Thus passed in Amsterdam

In the presence of the Heer Monsieur Jan Jacob

Beels and Fredrik Ankersmit as witnesses

J.J. Beels, Daniel Cajanus

Frederik Ankersmit, Roelof Sweriss

Joan Clakoen Andriesz

Public Notary

Appendix 2

Cajanus, Daniel. “Heilzaame en Trouhertige Vermaaninge, Aan het Vereenigt Nederland, Door Daniël Cajanus; Ten opsichte van de Verkiezinge van zyn Hoogheid den Heere Prince van Oranje en Nassau, &c. &c. &c., Als Stadhouder, Admiraal en Capitein Generaal van deze Provintie, verkooren den 1 Mey 1747 Binnen Haarlem”.

Note on Text

This print is part of the library of the Noord-Hollands Archief (object number 43000626). It is a single-page print measuring 332 x 252 mm.

My translation maintains original capitalisation, line breaks and punctuation where possible. It contains some explanatory footnotes.

I have not been able to decipher the entirety of the handwritten note at the bottom of the document. I use [. . .] for each illegible word.

HEILZAAME en TROUHERTIGE Vermaaninge,

Aan het Vereenigt Nederland, Door

DANIËL CAJANUS;

Ten opsichte van de Verkiezinge van zyn Hoogheid den HEERE

PRINCE VAN ORANJE

En NASSAU, &c. &c. &c.

Als STADHOUDER, ADMIRAAL en CAPITEIN GENERAAL van deeze PROVINTIE; verkooren den 1 Mey 1747.

Binnen HAARLEM.

Heb gy ô Nêerlands Volk! des Hemels gunst ontfaan,
Is uw een Zegen uit der hoogte reeds beschooren,
Is een Verlosser tot 's Lands heil by u verkooren?
't Is God, 't is God alleen! die u heeft goed gedaan;
Eert hem dan boven al, looft hem voor alle dingen,
Weest in uw God verblyd, verheugd u in dien Heer,
Roemt zynen Naam, zyn groote Naam, gelyk wel eer
Met vroolyk bly gejuig de zaal'ge Heemelingen
Het deeden, in den nacht by Jezus komst in 't Vlees,
De Herders hoordend hoe zy God met blyde tongen,
Zyn Eer en Heerlykheit door Lof Pesalmen zongen,
Een lieftelyken Zang waar in dat God bewees,
Aan 't zondig Schepzel al zyn gunst en welbehaagen,
Laat ons vertrouwen dan op God, op God alleen
Gegront, gevestigt zyn, op God! en anders geen,
Geen Vlees tot onzen arm steeds stellen, in deez' daagen,
Veel min met veele die nu roepen, op den straat,
Dat zeer belagg'lyk is, viva Oranje boven,
En denken niet aan God die Eeuwig is te loven,
ô Onbezonnenen en idele losse praat!
Zyn Hoogheit wild ook niet, hy wil niet dat wy maaken
Een Mensch tot Afgod, het zy Koning, Vorst of Heer,
Niet ons vertrouwe op hem stellen, maar de Eer
Aan Gode geven, die ons red uyt veele zaaken,
Is God dan nevens ons, wie zal ons teegen zyn,
Wil God Beschermer zyn van onze vreije wallen,
Dien Franse Goliath zal dan ter needer vallen,
Voor onze David, schoon zyn Macht was nog zo klein,
Weest dan stantvastig in uw God, ô Prins! gaat heenen
In 's Heeren Naam, trotzeert dien stouten Goliath,
En spreekt als David sprak tot Goliath van Gath:
ô Hoonder Israels! gy zyt tot my verscheenen
Met Swaert en Spietze, en Schilt, vertrouwende op uw kragt,
Ik koome in den Naam des Heeren der Heirschaaren,
Den Heeren Zebaoth, die u nu niet zal spaaren,
Om dat gy hem gehoond, versmaad heeft, en veragt,
Ik zal de Kop van uw, op deezen dag afkerven,
Uw Lichaam geven tot der Dieren en Voog'len spys!
Zo weet gansch Israël, dat God op deeze wys,
Hun God, hun Rotssteen is, in leeven en in sterven,
Zo weet ook Nederland, zo worden wy gewaar,
Dat God Jehovah God, niet helpt door Spies nog Swaarden,
ô Neen! de Stryd is zyns, de Machte deezer Aarden,
Zyn niets by hem, hy red alleen ons uit gevaar;
Maar gy, gy zyt ô Vorst! het werktuig in Gods handen,
Wy bidden hem, dat hy genaadig u behoed,
U lang in 't Leven laat, uw dierbaar Edel bloed
Wil spaaren, tot behoud van deeze vreije Landen.
God zegenen uw Zaad tot in der Eeuwigheyt,
Hy laat te zyner tyd een Zoon tot onzer vreugde
Geboore werde, die begaafst met Vaders deugde
Ons Nederland regeert, met wysheid en beleyd,
Zyt dus gezegent PRINS met uwen KROON-PRINCESSEN,
Des Hemels Zegen blyft op uw Roemwaardig Huys,
God hoede U en Haar voor smaatheit, schande en kruys,
En laaft ons Ziele door uw Godgewyde Lessen;
Zo bloeije Jezus Kerk, de Vryheit en den Staat,
Zo is en blyve God, ons heil en toeverlaat.

