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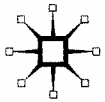

MASCULINITY AND THE METROPOLIS OF VICE, 1550–1650

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Chapter 1

Manly Drunkenness: Binge Drinking as Disciplined Play

Gina Bloom

Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* opens with what appears to be a straightforward condemnation of the vice of excessive alcohol consumption, as a lord, finding a drunken tinker passed out before an alehouse, exclaims in disgust: "O monstrous beast, how like a swine he lies!"[1] The lord's outrage is not surprising from the perspective of early modern moralist discourse, which, associating drunkenness with idleness and disorder, figures it as dehumanizing and, thus, emasculating. Thomas Young defines drunkenness as "a vice which stirreth up lust, griefe, anger, and madnesse, extinguisheth the memory, opinion, and understanding, maketh a man the picture of a beast, and twise a child, because he can neither stand nor speake."[2] Excessive consumption of alcohol compromises reason and bodily control, traits thought to distinguish men from beasts as well as from other ostensibly less rational creatures, such as children, women, and men of low status. Sir Walter Raleigh's advice to his son triangulates drunkenness, beastliness, and emasculation when it warns that wine not only "transformeth a man into a Beast" but also "wasteth the naturall heate and seed of generation."[3] For those who aspire to the kind of "patriarchal manhood" Raleigh espouses—where manhood is achieved through the demonstration of self-control, power over dependents, and ability to produce heirs, among other things—drunkenness is necessarily

unmanly.[4] Sharing Raleigh's social status and investments in patriarchal masculinity, Shakespeare's lord frames his condemnation of Sly in similar terms.

Far more surprising than the lord's initial response is his subsequent decision to engage Sly in an elaborate game of make believe where the tinker plays a nobleman. Theodore Leinwand convincingly argues that the context of the alehouse is crucial to understanding the rationale for the jest. Observing that early modern alehouses brought into contact men of very different social status, Leinwand views the lord as anxiously working to figure out his relationship to the beggar; the jest is "a form of containment by which one turns one's threatening opposite into one's double."[5] This social friction was aggravated, I would add, by the fact that the alehouse—a fixture not just of the countryside where Shakespeare's scene is set but also, indeed especially, of the urban landscape—was a site for men's excessive drinking. At alehouses men like Sly could witness men of higher status like the lord suffer the socially debilitating effects of drink. To be sure, alehouses could level social differences by bringing out the beast in men of all social positions and contravening commonplace views of drunkenness as solely a lower-class problem. But as bounded, purposeful spaces for recreational pleasure, they also held out ways to reframe excessive drinking as sociable sport, even for elite men. Such establishments, I want to suggest, were part of a larger urban drinking culture that produced a *recreational discourse* of binge drinking, a discourse that competed with moral condemnations of the vice to provide an alternate view of the relationship between excess and masculinity.

To begin to understand the cultural and social work performed by this recreational discourse, and, thus, how the lord's jest comprises a response to Sly's drunkenness, we need to reconsider the claim frequently advanced by scholars that in the early modern period excessive drinking, because of its association with disorder, was considered unmanly. This critical commonplace, an echo of early modern moralist discourse, conflates two problematic assumptions about excessive drinking that this chapter aims to disarticulate and query: one, that for early modern writers, drunkenness necessarily effeminizes and, two, that heavy drinking is always associated with disorder.[6] The first assumption, that heavy drinking effeminizes, has been importantly challenged by Alexandra Shepard, who, like Amanda Bailey in her work on ostentatious dress, points out that early modern manhood was more variegated in its forms than many scholars have presumed. Self-mastery and moderation may have been central to the formation

of patriarchal masculinity, but for men disenfranchised by a patriarchal system—particularly working men of lower or middle status and youths who were flooding London in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—disorderly behaviors like heavy drinking could constitute a bid for an antipatriarchal, countercode of masculine conduct.[7] From this perspective the drunken Sly is not so easily dismissed, for by embracing drunken disorder as a sign of manliness, he threatens the lord's logic of privilege. But to see how the lord's jest mitigates this threat, we need to reconsider the second assumption—which undergirds Shepard's argument—that drunkenness is unruly.

