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Patricia Fumerton
University of California-Santa Barbara
Santa Barbara, California

The recorded stopping-places of one English vagrant arrested by authorities during a western trek in 1612 takes the following night-by-numbers form:

> First night, the Saracen's Head in Farringdon;
> Second night, the Star in Abingdon;
> Third night, an unnamed alehouse in Wallingford;
> Fourth night, the Hand in Reading;
> Fifth night, the Shoemaker's Last in Newbury;
> Sixth night, the Black Boys in Andover;
> Seventh night, the Chequers in Winchester;
> Eighth night, an unnamed alehouse in Amesbury;
> Ninth night, a barn five miles from Amesbury;
> Tenth night, the White Horse in Fisherton Anger.[1]

Each siting in this sequential list is a one-night layover and, with only one exception, each is an alehouse. Alehouses sprang up all over England in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in direct response to an upsurge in vagrancy and its look-a-like, mobile labor, which was often persecuted by authorities as indistinguishable from vagrancy.[2] Following the migratory paths of such itinerants, alehouses were most numerous in towns, and, of course, especially in London. The Londoner Richard Rawlidge protested in 1628 that fifty or sixty years earlier "alehouses were scant . . . [but] now every street [is] replenished" with them. Thomas Dekker, in his *English Villanies* (1632), concurred. Referring to the red lattice or chequer pattern that was often painted on the walls of small, unlicensed houses in London (instead of ale-stakes or signs that extended out from the house, like those cited above), Dekker complained: "A whole streete is in some

place but a continued Ale-house: not a shoppe to be seene betweene a Red lattice."[3] Later statistical evidence provided by Peter Clark supports these claims. Within the city proper, in 1657 there was about one licensed tippler to every sixteen houses, with some of the poorer wards running a ratio closer to one to six or one to seven. Within the suburbs, alehouses were even more numerous, and their rapid proliferation, in Clark's words, "virtually out of control."[4]

Alehouses thus kept pace with the growth and expansive movements of impoverished itinerants in early modern England. But as a temporary stopping point for vagrancy—that is, as a habitable *site* of vagrancy—the alehouse opened its doors to poor local dwellers as well as to those just "passing through." And in doing so, it further opened up the metonymic power of vagrancy initiated already in its embrace of mobile and unstable labor. What was the great attraction of the alehouse for these diverse groups? Certainly it met their basic needs for cheap drink, food, accommodation, and news of possible work. But it also offered much more. In essential ways, I argue, the alehouse offered the unemployed and poor (including even employed local residents) an alternative community and an alternative home. That is, though in many ways like a traditional community and home, the alehouse, as we shall see, was also crucially *unlike* them. As such, it constituted a paradoxical or ambiguous space, which, by virtue of its indeterminacy, could be variously and "freely" inhabited. However, if thus siting vagrancy metonymically extended the vagrant experience, it also restricted access to it. Broadside street ballads—the aesthetic form which not only decorated alehouse walls but also, as we shall see, fully inhabited the space of vagrancy—are especially vocal on this subject. Alehouse ballads, in particular, celebrate the gendered co-opting of the alehouse by lowly housed men. In these ballads the alehouse becomes a liberating space situated in opposition to the constraints of the domestic home. But before we can fully appreciate the ballads pasted on its walls, we must first enter the alehouse "home."[5]

The alehouse: Home away from home

In a very rudimentary way, alehouses provided the vagrant and poor—and especially youths, as Paul Griffiths would add—with a kind of homey community. Since alehouses were frequented primarily by the lower orders of society (itinerants, wage-laborers, journeymen, hawkers, petty craftsmen, servants, apprentices, etc.), the low could feel comfortable with relative

peers, however loose or motley or ultimately inequitable the association. As a gathering site, the alehouse offered this social "group" many of the community services that used to be provided by the church. People resorted there for wedding parties, or wakes, or to celebrate a holiday with drink, food, and games.[6] Women as well as men gathered there—a fact that impressed the German Thomas Platter—but the alehouse had a decidedly homosocial bent. Respectable women could only attend with their husbands or together as a group of "gossips"; a woman entering alone would be marked as a prostitute.[7] Men, on the other hand, came and went freely without social stigma (other than that of drunkenness).[8] To this gender divide we shall return.

In addition to being a communal, if predominantly "male," space, the alehouse was also (if somewhat paradoxically) a *home* operation. Unlike the purpose-built inns for the more well-to-do travelers, most alehouses were in fact ordinary dwelling houses where private living quarters overlapped with public drinking space.[9] The amount of "home" space taken over for tippling would depend on the size of the house. Most alehouses consisted of but one or two rooms: the hall, or the kitchen/parlor at the back of the house (perhaps behind the shop), or the single rented room of a tenement in which an entire family dwelt. Whatever the arrangement, private living quarters overlapped with public drinking space so that to enter an alehouse was quite literally to come "home."[10] Alehouses were also family run. Usually the wife was most conspicuous as hostess because the husband was occupied with another job during the day. But all family members, including the couple's children, would lend a hand. "An Essex tippler," for instance, as Clark notes, "had his eldest son run a gaming table, while the daughter of the house served as a bawd." Such activities hardly evoke an innocent family scene. But they do picture moments where vagrant guests could be intimate with family (sometimes quite literally). Wife, husband, and children all took a part in embracing the poor and vagrant into their alehouse home.[11]

The alehouse, then, offered its guests a touch of community and family—a sense of having "come home." This may well have been the prime attraction of alehouses for the home-less. But such a comforting experience, as the above description of the Essex tippler's operation suggests, was also radically "other." Community and family connote familiarity, wholeness, and stability. The alehouse, while partially partaking of these qualities, was at the same time alien, fragmentary, and unsettled: in a word, "vagrant."[12]

If the alehouse was a home, that is, it was a mobile home. Disconnection, displacement, and transience were its furnishings. To begin with, even a small village would often have several alehouses in competition with each other, so that the communal hometown experience was necessarily fractured.[13] Secondly, the trade itself was extremely erratic. This was in large part because the owners of alehouses often came from the ranks of itinerant poor or of impoverished householders on the verge of vagrancy. The tippler might thus occupy a house for only a short time and then move on if unsuccessful or if suppressed by the local justices. In 1603, for instance, "there was a complaint at Swansea against illicit tipplers who 'will run away in debt for corn, malt [and] house-rent,' often deserting their families." If more fortunate in their enterprise, the family might remain in the alehouse and close up shop when times improved. Thus subject to such volatile fluctuations in marketing, alehouse signs (like those listed above), would unpredictably come and go.[14]

Finally, the very fabric of alehouse buildings was often transient. Usually but "paltry Cottages," in the words of William Vaughan, most country alehouses have endured only in the trace. Even in their own time many were already in a state of dissolution, like the "little peltinge alehouse" in Cheshire described by Thomas Steele—"thes house is ruynous," he remarks, "& the walles & dores ar not close"—or the Oxford alehouse through whose "thin limed wall," we are told, a customer fell backwards into the house next door. The ephemeral composition of such houses was perhaps most prominent within the towns, especially the suburbs, where alehouses could provisionally inhabit mere "Dogge-holes" of rooms in ramshackle tenements.[15] Such makeshift "houses" were not made to last.