DANIËL CAJANUS.

Te Haarlem, Gedrukt by de *Erfgen:* van *Iz: van Hulkenroy*, in de Lange Begynestraat, in de Konings Hulk.

Dit vers is mede gedrukt in den bundel ged[illegible] [illegible] op de [illegible] verkiezinge van [illegible] den Heer Willem Carel Hendrik Friso enz. (zie blz. 273 e.v.) Amsterdam [illegible] 8vo

Heilzaame en Trouhertige Vermaaninge,

Aan het Vereenigt Nederland, Door

Daniël Cajanus;

Ten opsichte van de Verkiezinge van zyn Hoogheid den Heere

Prince van Oranje

En Naussau; &c. &c. &c.

Als Stadhouder, Admiraal en Capitein Generaal

van deeze Provintie; verkooren den 1 Mey 1747.

Binnen Haarlem.

Heb gy ô Nëerlands Volk! Des Hemels gunst ontfaan,
Is uw een Zegen uit der hoogte reeds beschoren,
Is een Verlosser tot ‘sLands heil by u verkooren?
’t Is God, ’t is God alleeen! Die u heeft goed gedaan;
Eert hem dan boven al, looft hem voor alle dingen,
Weest in uw Gid verblyd, verheugd u in dien Heer,
Roemt zynen Naam, zyn grotte Naam, gelyk wel eer
Met vroolyk bly gejuig de zaal’ge Heemelingen
Het deeden, in den nacht by Jezus komst in ’t Vlees,
De Herders hoordend hoe zy God met blyde tongen,
Zyn Eer en Heerlykheit door Lof Pesalmen zongen,
Een lieffelyken Zang waar in dat God bewees,
Aan ’t zondig Schepzel al zyn gunst en welbehaagen,
Laat ons vertrouwen dan op God, op God alleen
Gegront, gevestigt zyn, op God! en anders geen,
Geen Vlees tot onzen arm steeds stellen, in deez’ daagen,
Veel min met veele die nu roepen, op den straat,
Dat zeer belagg’lyk is, viva Oranje boven,
En denken niet aan God die Eeuwig is te loven,
ô Onbezonnenen en idele losse praat!