The lord's jest, I would argue, involves Sly in a more orderly, disciplined form of drunken revelry. In this elaborate game of pretend, Sly's drinking takes the shape of elite recreation. By the lord's rules of play, Sly is restricted to certain kinds of drink (sack, or strong wine, not cheap "small ale" [ind. 2.1]), particular activities to do while drinking (watching a play as opposed to a "Christmas gambold or a tumbling-trick" [ind. 2.129]), and more noble drinking company (ladies and lords, instead of "Old John Naps of Greet,/ And Peter Turf, and Henry Pimpernel" [ind. 2.88–89]). In effect Sly's drinking is transformed into what play theorist Roger Caillois has called *ludus*: convention-bound, calculated, disciplined play. All games, Caillois argues, fall on a continuum between *ludus* and *paidia*, which he defines as improvisational and disorganized free-play.[8] At stake in the tension between *ludus* and *paidia* is more than the categorization of play, however, for, particularly when set in an early modern context, these forms of play are inflected by gender and class differences. By framing Sly's drinking as part of a rule-bound game, the lord imposes some degree of order and self-control onto Sly's otherwise unruly, transgressive behavior, attempting to bring it into alignment with codes of patriarchal manhood.[9]

Before exploring further binge drinking as disciplined play and the ways the city encouraged what I am calling a *recreational discourse* of binge drinking, it will be helpful to define more carefully what I mean by patriarchal versus antipatriarchal manhood. According to Shepard, early modern men laid claim to patriarchal manhood by demonstrating "strength, thrift, industry, self-sufficiency, honesty, authority, autonomy, self-government, moderation, reason, wisdom, and wit" and depending on the man, any one of these might be stressed more than another.[10] Of the five models of ideal manhood Bruce R. Smith identifies in *Shakespeare and Masculinity*, four reflect these attributes with different degrees of emphasis. The "chivalrous knight" embodied by Bolingbroke in the beginning of *Richard II* exhibits

strength and authority while still upholding the social and political order that gives him his aristocratic status. The "Herculean hero," of which Coriolanus is an example, shows similar physical prowess and courage as the knight but, wedded to his own standard of ethics, he emphasizes autonomy. The "humanist man of moderation," a model to which Duke Vincentio in *Measure for Measure* aspires, exhibits wisdom, reason, and the capacity for self-government and moderation. The "merchant prince" figured by Basanio in *Merchant of Venice* and most common in city comedies shows thrift, self-sufficiency, and honesty, diligently working to achieve economic success.[11]

Drunkenness would seem to undermine the execution of all of these forms of ideal manhood. Indeed, at the start of *The Taming of the Shrew*, Sly resembles the model Smith calls the "saucy Jack," a figure who flouts conventional standards of masculinity, parodying the aforementioned patriarchal ideals.[12] First, Sly slurs his way through a claim to noble genealogy; tracing his descent from "Richard [instead of William the] Conqueror" (ind. 4), he defends his status with far less elegance than Bolingbroke. Second, Sly presents himself as a kind of Herculean hero, making a case for principled retribution against the alehouse's hostess; his cause is, of course, more specious than Coriolanus's, and he is clearly too inebriated to carry out his threats the way the great warrior does. Third, Sly's drunkenness and temper underscore his lack of moderation; unlike Duke Vincentio, who rightly condemns Angelo for lacking self-control, Sly hardly appears a convincing voice of moral judgment when he calls the hostess "a baggage" (ind. 3), slang for prostitute. Finally when Sly refuses to pay—"not a denier" (ind. 7)—for the glasses he has broken, he exhibits stinginess instead of the thrift characteristic of citizen heroes. In his send-up of popular models of patriarchal manhood, Sly exposes their insufficiency and incoherence, reminding the audience that they are, as Smith writes, "what a man *might be*, not . . . what he *is*."[13] The lord's jest subverts that critique by recasting Sly's drunkenness as the fulfillment of, rather than a disqualification from, gentlemanly status. At the lord's house Sly continues to become inebriated—so drunk that he passes out and is able to be carried back to the alehouse where he was found—but at the same time practices moderating his pleasures and executing authority over a household.

Insofar as *The Taming of the Shrew* is invested in the ways men claim patriarchal manhood through the controlled performance of excess (in violence, dress, and speech, among other things), the play as a whole undoubtedly would benefit from a more sustained reading

in the context of my argument. In this chapter, however, I am interested in how the lord's jest points to a wider early modern recreational discourse that rescues drunkenness from associations with effeminacy as well as low status by underscoring, through the frame of gaming, the discipline and order involved in excessive drinking. My focus will be the drinking games represented by a set of understudied early modern texts with decidedly urban and elite roots: Richard Brathwaite's *The Law of Drinking* (1617), a burlesque of Inns of Court life by a writer more widely known by scholars for authoring serious conduct books; and ornate drinking vessels known as "wager cups" that, manufactured in a number of early modern European cities, including London, were designed for games of competitive inebriation.[14]