Perhaps what most made the alehouse community and family transitory and fragmentary, however, was its commercial nature. Friends and family that can be bought are often not solidly aligned with the buyer. As so many alehouse ballads lament, the consumer who is openly embraced when he has money, can be as readily cast off when the source runs dry. "Our hostis' maids did love me well, / when I had mony to my store," moans the speaker of *The begger comes, the begger comes*, "but now they care for me no more."[16] Grounded on the shifting money market, alehouse relationships are finally unstable and estranged ones. They are as ad hoc as the alehouse building, signs, commerce, and owners that run them.

And this, I would argue, was one of the main attractions of alehouses for many from the placed or housed lower orders who frequented them. It was precisely the unbound provisionality of alehouses that enticed

place-bound frequenters to these detached "homes"—prompting the familiar saying, on pointing out a man's home to a visitor, "There is his house but his dwelling is at the alehouse."[17] As unrooted as the vagrant subject, the transient alehouse offered "dwellers" a kind of grunge Disneyland simulation of community and home: an ungrounded likeness without constraining ground rules.[18] Unlike a "real" house, the fantasyland ale-"house" made few demands on its frequenters; its community and home experience required no obligations other than financial ones. One could thus happily taste there of community and family without surfeit. One could intimately embrace them without being held down. As if to stress such liberating noncommitment or detachment, many of the larger alehouses in London, Thomas Platter notes, erected "partitions between the tables so that one table cannot overlook the next."[19] Together but disconnected, there but not there—such was the shared experience of the alehouse "home."

Giving voice to the vagrant free space of the alehouse as well as to the disengaged "low" subject that inhabited it are the broadside ballads that roamed city streets and decorated the walls of the alehouses and homes of the lower orders. First let us briefly trace the transient character of broadside ballads themselves. We will then be better positioned to paste them up as fitting ornaments expressive of the alehouse's decidedly homosocial and placeless "home."

The ballad: At home on the streets

While in many ways presented to make its viewers or listeners feel comfortably "at home," much about the broadside street ballad—its circulation, composition, material form, and spatial configuration—suggests its participation in what, now literarily speaking, we might call a lower-order culture of place*lessness* or vagrancy.[20]

A distinctly urban and London-based phenomenon, ballad sheets were in fact peddled by singers considered in the same class as vagrants and often conscripted from the flow of unemployed apprentices and other such "idle" youths of London. Henry Chettle, in *Kind-Hartes Dreame* (1592), tells of a stationer who mass-produced such vagrant apprentices/ballad sellers: "after a little bringing them [his apprentices] vppe to singing brokerie," Chettle says, the stationer "takes into his shop some fresh men, and trusts his olde seruantes of a two months standing with a dossen groates worth of ballads. In which if they prooue thrifty, hee makes them pretty chapmen." They are thus admitted, in the words of Chettle, to the "company of idle

youths, loathing honest labour and despising lawfull trades, [who] betake them to a vagrant and vicious life, in euery corner of Cities & market Townes of the Realme singing and selling of ballads and pamphletes full of ribaudrie" (*ribaudrie* is Chettle's catchword for all social deviance).[21] Though Chettle clearly speaks hyperbolically and prejudicially here, the association of ballad singers with apprentices is not fabricated: it was common for apprentices manning bookstalls at St. Paul's and elsewhere to advertise by singing the ballads they sold.[22] Apprentices were also frequently linked by authorities to vagrants, as William C. Carroll notes. Indeed, since sixty percent of London apprentices around 1600 never completed their indentures, apprentices often in fact became itinerant laborers.[23] Thus Chettle's vagrant-apprentice-ballad seller/singers are not that big a stretch of his imagination. One such figure was Thomas Spickernell, who in 1594 was described by the town clerk of Maldon, Essex, as "somtyme apprentice to a bookebynder; after, a vagrant pedler; then, a ballet singer and seller; and now, a minister and alehouse-keeper in Maldon."[24]

Broadside ballads were not only sung by such potentially or in fact "idle" youths. They were also addressed specifically to the class of housed workers (many of them youths) who were most liable to vagrancy but who could nevertheless occasionally afford to squander a penny on a ballad: laborers, petty craftsmen, minor tradesmen, and, especially, servants and apprentices (though they were also bought by the more stable middling and even upper sorts).[25]

In one sense, like the alehouse, broadsides offered these uncertain urban laborers a reassuring piece of "home." To be sure, ballads were sung to familiar, often country tunes. For urban listeners—and broadside ballads were a specifically London-based phenomena, though they circulated far beyond the city—such rustic tunes would have evoked memories of the rural villages from which most had emigrated. Ballads also often told reissued, homespun stories (frequently with wish-fulfillment endings in which the bad are duly punished by divine intervention). And they feature simple, homely woodcuts.[26] These images come in all shapes, sizes, and classes. Often, as in figures 1–3, the persons pictured, though crudely rendered, are decked out in fancy attire. While clearly not representative of the lowly viewer—in fact, at a distinct social remove from such a viewer—such "high" styles contributed to the visually pleasing quality of the homely woodcuts, which made the viewer want to take them home. Indeed, to the poor, ballads were not simply poems or songs but cherished aesthetic artifacts. This was increasingly the case as the form burgeoned toward the end

Figure 1.
Anon. [Martin Parker?], A merry
Dialogue betwixt a married man
and his wife, concerning the affaires

of this carefull life *[1628].*
Roxburghe Ballads, part 1, 266–67.
By permission of the British Library.

of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries. As evidenced
by the examples before you, everything about the ballad sheets produced at
this time was designed to present a pleasing visual appearance (notwith-
standing the constraints of cheap production): the ornamental borders and
dividing lines between the verse, the numerous woodcuts at the top of the
page, and the blackletter print itself, which, while likely unreadable to many
who viewed or even purchased such ballads, could be appreciated for its
curling, decorative formation of letters.[27] To the illiterate or semiliterate, the
ballad sheet may well have been primarily a form of ornamental art, hence
its pasting up on the walls of the owner's home as if it were some pretty
image—the poor man's oil painting, if you will. Their status as decorations
for the home, however crude the art and humble the abode, enhanced the
ballads' other homey features.