Zyn Hoogheut wild ook niet, hy wil niet dat wy maaken
Een Mensch tot Afgod, het zy Koning, Vorst of Heer,
Niet ons vertrouwe op hem stellen, maar de Eer
Aan Gode geven, die ons red uyt veele zaaken,
Is God dan nevens ons, wie zal ons teegen zyn,
Wil God Beschermer zyn van onze vreije wallen,
Dien Franse Goliath zal dan ter needer vallen,
Voor onze David, schoon zyn Macht was nog zo klein,
Weest dan stantvastig in uw God, ô Prins! Gaat heenen
In ’s Heeren Naam, trotzeert dien stouten Goliath,
En spreekt als David sprak tot Goliath van Gath:
ô Hoonder Israels! Gy zyt tot my verscheenen
Met Swaert en Spietze, en Schilt, vertrouwende op uw kragt,
Ik koome in den Naam des Heeren der Heirschaaren,
Den Heeren Zebaoth, die u nu niet zal spaaren,
Om dat gy hem gehoond, versmaad heeft, en veragt,
Ik zal de Kop can uw, op dezen dag afkerven,
Uw Lichaam geven tot der Dieren en Voog’len spys!
Zo weet gansch Israel, dat God op deeze wys,
Hun God, hun Rotssteen is, in leeven en in sterven,
Zo weet ook Nederland, zo worden wy gewaar,
Dat God Jehovah God, niet helpt door Spies nog Swaarden,
ô Neen! De Stryd is zyns, de Machte deezer Aarden,
Zyn niets by hem, hy red alleen ons uit gevaar;
Maar gy, gy zyt ô Vorst! het werktuig in Gods handen,
Wy bidden hem, dat hy genaadig u behoed,
U lang in ’t Leven laat, uw dierbaar Edel bloed
Wil spaaren, tot behoud van deeze vreije Landen.
God zegenen uw Zaad tot in der Eeuwigheyt,

Hy laat te zyner tyd een Zoon tot onzer vreugde
Geboore werde, die begaast met Vaders deugde
Ons Nederland regeert, met wysheid e beleyd,
Zyt dus gezegent Prins met uwen Kroon-Princessen,
Des Hemels Zegen blyft op uw Roewaardig Huys,
God hoede U en Haar voor smaatheit, schande en krys,
En laast ons Ziele door uw Godgewyde Lesten;
Zo bloeijde Jezus Kerk, de Vryheit en den Staat,
Zo is en blyve God, ons heil en toeverlaat.
Daniël Cajanus

Te Haarlem, Gedrukt by de *Erfgen:* van *Iz: van Hulkenroy*, in de Lange Begynestraat, in de Konings Hulk.

Dit reus is mede gedrukt in den bundel [. . .] Vreugde-Klanken op de gewenschte verkiezinge van Z D H den Heere Willem Carel Henrik Friso [. . .] [. . .] [. . .] 273 [. . .] Amsterdam 1747. 87

Salubrious and True-Hearted Exhortation

To the United Netherlands, By

Daniel Cajanus

On the event of the Election of his Highness the Lord

Prince of Orange

and Nassau &c.&c.&c.

as Stadhouder, Admiral and Captain General

of these Provinces, elected the first of May 1747.

in Haarlem.

Have you, O Dutch People, received Heaven's favour,
Has a Blessing from on high already been conferred onto you,
Has a Redeemer been elected to the Country's benefit?
It is God, it is solely God! who has done good for you;
Honour him then above all, praise him for all things,
Rejoice in your God, be joyful in the Lord,
Praise his Name, his great Name, just like in the past
With joyful, happy cheer, the blessed Inhabitants of Heaven
Did it, in the night at the coming of Jesus in the Flesh,
The Shepherds, hearing how they, with joyful tongues,
Sang Psalms full of Praise of God's Honour and Glory,
A lovely Song in which God proved,
To the sinful Creature all his favour and delight,
Let us then trust in God, in God alone
Be grounded, settled, in God! and never,
Never make Flesh our arm, in these days,[1]
Much less with the many who now call viva Orange above

[1] Here, Cajanus refers to Jeremiah 17:5, which the Statenvertaling translates as "Zo zegt de Heere: Vervloekt is de man, die op een mens vertrouwt, en vlees tot zijn arm stelt, en wiens hart van den Heere afwijkt!". In the King James Version, this verse is translated as "Thus saith the Lord; Cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm, and whose heart departeth from the Lord". It warns against deriving strength from transient, human concerns.