In their emphasis on the rules of binge drinking, Brathwaite's treatise and the wager cups were positioned in tension with, though not in direct conflict against, the early modern discourses on drinking most scholars have discussed: moralist, medical, political, and hedonist.[15] Though drinking games, like medical treatises on the health benefits of alcohol and royalist injunctions supporting festive drinking customs, defend drinking from moralist condemnation, they do so not by recommending moderate or functionalist indulgence. Rather, drinking games accept inebriation as part of the purpose of drinking. And yet drinking games do not flout moralist discourse entirely or present the activity as careless abandonment to hedonist pleasure. Rather, the games figure binge drinking as an organized and measured activity, subject to rules. In drinking games pleasure is derived, in fact, from following rules as much as from becoming inebriated.

Early modern London had an instrumental role in promoting this recreational discourse of binge drinking. For one thing, London had a higher concentration of public drinking establishments than other English towns, creating the institutional conditions for recreational drunkenness. In the 1590s one German visitor marveled, "I have never seen more taverns and alehouses in my whole life than in London."[16] Although men did not need public houses to drink to excess, these were spaces of sociality, encouraging heavy drinking as a form of social play. Of course, the city held no monopoly on games and recreations involving alcohol. Excessive drinking was a vital part of English countryside festivities such as those held on May Day and Shrovetide Tuesday. Yet as Leah Marcus and others have shown, the recreational pleasures of the countryside were often exports of the city and/or the court.[17] Binge drinking games were no exception. Moralist Richard Young, though he observes drinking games being

played throughout the countryside, still links the vice of binge drinking to the city, calling drunkenness the "Metropolitan City of the Province of vices." Even as he laments the spread of drinking houses through English villages, he reserves his harshest rebukes for the city, where the horrors of binge drinking are repackaged as acceptable social behavior. Young raves that "there are in London Drinking Schooles: so that Drunkennesse is profesed with us as a liberall Art and Science."[18]

Young may exaggerate London's institutional support for binge drinking play—perhaps parodying what Jean Howard has identified as a growing London market for instruction in recreations of bodily comportment[19]—but he is not completely off the mark. Drinking games may not have been an official "science" taught alongside fencing and dancing at Academies of Manners or the Inns of Court, but binge drinking was an integral part of university and Inns of Court life. So integral that law student libertine turned moralist Richard Brathwaite, upon leaving Grays Inn, translated and published a German treatise entirely about student drinking culture. Appropriately titled *A Solemne Joviall Disputation, Theoreticke and Praticke; Briefly Shadowing the Law of Drinking*, Brathwaite's burlesque of the law seems intended to amuse its student audience with a demonstration of how their legal knowledge could be applied to a subject as vulgar as binge drinking. The book's popularity among learned readers (several Latin translations were published in England after the English edition appeared) suggests that though it takes as its subject German student drinking practices, the book resonated powerfully with men affiliated with England's patriarchal institutions of higher learning.[20] Indeed, despite English nationalistic rhetoric that linked excessive drinking with the Germans and Dutch, English university men, as Laurie Ellinghausen shows in the next chapter, were just as likely as their foreign counterparts to overindulge in alcohol.[21] Brathwaite's treatise fulfills Young's worst nightmares about the ways these and other Londoners sanctioned binge drinking, turning it into a gentleman's game by framing the activity as disciplined play.

Disciplined Binge Drinking in Brathwaite

We can get some sense of the discipline inherent in drinking games, ironically, from Young's own account of a game called "drinking for a muggle." The game involves six men who

> have determined to trie their strengths who could drinke most glasses for the muggle. The first drinks a glasse of a pint, the second two, the next, three, and so every one multiplyeth till the last taketh sixe. Then the first beginneth again, and taketh seven; and in this manner they drinke thrice a peece round, every man taking a glasse more then his fellow: so that hee that drank least, which was the first, dranke one and twenty pintes, and the sixt man thirtie sixe.[22]

Participants in such a game would be under pressure not only to drink their apportioned share without "loosing their witts," but also, in attempting to keep track of how many glasses had been consumed by their neighbors, they would have to remain mathematically dexterous in the face of increasing inebriation. Young identifies an array of similar such games and associates them with London's gentlemen: "He is a man of no fashion that cannot drink *super naculum*, Carouse the Hunters Hoope, quaffe Upse-freese crosse, Bose in Permoysant, in Pimlico, in Crambo, with Healthes, Gloves, Numpes, Frolickes, and a thousand of such dominiering inventions; as by the Bell, by the Cards, by the Dye, by the Dozen, by the Yard." The London neighborhood Pimlico appears here as one site for fashionable drinking games, some of which are, to Young's further consternation, of non-English origin: to "quaffe Upse-freese cross" means to drink with arms laced in the Dutch or German manner.[23] But even as he condemns such games for promoting the (supposedly) foreign vice of binge drinking, Young underscores the games' emphases on precision and discipline: "and so by measure, wee drinke out of measure."[24]