Figure 2.
Anon., The Lamentation of a new married man, briefly declaring the sorrow and grief that comes by marrying a young wanton wife *[1629]. Roxburghe Ballads, part 1, 216–17. By permission of the British Library.*

But in another sense, again like alehouses, broadsides partook of the very essence of vagrancy. In addition to familiar story-lines, they seized upon the latest news-flashes and passing topical events. Defending such topicality—what he calls "libels"—John Selden tellingly compares ballads to flimsy straw cast into the air, by which one can tell which way the political wind blows:

> Though some make slight of Libells; yet you may see by them, how the Wind sits. As take a Straw, and throw it up into the Air; you shall see by that, which way the Wind is; which you shall not do, by casting up a Stone. More Solid things do not shew the Complexion of the Times, so well as Ballads and Libells.[28]
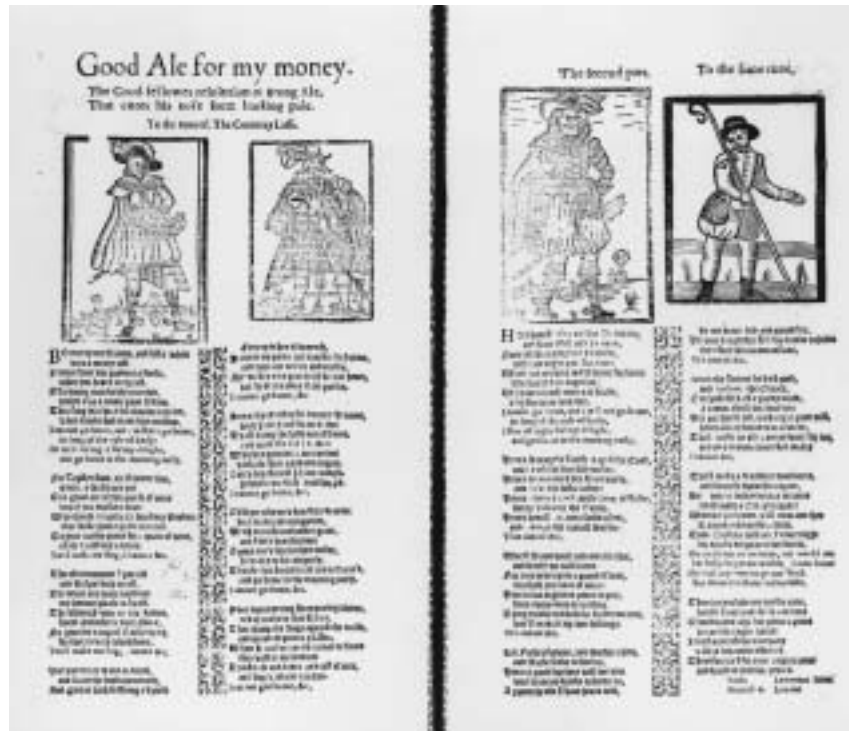
Figure 3.
Lawrence Price, Good Ale for my
money *[1645]. Roxburghe Ballads,* *part 1, 138–39. By permission of*
the British Library.

Such topically windblown stuff was in no way homebound. Ballads traveled freely and were posted just about anywhere: on street posts, in log books, in trunks, on the milk-house wall—sites where they might stay for a short moment before being whitewashed or pasted over with a "new" issue.[29] Their method of composition was similarly vagrant or "masterless": passed from usually anonymous author, to printer, to ballad-monger, to audience (each of whom had a say in how they were "voiced") and then often back again to author/printer to be reissued in a different key.[30] The woodcuts were equally itinerant. Though originally designed with some specific "home" text in mind, woodcuts tended to migrate to the ballad page when worn-out or worm-eaten. They would be bought up cheap by the ballad printer (often by the box load) and often indiscriminately reissued, with at

best only the loosest connection to the text they decorated. Even the fabric of broadside ballads, like the flimsy alehouses (and like Selden's straw), was transient: they were frequently printed on cheap, quickly degradable paper, or on the back of discarded leaves of already printed paper, which were re-used again as pie lining, pipe kindling, toilet paper, and so on. Such transient "wares" would have been quite at home on the streets being hawked along with other perishables, such as fruit.[31]

The very spatial configuration of the broadside street ballad suggests an aesthetics of vagrancy: that is, they decoratively image the vagrant experience of being detached, alienated, and multiply displaced. By the early seventeenth century, for instance, broadsides tend to bifurcate into two parts.[32] As seen in figures 1–3 and 5–7, the rows of stanzas within the separate halves are then often further partitioned with another dividing line of ornament.[33] Ornamental borders also often appear above and/or below the text (for example, figs. 1, 2, 4, and 7) and frequently cordon off the woodcuts (figs. 2, 7, and 8). Together with the division of the poetry itself into ornate blackletter stanzas, a practice to which we will return, the whole effect is one of attractive segmentation. It should be noted that this aesthetics of fragmented ornamentality is not duplicated in the other significant broadside genre of the period, proclamations. Though also printed on a single sheet of paper in blackletter type, with the idea of being posted to reach the widest spectrum of the reading public, pamphlets are much plainer and simpler in their presentation—except for a brief period at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when they adopt more ornament and divisions of the text (a result, I would suggest, of the ballad's influence).

The prominent woodcuts bring the ballad's prettily divided sensibility home to the viewing "I/eye." Consider, for instance, the woodcuts to the alehouse ballad, *A Health to all Good-Fellowes* (anon., ca. 1637) in figure 4. Here we see the ballad divided into, on the one side, an alehouse scene, and on the other, a series of figures of the lower to middling sorts. The persons depicted on the left within the alehouse project an image of communal (male) cheer; but on the right, we see the other side of alehouse relations (where in fact, as we have found, meetings were often random, including both locals and the vagrant, and the connection to the "home" in the alehouse was always financially and thus, at root, impersonally based). The characters here stand alone, cut off from each other, and detached from any personal or social context. The similarity of ballad woodcuts to emblem woodcuts (and sometimes texts) reinforces this effect. As in the emblemlike ballad, *A Fooles Bolt is soone shot* ("T.F.," ca. 1630), figure 5, *A Health to all*

Figure 4.

Anon., A Health to all Good-
Fellowes: Or, The good
Companions Arithmaticke *[1637].*

Roxburghe Ballads, part 1, 150–51.
By permission of the British Library.

Good-Fellowes, pictures free-standing figures that are stylistically flat, the fig-
ures floating in space with little if any consideration of scale, three-dimen-
sionality, or contextualization. They stand disconnected and isolated within
their own virtually barren place. But that description is inadequate, for place
cannot contain these alienated characters, as exemplified by the escape of
the male figure on the extreme right from his box—and even from the
visual scale of the others. Ballad after ballad project such "boxed"-in or free-
floating figures (of both genders), who—infinitely detachable and anony-
mous—wander indiscriminately from broadside to broadside (see, for exam-
ple, the recurrence of the lady from fig. 1 in fig. 2; of the shepherd from fig.
3 in fig. 4; and of the unboxed little man from fig. 4 in fig. 5, now joined
by a loosely arranged crew of such minimalized figures, dwarfed, it would
appear, by the gigantitude of their folly). The apparently high status of

Figure 5.
T.F., A Fooles Bolt is soone shot   *By permission of the Pepys Library,*
[1630]. Pepys Ballads, 1:178–79.   *Magdalene College, Cambridge.*

many of the persons so represented, once again, reinforces the "high" orna-mentality and wish-fulfillment feature of their spacious forms. This is indeed an *aesthetics* of displacement.