In the street, which is very ridiculous,
And do not think of God who is to be praised Eternally,
O Rash and idle loose talk!
His Highness did not want this either, he does not want us to make
A Human into an Idol, be it King, Monarch or Lord,
And not to put our trust in him, but give Honour
To God, who saves us from many things,
If God then is beside us, who shall be against us,
If God wants to be the Protector of our peaceful ramparts,
The French Goliath shall then fall down,
Before our David, although his Power was ever so small,
He was steadfast in your God, O Prince! go forth
In the Name of the Lord, defy this naughty Goliath,
And speak as David spoke to Goliath of Gath:
O Mockers of Israel! You have appeared in front of me
With Sword and Pike, and shield, trusting in your strength,
I come in the Name of the Lord of Hosts,
The Lord Zebaoth, who will not spare you,
Because you have mocked, scorned and despised him,
I shall cut off this Head of yours on this day,
Give your Corpse to the Animals and Birds as food!
So knows all of Israel, that in this way, God
Is their God, their rock, in living and in dying,
So too knows the Netherlands, so are we becoming aware,
That God, Jehovah, does not help through Pikes nor Swords,
O no! the Battle is his, the Powers of this Earth,
Are nothing compared to him, he alone saves us from danger;
But you, you are O Sovereign! The tool in God’s hands,
We ask him that he graciously guards you,

Will leave you in Life for a long time, will spare your precious Noble blood
For the preservation of these peaceful lands.
May God bless your Seed in Eternity,
May he, in due course, let a Son be born to our delight
Who may, gifted with the Father's virtue
Govern Our Netherlands with wisdom and prudence,
Be thus blessed, Prince with your Crown Princess,
The Heavens' Blessing stays with your Glorious House,
May God protect You and Her from slander shame and cross,
And nurture our Souls through your Devotional Teachings:
Thus may Jesus's Church, the Freedom and the State bloom,
Thus God is and remains our salvation and refuge.

Daniel Cajanus

In Haarlem, Printed by the *Heirs*[2] of *Izaak van Hulkenroy*,[3] in the Lange Beyijnestraat, in the Konings Hulk.

This giant is included in the collection [. . .] Sounds of Joy Upon The Desired Election Of His Highness[4] The Lord Willem Carel Henrik Friso [. . .] [. . .] [. . .] 273 [. . .] Amsterdam 1747. 87

[2] In the original, the word 'Erfgenamen' ('Heirs') is shortened to 'Erfgen:'.
[3] In the original, the name of the printer, 'Izaak' is shortened to 'Iz:'. According to his entry in the *Katalog der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek*, he was active in Haarlem between 1734 and 1743.
[4] In the original, the honorific 'Zyne Doorluchtige Hoogheid' ('His Highness') is shortened to 'Z D H'.

Appendix 3

Cajanus, Daniel. “Daniel Cajanus Gewenschte Lofbazuine, Voor Den Doorlugtigsten Hoog Gebooren Vorst En Heer Willem, Carel, Hendrik, Friso, Prince Van Oranje En Nassouw, &c. &c. &c. En voor den Jonge Erf-Prins, Gebooren den 8 Maart, Zullende Plechtelyk Gedoopt werden den 11 April 1748. Binnen ’S Gravenhage”.

Note on Text

This print is part of the library of the Noord-Hollands Archief (object number 43000625). It is a single-page print measuring 360 x 258 mm.

My translation maintains original capitalisation, line breaks and punctuation where possible. It contains some explanatory footnotes.

DANIEL CAJANUS

Gewenſchte LOFBAZUINE, Voor Den

DOORLUGTIGSTEN HOOG GEBOOREN VORST EN HEER

WILLEM, CAREL, HENDRIK, FRISO.

PRINCE VAN ORANJE EN NASSOUW, &c. &c. &c.

En voor den

JONGE ERF-PRINS,

Geboren den 8 Maart, Zullende Plechtelyk Gedoopt werden den 11 April 1748.

BINNEN 'S GRAVENHAGE.