Thus, for all their attractive "homeyness," broadside ballads also sug-gest *homelessness* in their spatial configuration, material form, composition, and circulation. When we look to the poems themselves, furthermore, we hear tellingly spoken multiple, disconnected identity formations. Gathered together, the texts traverse a dizzying array of subjects. Standing alone, they adopt diverse subject positions. Not only the personalized presenter figure but also father, mother, lover, husband, wife, child, gossip, servant, apprentice, craftsman, wage-laborer, hawker—each speaks in his or her own voice.[34] The singing of individual songs (by ballad sellers as well as by the audience who joins in) thus enacts a kind of variable role-speculation. Singers temporarily and uncommittedly try out identities, taking them on and casting them off as the song proceeds. At no cost, or but the cost of a penny (if one chooses to buy the ballad), speakers can freely inhabit serial personae and voices with the sheer delight of a conspicuously vagrant "I." And, in the process, as they orally travel this nomadic journey of provisional subjectivities, singers also speak the *themes* of vagrancy, alehouse alienation, and liberation.
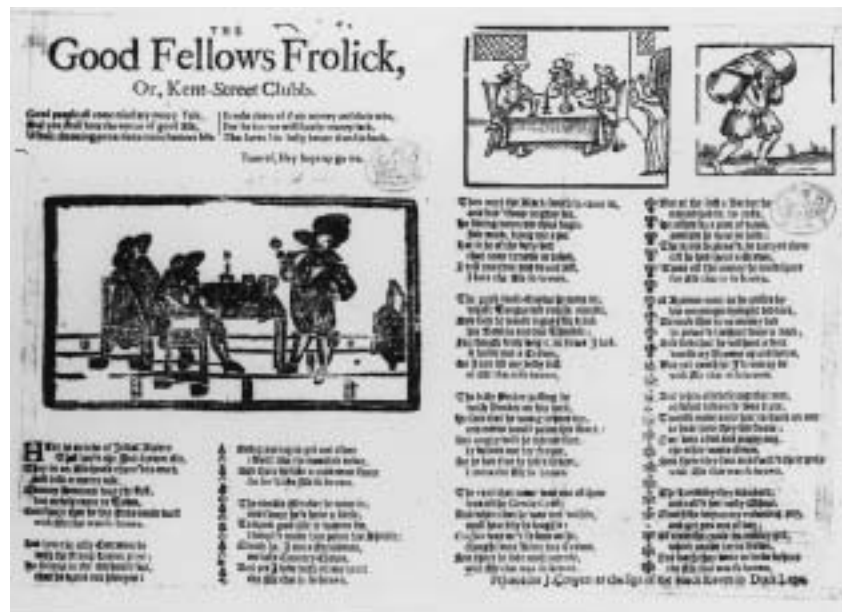
Figure 6.

Anon. [Thomas Lanfiere?], The Good Fellows Frolick, Or, Kent-Street Clubb *[1682].*

Roxburghe Ballads, part 4, 49. By permission of the British Library.

Alehouse ballads: The vagrant husband

We might now take one last pass through the transient alehouse as a narrative space—a theme—expressed through the vagrant voice of broadside ballads. Almost obsessively, we find, such ballads celebrate the alehouse as a site of vagrancy—that is, as an alternative community and home that was detached and free from the self-binding constraints of societal and, especially, familial obligations, most notably, to the wife. This is not to say, of course, that all ballads embrace the vagrant experience: on the contrary, many voice in feelingly tragic tones the alienation from community and family that attends homelessness. But alehouse ballads are on the whole celebratory. Such ballads co-opt the vagrant experience of alehouses for its housed lowly frequenters/audience who might be feeling constrained by the demands of societal and domestic "place" and want, certainly not vagrancy, but a taste of a *spacious* comaraderie and an *unhomelike* home.

The anonymous alehouse ballad *The Good Fellows Frolick* (ca. 1682; see fig. 6), though a late printing, is exemplary.[35] "Here is a crew of Jovial Blades," the song opens, "That lov'd the Nut-brown Ale, / They in an

ale-house chanc'd to meet, / and told a merry tale." What follows in this "chance" meeting is a serial imaging of male figures and voices (each allocated his own space of a stanza) from a range of lower class and virtually or potentially vagrant trades: itinerants by occupation (seaman, carman, porter, and broom-man) and those from the poorer trades typically engaged in multiple employment and always liable to job-shifting and geographical displacement (weaver, blacksmith, tailor, shoemaker, and barber). They come together out of love of the "Nut-brown Ale," as the refrain repeatedly intones. And as such communal cheer is embraced, many of the figures cast off the tokens of their "outside" social identities. That is, they sell off the tools of their trade to buy the loved ale: the weaver's shuttle, the tailor's bodkin and thimble, the porter's basket—to which the broom-man, lacking an occupational tool, adds his shirt—are all pawned to buy "the Ale so brown."

   The three woodcuts that act as headers to the broadside haphazardly repeat this story of pawned identity. I say "haphazardly" because the first woodcut, which introduces the familiar drinking and tobacco smoking site of male camaraderie has clearly happened upon the ballad page in the same way that the customers in the text have wandered into the alehouse—by "chance." Given the fashionable dress of the men represented, the woodcut most likely originally illustrated a tavern and not an alehouse scene; but, like so many of the woodcuts that found their way onto broadsides, it became a visual vagrant, migrating to the ballad page when deteriorated and bought cheap by the ballad printer. As such, it would roam randomly from broadside to broadside roughly imaging the site of drink.[36] Despite the class discrepancy, this image does do its itinerant job of picturing the familiar experience of homosocial cheer, where males casually socialize without any signs of differentiation. Exiting from this egalitarian space, our eye next travels to the illustrations heading the right-hand columns of the ballad. There, on the "outside" (the far right) we meet the isolated figure of the Porter, laboring quite literally under the burden of his trade—his sack—as if he himself had just emerged from such an unmarked drinking space and now resumed his socioeconomic role. The alehouse site befitting the Porter's social status is pictured to the left, behind him. Here again male figures, now more modestly dressed, happily commune without any trade markers, as if their tools had once again been pawned at the door. This alehouse woodcut may very well have been purposely, if roughly, cut for this particular ballad (or at least unusual care was taken in selecting it). For the fraught alewife, hands raised in protest, who stands in the doorway to the right, on the very threshold of the homosocial alehouse—in essence excluded from it even

though it is *her* house — is the figure upon whom the narrative vehemently turns in its concluding stanza.

Setting up this last stanza is the penultimate one. Here we are told that, once the workers' fixed socioeconomic trademarks are discarded (if only for a time, that is, in pawn), all singular identity breaks down, and the "chance" drinkers freely descend into testosterone-laced Bakhtinianese — a formless, anonymous, brute cacophony of voices:

> But when all these together met,
>   oh what discourse was there,
> Twould make ones hair to stand on end
>   to hear how they did swear:
> One was a fool and puppy dog,
>   the other was a clown,
> And there they sat and swill'd their guts
>   with Ale that was so brown.

These multifarious male voicings, which are quintessentially vagrant in their random, fragmentary, and anonymous swearings, come together as one on two topics — their expressed love of the nut-brown ale and their vehement abuse of the alewife or landlady of the alehouse, rendered in the concluding stanza:

> The Landlady they did abuse,
>   and call'd her nasty Whore;
> Quoth she do you my reckoning pay,
>   and get you out of door;
> Of them she could no money get,
>   which caused her to frown,
> But loath they were to leave behind
>   the Ale that was so brown.

Why this concerted outburst against the landlady of the alehouse? It could be because they owe her money. But then abusing her would seem an impolitic solution to that problem, especially since they don't want to leave. Perhaps we should look for an explanation to the one other reference in the ballad to a woman. When the "lusty Porter" proposes pawning his sack, he affirms, "His angry wife he did not fear, / he valued not her frown, / So he had that he lov'd so dear, / I mean the Ale so brown." Angry wife; anger at alewife. Hmmm. . . . Behind the drunken fellows' communal act of abus-

ing the alewife would seem to be a determined devaluation of the angry wife ("he *valued not* her frown"). Similar displaced thoughts, I would suggest, are on the mind of the "young man lately married," in the ballad *Good Ale for my money* by Lawrence Price (ca. 1645; see fig. 3), whose refrain is "*I cannot go home, nor I will not go home*" (my emphasis). Defiantly he asserts to his male drinking buddies, "Let Father frowne, and Mother chide, / and Uncle seeke to find us; / Here is good lap here will we hide / weel leaue no drinke behind us."[37] Most noticeably absent from this list of irate family members from whom the newlywed hides in the "good lap" of the alehouse, once again, is the wife. He is, after all, a newlywed.

Why this fear of, antagonism toward, and exclusion of wives? In one sense, the very siting of vagrancy in alehouses naturally positioned the alehouse in opposition to other sites—church, jail, guild hall, place of business, town square—and the principal such space among the housed lower orders was the domestic home. We also know from the early work of Alice Clark and more recent studies by Ian Archer and others that women in the late sixteenth and especially in the seventeenth century were increasingly subject to economic and social sanctions that restricted their "labors"—even the vagrant labors of female hawkers and fishwives—forcing their removal to the domestic sphere of the home. Judith M. Bennett documents a similar process at work in the brewing trade: "husbands slowly took on more public roles in the trade, and wives receded into the background." As a consequence, the domestic space became gendered female. It became "the wife's" space.[38] And this domination of the home by the wife, at least as expressed in the literature of the period, made men very nervous. Thus when Kate, in the ballad *Robin and Kate* (M[artin] P[arker], ca. 1634), echoes wife after ballad wife, imploring her husband not to go off yet again to the alehouse and leave her home alone, Robin interprets her request as an attempt to impose power over him: "Shall I stay at home / on thy fancy to waite, / *No I must and I will / have my humor, sweet Kate*" (my emphasis). He goes on to imply that real power comes from money-making, and that realm is all his (though women did, in fact, earn money laboring within the home at such tasks as spinning or lace- and button-making): "I scorne that my wife ouer me should beare rule: / why Kate, doe I spend any thing of thy earning?" Loudly repressed is a clear anxiety over what kind of labor is valuable and over who rules the home.

The fear that female domestic labor could rule may explain the rise of broadside ballads of the early seventeenth century that tell of husband murders—often at the liminal moment of coming home from the alehouse.

Thus in *Anne Wallens Lamentation* (T. Platte, ca. 1616), the wife tells how her joiner husband came home from the alehouse drunk, how she scolded him—"Thou drunken knaue I said, and arrant sot, / Thy minde is set on nothing but the pot"—and how, in the ensuing physical confrontation, she mortally stabbed him with one of his own tools, a chisel.[40] This is not to say that more women were killing their husbands in the early seventeenth century, but rather that women within the domestic space of the house were being increasingly imagined as dangerous, as the work of Joy Wiltenburg and Frances E. Dolan well documents.[41] The woodcuts to *Anne Wallens Lamentation* (fig. 7) picture the violent contestation over the domestic sphere in the opposition between the two images heading the separate parts of the ballad. In the illustration to the first part, we see Anne ensconced within the home stabbing—one might think castrating—her husband with his own distended and very phallic chisel. In the second part, as if countering the first image, we see Anne expelled from the home by the even longer phallic weapon of the male officer and tightly constricted to the encircling hellfire of her unruly passion. This use of the visual space of the ballad to enact the contestation between wives and husbands can be seen in many other ballads, and extends beyond the images in the woodcuts. In *Robin and Kate* (fig. 8), for instance, not only does each part represent in its woodcuts a face-off between man and woman, but the very stanzas are shaped into contestatory spaces, belonging to "Man" or "Wife." That the spatial divisions are here designated "Man" and "Wife" not "Man" and "Woman" further suggests that domesticity is what is at issue here, and what threatens the unbound male ego.

Outside the threateningly constricting female space of the home, in the other home of the alehouse, the man/husband could be powerfully unobligated and free. With a kind of detached attachment, he could liberally carouse with his male companions: "Wee'll sit and bouse and merily chat," declares the newlywed to his fellows, "and freely we will joyne." Or, he could frankly embrace the hostess's maid—"I cannot chuse but loue her," jokes the newlywed.[42] Or he could as cheerily abuse the "other" wife, his hostess, and thus take out his anger or frustration with his own "wife" back home, like the Porter and his fellows in *The Good Fellows Frolick*. All the above positionings are casually available to the man/husband because, grounded on chance meetings and impersonal economics, alehouse relationships are in fact ephemeral and ungrounded; they are vagrant.