HOofd Neêrlands Volk met my de Heere aller Heeren,
En zend uw dankbaarheid tot door de dunne Lugt,
Zingd Lof-gezangen hem en zyne Zoon ter eeren,
Hy heeft uw Land gered gehoord het droefgeſugt.
Wanneer de Franſe Haan op uwe Muuren kraaide,
De Vrees uw hert beving en elk verſlaagen was,
Een trouw'loos Hof uw ſlegts met ſoete woorden paide
En zoo uw Land bekroop en won van pas tot pas.
Zoo dat eerlange was met redenen te dugten,
Dat gants ons Land wierd door het Krygsvolk over-ſtroomd,
Dat veel verſlagenen deed uit hun woonplaats vlugten
En 't woedend Oorlogspaard dus holden ongetoomd.
Die zelve God heeft ons d' Orange Prins gegeeven,
Ten ſpyt dien Nabuurs en ten nut van Stad en Land,
Lang moet dan Frizo met zyn Kroon-Princeſſe leeven,
En leggen 't Oorlogspaard eerlange aan den band.
Gods hand geleî dien Vorſt wanneer hy gaat te velden,
Hy win 't verlorene tot 's Vyands bitt're ſmert,
Zyn gunſt verſel hem ſtaag, doet wondren van hem melden,
Dat zyner Vad'ren Deugde in hem gevonden werd.
't Begin is goed daar's reeds eene Erfprins geboren,
Gods zeegen is nog over Neêrlands vrye Staat,
Hy wil niet dat de Stam Orange gaat verlooren,
Wees welkom jonge Vorſt roept alſints volk en Raad.
Groey op in 's Vaders deugd, ô Eed'len Graaf van Buuren,
Gods gunſt geleide u, uw gantſchen Levensloop
Zyn zegeningen blyven altyd op uw duuren,
Uw Vaders hadden noit geen Land om Goud te koop.
Geen france haanen zullen op ons Tuinmuur kraejen,
Geen trouwe Bondgenoot meer doelwit zyn van wraak
Zyn doorſigt laat zig met geen valſche zedens paejen,
Nog woorden zonder zin of reden zonder zaak.
Dan zyn de Burgeren van Neêrlands trouwe Steeden,
Voor 't Lieve vaderland te waagen goed en bloed
Bereid, tot men bekomt een vaſte en duurb're Vreede,
En gy de Vryheid op haar Speer weer plaaſt den hoed.
Ja, vond Zyn Hoogheid goed als eener Hollands Grave
Die Klaas van Kieten, van ſtatuur als ik, verkoor
Tot Schildknaap, in die tyd om op zyn wenk te draven,
Myn yver ging uw Vorſt met ſnelle ſchreeden voor.
En ſloeg in 't zand ter neêr die met onwaarde blikken,
Myn Vorſt een ogenblik al was 't van verre aanſag,
En 't gulle aardryk zand 't onwaardig bloed doen likke
Van hem die door myn hand ontfing den laatſte ſlag.
God zy uw Leidsman als eer Moiſes door de Meyren,
En Aaron met zyn volk of als een Gideon,
Die met een kleine Magt verſloegen groote Heiren.
Door zyne goedheid blink nog lang d' Oranje-zon
Aan Neêrlands kimme en hy geef een tal van Loten,
Wier weſen 't deugdebeeld van uw myn Vorſt vertoond,
En uit het edel bloed der Vorſten voort geſprooten,
Doen zien dat uwe deugd ook in hun Boeſems woond.
Gods Eng'len wacht omringt uw Tent en brengt uw veilig,
Weer by uw Erfvorſtin in Neêrlands Vorſt'lyk Hof,
Beveeld uw Gemalin aan hem wiens Naam is Heilig,
En keerd in volle vreugd: zo zal gantſch Neêrlands lof
Door 't dunne Wolkgordyn ten hoogſten Hemel ſtyge,
D' Hiſtorieſchryver met een goude inct zyn Blaân,
Met uwen Lof en Eer en Dapperheid in 't ſtryden
Beſchryven, en uw Beeld op duurb're munte ſlaan.
En dubb'len ons geroep lang moet Vorſt Frizo Leeven
Lang leeft zyn Erfvorſtin tot Neêrlands heil en nut,
God wil den Erfprins en Princeſſe hun gegeeven,
In deugde groejen doen tot Neêrlands vreugd en ſtut.

DANIEL CAJANUS.

Te Haarlem Gedruckt by Mozes van Hulkenroy, aan de Markt in Laurens Koſter.

Daniel Cajanus

Gewenschte Lofbazuine, Vorr Den

Doorlugtigsten Hoog Gebooren Vorst En Heer

Willem, Carel, Hendrik, Friso.

Prince Van Oranje En Nassouw, &c. &c. &c.

En voor den

Jonge Erf-Prins,

Gebooren den 8 Maart, Zullende Plechtelyk Gedoopt

Werden den 11 April 1748.

Binnen S' Gravenhage.