Perhaps nowhere is the free-floating, detached sensibility of the alehouse home more tellingly voiced in broadside ballads than in their fetishiz-
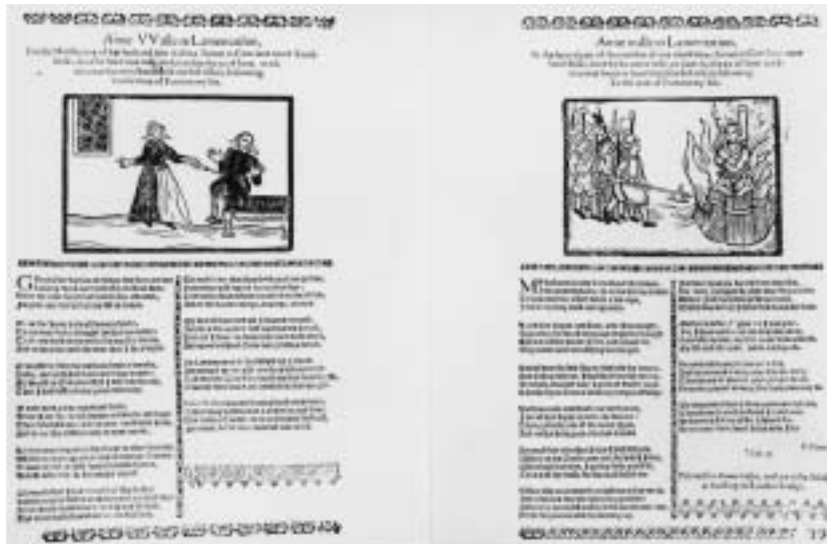
Figure 7.

T. Platte, Anne Wallens Lamenta-
tion, For the Murthering of her
husband *John Wallen* a Turner in
Cow-lane neere Smithfield; done by
his owne wife, on satterday the
22 of June, 1616, who was burnt in
Smithfield the first of July follow-
ing *[1616]. Pepys Ballads,
1:124–25. By permission of the
Pepys Library, Magdalene College,
Cambridge.*

ing of the alehouse's attractions. The "lusty Porter" in *The Good Fellows
Frolick* wantonly fetishizes his nut-brown ale: "His angry wife he did not
fear, / he valued not her frown / So he had that he *lov'd so dear*, / I mean the
Ale so brown" (my emphasis). Robin, in *Robin and Kate*, conflates the
homosocial and the fetishistic in dismissing his wife's suspicion that he
keeps a lover at the alehouse. She frets,

> I thinke in my conscience,
> (and I haue cause why,)
> That thou lou'st some other,
> farre better than I:
> Thou hat'st to stay with me,
> then what may I thinke,
> *Turne back agen Robin
> and ga not to drinke.*

Figure 8.

M.P. [Martin Parker], Robin and   betweene Robin and Kate *[1634].*
Kate: Or, A bad husband converted   *Roxburghe Ballads, part 1, 354–55.*
by a good wife, in a dialogue   *By permission of the British Library.*

Robin dubiously reassures her thus:

> I seek not for wenches, but honest good fellowes:
>   A pipe of Tobacco,
>   a Pot, or a Jugg,
>   These are the sweet honies
>   that I kisse and hugg.[43]

Like the piecemeal markers of the vagrant space posted on the signs outside the alehouse door—head, hand, star, tool, horse—the objects so ardently desired within—ale, pipe, pot, jug—further tell the story of a fragmented, alienated, and perhaps even sexually free-floating identity. And this very vagrancy of signifier, to conclude, is the powerful metonymic attraction of the alehouse space.

To those, apparently many, feeling "homebound," that is. The alehouse space would have been differently inhabited by different persons. The literally vagrant and continually itinerant poor (those with no fixed home whatsoever), most likely looked on the alehouse as a simpatico space, itself unstable and transient, which at the same time offered them the comforting trappings of community and home. Those locally sited and "housed" lower orders who felt constrained by their social and familial responsibilities, on the other hand, turned to such vagrant "homes" as alehouses for a taste of vagrancy (in the process opening up a gender divide in the "low" subjectivity enacted there). As represented in broadside ballads, men/husbands like the newlywed, the Porter, and Robin are clearly not legally vagabond (and may not even be in imminent danger of becoming so). But, equally clearly, they feel "at home" in the alehouse precisely because—as a "home" but *not* home"—it houses and gives expression to a detached or "free" subjectivity. Casually and speculatively inhabiting such vagrant spaces, the homebound man could act out his attraction and affinity to an unbound and transient—and decidedly male—subjectivity without ever becoming vagrant in fact. This is not so much disguised or theatrical role-playing as a vicariously or metonymically *lived* vagrant subjectivity that might find shifting expression in a range of forums, political, religious, or personal. The emphasis of this article has been on the last, an emphasis invited by the "house" written within, but also set in opposition to, the "alehouse." Inhabiting the transient space of the alehouse, taking on and casting off multiple personae in singing ballad songs there, voicing detached, homosocial liberties, and just gazing at the attractive segmentation of material space in the broadsides pasted all over the alehouse walls, the male "low" subject could at will uncommittedly and partially inhabit a home-*less* subjectivity. Like our newly married man, he could for a moment defiantly assert he "could not" and "would not" go home.

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Notes

1   Cited by A. L. Beier, in *Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England, 1560–1640* (London: Methuen, 1985), 80.

2   See esp. Peter Clark, *The English Alehouse: A Social History, 1200–1830* (London: Longman, 1983), 6, 14, 43, 44. Though there has been some controversy among historians over whether there was in fact an increase in vagrants in England in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the consensus is now in the affirmative. See

my discussion of the debate, which includes consideration of the itinerant working poor, in "Mobilizing the Poor," *Vagrant Subjects in Early Modern England: The Case of Edward Barlow* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), forthcoming. See also my "London's Vagrant Economy: Making Space for 'Low' Subjectivity," in *Material London circa 1600*, ed. Lena Cowen Orlin (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 206–25.

3   Richard Rawlidge, *A Monster Late Fovnd Ovt and Discovered . . .* (Amsterdam, 1629), 22–23; Thomas Dekker, *English Villanies Six Severall Times Prest to Death by the Printers; But (Still Reviving againe) are now the Seventh Time, (as at First) Discovered by Lanthorne and Candle-light . . .* (London, 1632), sig. K4v (later edition of his *Lanthorne and Candle-light* [1608]).

4   Clark, *English Alehouse*, 49.

5   Much of the discussion on alehouses below is indebted to Clark's *English Alehouse*. See also Peter Clark, "The Alehouse and the Alternative Society," in *Puritans and Revolutionaries: Essays in Seventeenth-Century History Presented to Christopher Hill*, ed. Donald Pennington and Keith Thomas (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 47–72. Other helpful studies on early modern alehouses include Judith M. Bennett, *Ale, Beer, and Brewsters in England: Women's Work in a Changing World, 1300–1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Theodore B. Leinwand, "Spongy Plebs, Mighty Lords, and the Dynamics of the Alehouse," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 19 (1989): 159–84; George Evans Light, "All Hopped Up: Beer, Cultivated National Identity, and Anglo-Dutch Relations, 1525–1624," *Journal X* 2 (1988): 159–78; Keith Wrightson, "Alehouses, Order, and Reformation in Rural England, 1590–1660," in *Popular Culture and Class Conflict, 1590–1914: Explorations in the History of Labour and Leisure*, ed. Eileen Yeo and Stephen Yeo (Brighton, Sussex: Harvester Press; Atlantic Heights, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1981), 1–27; S. K. Roberts, "Alehouses, Brewing, and Government under the Early Stuarts," *Southern History: A Review of the History of Southern England* 2 (1980): 45–71; and Alan Everitt, "The English Urban Inn, 1560–1760," in *Perspectives in English Urban History*, ed. Alan Everitt (London: Macmillan, 1973), 91–137. For a review of many of the more recent books cited above, see George Evans Light, "The Toper's Cupful: Alcohol and Early Modern England since Peter Clark's *The English Alehouse* (1983)," *Social History of Alcohol Review* (forthcoming); see also David W. Gutzke, *Alcohol in the British Isles from Roman Times to 1996: An Annotated Bibliography* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1996).

6   Clark, *English Alehouse*, 15, 123–44, 152–54; Wrightson, "Alehouses, Order, and Reformation," 8–11; Paul Griffiths, *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England, 1560–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 176–234.

7   "What is particularly curious," observed Thomas Platter in 1599 about London drinking establishments, "is that women as well as the men, in fact more often than they, will frequent the taverns or ale-houses for enjoyment"; cited in Leonard R. N. Ashley, *Elizabethan Popular Culture* (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1988), 8. On the taboos against women independently frequenting such establishments, see Clark, *English Alehouse*, 131–32.

8   Clark, *English Alehouse*, 112, 115, 145; see also his "Alehouse and the Alternative Society," 58–59; Wrightson, "Alehouses, Order, and Reformation," 27; and Leinwand, "Spongy Plebs."

9   Clark, *English Alehouse*, 273, 195.

10   Ibid., 64–66. A Canterbury inventory of alehouse-keepers, Clark finds, taken between 1560 and 1640, reveals an average of just under five rooms. But the inventory is heavily weighted toward wealthier inhabitants and excludes the scores of unlicensed and much smaller premises (65).

11   Ibid., 83, 85, 84. The main exception to this family scenario was in the frequent case in which the alehouse was run by a poor widow. But the alehouse was still her home (79). It should also be noted that pressures increased throughout this period to restrict women's activities in the brewing trade, especially with the shift from ale-brewing to beer-brewing, as Bennett documents (*Ale, Beer, and Brewsters in England*, chap. 5). While the makeshift alehouse usually escaped the regulations of the brewing industry at large, the fact of such restrictions is telling, as we shall pursue below.

12   See the title to Clark's article, "The Alehouse and the Alternative Society." Here, as well as in his *English Alehouse*, Clark argues that the "alehouse was an alternative to, rather than an extension of, established family life" (*English Alehouse*, 132). My study differs from Clark's in that I emphasize the paradoxical status by which the home of the alehouse (replete with ale-*wife*) actually maintains the trappings, if not the ties, of family—and finds liberation precisely in such a paradoxical space.

13   Clark, *English Alehouse*, 154.

14   Ibid., 72–73. In the seventeenth century "[s]igns normally changed with the victualler" (67); by the early nineteenth century, however, with the rise in the status and stability of alehouses (now dubbed "public houses"), "signs became almost permanently associated with particular houses rather than changing with the landlord" (277).

15   William Vaughan, *The Spirit of Detraction Conivred [sic] and Convicted in Seven Circles . . .* (London, 1611), 129; Thomas Steele, reported in Frederick J. Furnivall, ed., *Child Marriages, Divorces, and Ratifications, &c.* (London, 1897), 98–99. Clark cites the Oxford incident, *English Alehouse*, 67; Rawlidge describes the "Dogge-holes," *A Monster Late Fovnd Ovt*, 23. See also Clark, *English Alehouse*, 4, 64–67.

16   *The Shirburn Ballads, 1585–1616*, ed. Andrew Clark (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), 141.

17   Robert Younge, *Sinne Stigmatized* (London, 1630), 269; cited in Clark, *English Alehouse*, 148. On the alehouse as an alternative to (as opposed to an extension of) family life, see note 12 above.

18   See Baudrillard on "simulation" and Disneyland, in "Simulacra and Simulations," *Selected Writings*, ed. Mark Poster (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1988), 171–72.

19   Cited by Clark, *English Alehouse*, 65.

20   The discussion of broadside street ballads in this section is especially indebted to the following critical works: Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), esp. 26–27, 52–57, 61–65, 117–25, 131–32, 158–60; Tessa Watt, *Cheap*

Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Natascha Wurzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad, 1550–1650*, trans. Gayna Walls (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Mark W. Booth, *The Experience of Songs* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1981), 97–114; Alan Bold, *The Ballad* (New York: Methuen, 1979), 66–82; Frederick O. Wage, "Social Themes in Urban Broadsides of Renaissance England," *Journal of Popular Culture* 11 (1977): 731–41; Leslie Shepard, *The Broadside Ballad: A Study of Origins and Meaning* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1962); C. H. Firth, "Ballads and Broadsides," in *Shakespeare's England: An Account of the Life and Manners of His Age*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916), 511–38; and Hyder E. Rollins, "The Black-Letter Broadside Ballad," *PMLA* 34 (1919): 258–339.

21 Henry Chettle, *Kind-Hartes Dreame* (1592), collected together with William Kemp, *Nine Daies Wonder* (1600), ed. G. B. Harrison (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1966), 19, 15.

22 Rollins, "Black-Letter Broadside Ballad," 324.

23 William C. Carroll, *Fat King, Lean Beggar: Representations of Poverty in the Age of Shakespeare* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996), 141 n. 15 (see also 142–43). An even higher percentage of apprentices in other major cities, such as Norwich, Bristol, and Salisbury, never completed their terms; see Griffiths, *Youth and Authority*, 330 n. 172. See also my "London's Vagrant Economy," in *Material London*, ed. Orlin, 208–16.

24 Maldon Borough Records, D/B 3/3/397/18.

25 The question of ballad audience is a vexed one, as exemplified by Wurzbach's contradictory description of its buyers: "The mass of ballad public belonged to the urban bourgeoisie—merchants and craftsmen and the servants of their household—and secondly to the urban and agricultural working classes," she declares; but then on the same page she also asserts, "The ballad catered for a mainly lower-class, relatively uncultured, practically minded public with simple needs in the way of entertainment" (*Rise of the English Street Ballad*, 26). Clearly the ballad reached all classes, as evidenced by the fully informed, scathing comments made about the genre by literate contemporaries (see appendix in Wurzbach, 253–84). The primary mode of circulating ballads—singing and peddling them on the streets—made them accessible to all classes, whether they were bought or not. But the simple language, narrative lines, blackletter type, and woodcuts of the form suggest they were aimed primarily "low." Furthermore, the common address at the beginning of many ballads to "lusty lads" or "all youth" reinforces this sense: youths made up the majority of the poorer orders. On the penny price of broadsides in the early seventeenth century, see Rollins, "Black-Letter Broadside Ballad," 296. With the general fall in prices toward the end of the seventeenth century, ballads dropped to a half-penny (304).