Loofd Neërlands Volk met my de Heere aller Heeren,
En zend uw dankbaarheid tot door de dunne Lugt,
Zingd Lof-gezangen hem en zyne Zoon ter eeren,
Hy heeft uw Land gered gehoord het droefgefugt.
Wanneer de Franse Haan op uwe Muuren kraaide,
De Vrees uw hert beving en elk verslaagen was,
Een trouw'loos Hof uw slegts met soete woorden paide
En zoo uw Land bekroop en won van pas tot pas.
Zoo dat eerlange was met redenen te dugten,
Dat gants ons Land wierd door het Krygsvolk overstroomd,
Dat veel verslagenen deed uit hun woonplaats vlugten
En 't woedend Oorlogspaard dus holden ongetoomd.
Die zelve God heeft ons d' Orange Prins gegeeven,
Tyn spyt diens Nabuurs en ten nut van Stad en Land,
Lang moet dan Frizo met zyn Kroon-Princesse leeven,
En leggen 't Oorlogspaard eerlange aan den band.
Gods hand geleî dien Vorst wanneer hy gaat te velden,
Hy win 't verlorene tot 's Vyands bitt're smert,

Zyn gunst versel hem staag, doet wondren van hem melden,
Dat zyner Vad'ren Deuge in hem gevonden werd.
't Begin is goed daar 's reeds eene Erfprins geboren,
Gods zeegen is nog over Neêrlands vrye Staat,
Hy wil niet dat de Stam Orange gaat verlooren,
Wees welkom jonge Vorst alsints volk en Raad.
Groey op in's Vaders deugd, ô Eed'len Graaf van Buuren,
Gods gunst geleide u, uw gantschen Levensloop
Zyn zegeningen blyven altyd op uw duuren,
Uw Vaders hadden noit geen Land om Goud te koop.
Geen france haanen zullen op ons Tuinmuur kraejen,
Geen trouwe Bondgenoot meer doelwit zyn van wraak
Zyndoorsigt laat zig met geen valsche zedens paejen,
Nog woorden zonder zin of reden zonder zaak.
Dan zyn de Burgeren van Neêrlands trouwe Steeden,
Voor 't Lieve vaderland te waagen goed en bloed
Bereid, tot men bekomt een vaste en duurb're Vreede
En gy de Vryheid op haar Speer weer plaast den hoed.
Ja, vond Zyn Hoogheid goed als eener Hollands Grave
Die Klaas van Kieten, van statuur als ik, verkoor
Tot Schildknaap, in die tyd om op zyn wenk te draven,
Myn yver ging uw Vorst met snelle schreeden voor.
En sloeg in 't zand ter neêr die met onwaarde blikken,
Myn Vorst een ogenblik al was 't van verre aansag,
En 't gulle aardryk zand 't onwaardig blod doen likke
Van hem die door myn hand ontfing den laatste slag.
God zy uw Leidsman als eer Moises door de Meyren,
En Aaron met zyn volk of als een Gideon,
Die met een kleine Magt versloegen groote Heiren.

Door zyne goedheid blink nog lang d'Oranje-zon
Aan Neêrlands kimme en hy geef een tal van Loten,
Wier wesen t' deugdebeeld van uw myn Vorst vertoond,
En uit het edel bloed der Vorsten voortgesprooten,
Doen zien dat uwe deugd ook in hun Boesems woond.
Gods Eng'len wacht omringt uw Tent en brengt uw veilig,
Weer by uw Erfvorstin in Neêrlands Vorst'lyk Hof,
Beveeld ow Gemalin aan hem wiens Naam is Heilig,
En keerd in volle vreugd: zo zal gantsch Neêrlands lof
Door 't dunne Wolkgordyn ten hoogsten Hemel styge,
D' Historieschryver met een goude inct zyn Blaan,
Met uwen Lof en Eer en Dapperheid in 't stryden
Beschryven, en uw Beeld op duur'dre munte slaan.
En dubb'len ons geroep lang moet Vorst Frizo Leevn
Lang leeft zyn Erfprins tot Neêrlands heil en nut,
God wil den Erfprins en Princesse hun gegeeven,
In deugde groejen doen tot Neêrlands vreugd en stut.
Daniel Cajanus

Te Haarlem Gedruckt by Mozes van Hulkenroy, aan de Mart in Laurens Koster.

Daniel Cajanus

Wishes Praise, For The

Most Noble High Born Sovereign and Lord

Willem Carel Hendrik Friso

Prince Of Orange And Nassau, &c. &c. &c.

And for the

Young Crown Prince,

Born on 8 March, To Be Solemnly Baptized

On 11 April 1748

In ‘s-Gravenhage

[1]

Praise with me, Dutch People, the Lord of all Lords,
And send your gratefulness up into the Air,
Sing Hymns of Praise honouring him and his Son,
He has saved your Country, hearing the sad sighing.
When the French Rooster crowed on your Walls,
When Fear took hold of your heart and everyone was dejected,
A faithless Court flattered you only with sweet words
And so crept up on your Country and won step by step.
So that before long it was to be feared with reason,
That our entire country was flooded by Warriors,
Which made many defeated people flee from their homes
And the raging Warhorse was unbridled thus.
The same God has given us the Prince of Orange,
To spite his Neighbours and for the benefit of City and Country,
Long must then Friso live with his Crown Princess,
And before long bridle the Warhorse.

[1] Now: The Hague.

God's hand guide this Monarch when he goes into the battle field,
May he win what was lost, to the Enemy's bitter pain,
May his favour accompany him constantly, report wonders of him,
That his Father's Virtue will be found in him.
The Beginning is good since already a Crown Prince is born,
God's blessing is still over the Netherlands' free State,
He does not want the House of Orange to be lost,
Be welcome young Monarch, call up in every way the people and the Council.
Grow up in his Father's virtue, O Noble Count of Buuren,[2]
May God's favour guide you, may his blessings
For your entire Lifetime, remain with you,
Your Fathers never sold Land for Money.
No French cockerels shall crow on our City wall,
No faithful Confederate shall be the target of revenge any more
His understanding does not let itself be appeased with false morals,
Nor words without meaning or reason without cause.
Then, the Citizens of the Netherlands' faithful Towns are Ready,
To venture goods and blood for the Dear fatherland
Until one achieves a firm and lasting Peace,
And let Freedom place the hat on the Spear again.[3]
Yes, His Highness liked, as a Count of the Netherlands
Who elected Klaas van Kieten, of a stature similar to mine,
As Squire, at the time to run at his beck,
My ardour preceded your Sovereign with swift steps.
And struck down in the sand those who look, with unworthy glances,
At My Monarch even just for a moment from afar,
I made the loose sand of the soil lick the unworthy blood
Of him who, through my hand, received his last blow.

[2] Dutch territory and formerly an independent county.
[3] This image denotes the end of any active fighting.

May God be your Guide like Moses through the Seas,
And Aaron with his people or as a Gideon,
Who with little Power defeated great Armies.
Through his goodness, may the sun of Orange shine for a long time
In the Dutch sky and may he give numerous Offspring
Whose character shows the virtuous image of you my monarch,
And sprung from the noble blood of Monarchs,
Do see that your virtue also lives in their Bosoms.
God's Angel watch encircles your Tent and keeps you safe,
Again with your Wife in the Netherland's Royal Court,
Recommend your Spouse to him whose Name is Holy,
And return in complete joy: so shall the praise all of the Netherlands
Rise through the thin Cloud curtain to the highest Heaven,
The History writers, with golden ink, write upon their Pages,
About your praise and honour and bravery in the fight
And strike your image on expensive currency.
And double our cries long must Count Friso Live,
Long live his queen to the Netherlands' benefit and usefulness,
God wants the Crown Prince and Princess given to them,
To grow in virtue to the Netherlands' joy and support.
Daniel Cajanus.

Printed in Haarlem by Mozes van Hulkenroy, in the Market in Laurens Koster.[4]

[4] Mozes van Hulkenroy was a Haarlem printer and bookseller whose shop sign depicted Laurens Koster (ca. 1370- ca. 1440), another Haarlem native who is purported to have invented the printing press at the same time as Johannes Gutenberg (Short Title Catalogue Netherlands).

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Nassau &c.&c.&c. as Stadhouder, Admiral and Captain General of these Provinces; elected the first of May 1747. In Haarlem"]. Haarlem, 1747, Noord-Hollands Archief, Haarlem, object number 43000626.

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