26 See especially Shepard, *Broadside Ballad*, 47–48; and Booth, *Experience of Songs*, 110–11. On the simple two-dimensionality of the woodcut, see Bold, *Ballad*, 76. Watt, in *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, interestingly pursues the rendering of homely broadside tunes and woodcuts into acceptable mediums of Protestant godliness. For more on ballad woodcuts, see the discussion below.

27 In imitation of ballad aesthetics, the eighteenth-century collectors of the first three

parts of the Roxburghe ballads pasted them onto pages with ornamental frames. Usually the ballad was cut in two and each half placed within its own ornamental frame on facing pages of the volumes. Occasionally the original ballad was itself entirely framed with ornament. In reproducing the Roxburghe ballads for this article, I have omitted the ornamental frame on the pages of the bound volumes, since they are not original to the ballads, though I necessarily had to include that part of the frame that ran along the inside of the facing halves of the poems.

28 Prefatory quote to vol. 1 of *The Pepys Ballads*, ed. W. G. Day, facsimile edition, 5 vols., in *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge*, ed. Robert Latham (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 1987). Selden began the collection of early modern ballads, which Pepys continued.

29 Rollins, "Black-Letter Broadside Ballad," 336–38 and 301–2 n. 30; also 325–27; and Shepard, *Broadside Ballad*, 5–6, 23.

30 Rollins, "Black-Letter Broadside Ballad," 282–84, 292–95; Firth, "Ballads and Broadsides," 512. On the potential conflict between the author who intrudes in his song, the seller/singer who passes it along, and the buyer who then "possesses" that authorial voice, see Booth, *Experience of Songs*, 103–5.

31 In the words of Shepard, "broadsides" have "no pretensions to permanence" (*Broadside Ballad*, 23). On the disposable uses of broadsides, see Rollins, "Black-Letter Broadside Ballad," 262–64, 296–97, 331; and Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and Its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 48–49. See also Wurzbach on their status as "wares" that were "handed round at a low price like fruit and vegetables" (*Rise of the English Street Ballad*, 20).

32 On dividing ballads into two parts, see Rollins, "Black-Letter Broadside Ballad," 316. Rollins conjectures that so dividing the ballad was a marketing ploy; presumably only the first part was publicly sung. Since many of these ballads were cut in half on being collected into volumes (the two most notable being the Pepys and Roxburghe collections), it is sometimes unclear in which cases the two parts were originally on two separate pieces of paper and in which cases they were together on the same sheet. The latter practice, though, appears to have been most common. On cropping and cutting ballads in collecting them, see the catalogue to the Pepys facsimile edition, Helen Weinstein, ed., *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge*, vol. 1, Ballads, part 1, Catalogue (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 1992), xxxii–xxxiv.

33 In later and earlier ballads, as in fig. 4, the division often takes the simpler form of a solid line. The heyday of the ballad's segmented ornamentality was the first half of the seventeenth century. The ballad imaged in fig. 6, while not in two parts, and while a late printing (1682), nevertheless creates the sense of two halves, each divided within by a column of ornament.

34 Wurzbach notes the increase of personal forms of address in the ballad that accompanied the shift from more religious topics in the sixteenth century to more secular ones in the seventeenth century (*Rise of the English Street Ballad*, 56–57, and also 236–41). Wage sees such individuation even in religious ballads, though he notably cites seventeenth-century examples ("Social Themes in Urban Broadsides," 733–35).

35 Anon. [Thomas Lanfiere?], *The Good Fellows Frolick: Or, Kent-Street Clubb* [1682], Roxburghe Ballads (British Library collection, in 4 parts and 5 vols. [part 3 is in 2 vols.], C.20.f.7–10, microfilm Mic.A.7526–27), part 4, 49. How far back this and the other ballads I cite actually date, in one form or another, is impossible to say, since ballads were often reissued many times. All future quotations from *The Good Fellows Frolick* will be from this edition and will be cited in the text. A very close version of the ballad also appears in Roxburghe Ballads, part 2, 198–99. A modern edition of the ballad, without illustrations, can be found in *A Collection of Songs and Ballads Relative to the London Prentices and Trades; and to the Affairs of London Generally, during the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. Charles Mackay (London, 1841), 134.

36 Watt notes that, increasingly in the seventeenth century, woodcuts were commissioned for ballads (*Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, 148). As noted below, such may also have been the case of the second woodcut to the broadside under discussion.

37 Roxburghe Ballads, part 1, 138–39; modernized in *The Roxburghe Ballads*, ed. W. Chappell, vol. 1 (Hertford, U.K., 1869), 413 (ll. 5, 9) and 416 (ll. 97–100).

38 Alice Clark, *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1919), 9–13, 35–41, 50, 197, 220–21, 228–30, 234–35, 302–8; Ian W. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 196; Bennett, *Ale, Beer, and Brewsters*, 14. Bennett further argues that mockings of alewives, as evident in Skelton's *The Tunning of Elinour Rummyng* and contemporary jestbooks, "displaced anxieties about the trade in general onto female traders in particular, and in so doing, they worked to inhibit commercial brewing by women" (123). On the subject of women's restricted labors and containment within the home, see also Steve Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 36–42; Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1994), 134; and Richard Helgerson, "The Buck Basket, the Witch, and the Queen of Faeries: The Women's World of Shakespeare's Windsor," in *Everyday Life in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Patricia Fumerton and Simon Hunt (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 162–82. Helgerson incorporates this article into his book on domesticity, *Adulterous Alliances: Home, State, and History in Early Modern European Drama and Painting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 57–76. Part of the anxiety over alewives may have been that the space of the alehouse as domestic house could not be easily demarcated.

39 M[artin] P[arker], *Robin and Kate: Or, A bad husband converted by a good wife, in a dialogue betweene Robin and Kate* (ca. 1634), Roxburghe Ballads, part 1, 355; modernized in *Roxburghe Ballads*, ed. W. Chappell, vol. 2 (Hertford, U.K., 1872), 417.

40 T. Platte, *Anne Wallens Lamentation, For the Murthering of her husband John Wallen a Turner in Cow-lane neere Smithfield; done by his owne wife, on satterday the 22 of June, 1616, who was burnt in Smithfield the first of July following* [1616], in *The Pepys Ballads*, ed. W. G. Day, in 5 facsimile volumes, in *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge* (Wolfeboro, N.H.: Boydell and Brewer, 1987), 1:125.

41 Joy Wiltenburg, *Disorderly Women and Female Power in the Street Literature of Early*

Modern England and Germany (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992), 214–23; Frances E. Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars: Representations of Domestic Crime in England, 1550–1700* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994), 20–58. See also Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*, 201–29.

42 *Good Ale for my money*, Roxburghe Ballads, part 1, 139.

43 *Good Fellows Frolick*, Roxburghe Ballads, part 4, 49; *Robin and Kate*, Roxburghe Ballads, part 1, 354.