Brathwaite's own English rendering of German drinking games captures this paradox of measured chaos, though the role of discipline in his portrayal of binge drinking is easy to overlook. *Law* seems, at first, to represent heavy drinking as a sign of disorder and abuse, the kind of activity that, if it does not emasculate drinkers, will certainly demean them socially. It describes, for instance, a group of drinkers whose members become so inebriated that they vomit all over each other. In another story of debauchery, a drunk man, not wanting to get up from the table to relieve his bladder, proceeds to "pulling out his yard and making water in his boots, which reached up to his belly."[25] Just at that moment, a toast is drunk to him, compelling him to stand up, at which point his "shamelesse thing burst out, having till then laie hid under the table, and presented it selfe." The scene devolves into utter chaos as the maids at the table, "shreeked out aloud, no otherwise then Geese are wont to doe, ta, ta, ta, what a thing is this?"[26]

Heavy drinking, these examples illustrate, leads to significant disorder as men lose control over their bodily functions. What should remain contained and hidden—one's genitals and half-digested food—is involuntarily exposed, with embarrassing social repercussions.

However chaotic such scenes may be, they must be interpreted within their fuller context, for they are used, ultimately, to lay out the measured rules that bring drinkers into conformity with some of the very standards of patriarchal manliness Brathwaite later outlines in his sober advice book *The English Gentleman*. The urination incident, for example, is offered as the answer to a question about whether a man ought to "hold [his] water" if drinking in the company of maids.[27] The unfortunate result of doing so demonstrates that this is never a good idea, no matter the company. The shared vomiting episode is also used to test the limits of, and thus teach, civility and manly comportment. *Law* introduces the incident by marveling at the degree to which many drunks, who ought to have lost "use of reason and memorie," still manage to maintain "sound and rententive thoughts," something "which wee observe to bee most punctually performed by some of ours; who are not forgetfull of any treatie or discourse offered, even then, when they cast up their gobbets and goblets, and one guest requites another with like payment."[28] Even as these drinkers seem to violate the very essence of decorum by throwing up on each other, they continue to exercise reason and, as good gentlemen, remain mindful of their promises and conversations. Brathwaite's euphemism for the vomiting epidemic—each guest "requites" his neighbor with "like payment"—reframes the chaotic behavior as civilized, social grace, a display of equity and fairness. In fact, other early modern writers use these very terms to describe the manly sparring done on a battlefield or in a duel, where the most honorable conflict is that between equally matched fighters. *Law* reiterates these analogies to honorable conflict when it commends the vomiting drinkers, who are "as men triumphing in the atchievement of so great a victorie" and when it advises on how best to respond after throwing up on a neighbor: obtain some water, wash off his face, and then carry on with the drinking bout.[29]

To transform binge drinking from an effeminizing and ignoble vice into a performance of patriarchal manliness, *Law* represents the activity as a game. Like other games, binge drinking includes its own language and particular scripts for participants. *Law* provides a dizzyingly long list of different kinds of pledges, or healths, each with a particular name and requiring a complex set of maneuvers. Among these is the "health-cup," where everyone stands bareheaded in a

circle; the participants proffer wishes of health as a communal cup is sent around, each participant drinking in order of where he is sitting. In the "cup of brotherhood," one man drinks a pledge to another, perhaps to reconcile with him after a fight.[30] To perform successfully in such a pledge, the drinker follows a script, beginning modestly with "*Sir, if I who am but a young man should not seeme altogether unworthy of so high an honour*..." The ceremonial and dignified language continues as the cup is passed between the two speakers, after which, "having used some eare-whisperings one to another, their mutuall request is that this *Brotherhood* may be strengthened with mutuall visitations."[31]

As in any game, maneuvers of play have specialized names. Among the many ways to drink one's pledge are "*Partiall*" measures and "*totall*" (drink the entire cup). The "totall" can be performed "*discontinuately*" or "*continuately*, when at one draught the whole pot is emptied." In a further refinement of the "continuate" drinking move, the text describes how it may be done "*haustically*, when after the usual manner all is drunke up without taking breath" or, as when the drink is consumed in one gulp, "*florically*," so named because this causes "reflection or refluxion whereof sendeth forth some little bubbles, which our countrey-men call *flowers*."[32] With this etymology for "florical" drinking, *Law* transforms the uncontrollable and uncouth burp that inevitably follows from gulping one's drink into a genteel and pleasant expression. The presence of virtuoso moves, many of which also have names, further provides a sense of stylistic form to binge drinking, emphasizing as well the physical agility and grace needed for the sport:

> it pleaseth some to lift up the glass unto their mouth. Others hang downe their lippe, that they might drink with their heads inclining downward. Some joyne two cups one upon another, and drinke them together. Others take not up the Cup in their hand, but enwreathe it in the crooke of their arme. There are, who set the glasse to their brow, that by little and little it might descened downe by their nose as by a Conduit to their mouth.[33]

There is nothing lazy or idle about this manner of consuming alcohol. To the contrary, such maneuvers require the kind of strength and manual control characteristic of a swordsman or athlete.

It is not only by codifying terminology and establishing rules that *Law* stylizes drinking play, but also by envisioning the consequences for participants who violate the rules. Notably, this violation

is presented as a kind of loss of valor. For instance, the text considers what might happen if someone begins to drink "florically" (all contents consumed in one gulp) and "perchance one among all the rest could not performe the same." In this case the rules are flexible, allowing everyone to drink according to his ability. The rules are less lenient when a man cannot drink off "haustically" (typical drinking but without taking a breath), a manageable feat that ought to be learned simply by watching others: "That is a great fault not to know that which all observe. Which is compared to a solecisme or fallacie: and consequentlie admits no excuse. Let him drinke therefore till his eyes water."[34] Insofar as watering eyes announce a man's inability to control his body—which, if secreting fluid, exhibits the excess of moisture Galenic physiology associated with women and children—the cost of losing the drinking wager is appropriate. He who is unable to keep up with his fellow drinkers must then reperform his unmanly shamefulness through tears. But as Brathwaite's later book *The English Gentleman* will do, *Law* draws a fine line between manly excellence and problematic pride. In his sober conduct book, Brathwaite warns, "Now *Gentlemen*, you, whose better parts aime at more glorious ends, so confine your desires to an equall meane, that mounting too high bring you not to an irreparable fall."[35] *Law* offers similar advice about manly modesty when it condemns grandstanding novices who attempt risky maneuvers for which they are not trained. If a man starts to drink florically but cannot, Brathwaite insists that he start again and should not try something he does not know how to do.

As in any game, there are also penalties for those who interfere in the game's proper functioning. And *Law* admits that a certain degree of violence is excusable when policing drinking play. It describes, for instance, how to handle a fellow drinker who has become quarrelsome. First, fellow participants should implore that person to be quiet, then threaten him to be quiet, and then join together to "cudgel" him and eject him from the establishment.[36] Brathwaite intimates, however, that while it is important to contain outbreaks of overly aggressive behavior, some violence is part and parcel of recreational binge drinking. Indeed, this penchant for violence justifies the sport's gendered exclusivity. *Law* maintains that though women are certainly allowed to be present when men binge drink, they should be prepared to put their chastity at risk, for "a Drunkard hath no purpose or disposition to offend, seeing he is forced by a kind of violence to offend."[37] The text goes on to justify men touching a woman who is dressed provocatively or who does not rebuke other men for touching her. Brathwaite's drinkers, even as they engage in excessive alcohol consumption, thus take it upon themselves to manage the excesses not only of themselves, but also of the women around them.

In sum, *Law* rewrites unruly drunkenness as proper recreation for the gentleman, imagining ways to consume immeasurable amounts in a measured fashion. This disciplined play preserves values of patriarchal manhood, such as order, honor, and even modesty. Brathwaite alludes, albeit ironically, to the chivalric potential of drinking games when he calls drinking "a valiant combat or encounter with the pot."[38] It may be the case that the text simply mocks its student subjects for claiming there are rules for what is, in truth, rowdy drunken behavior. Perhaps Brathwaite's very decision to translate the German text constitutes a typically English mockery of Germans for their drunken excesses. But regardless of Brathwaite's aims and wherever the intended satire of the text lies, *Law* participates in and contributes to a wider recreational discourse on the manliness of binge drinking games. Such a discourse confers patriarchal masculinity by attributing to men's binge drinking an aesthetic sensibility and stylized form akin to what Adam Zucker finds in many seventeenth-century representations of gambling. The effect is that stylized drinking similarly pits gender against class. As Zucker points out, the figure of the "true sportsman" conceals social and economic inequities behind the façade of "social style and cultural competencies."[39] In a comparable way, as game rules and virtuoso moves fashion excessive drinking into a demonstration of patriarchal masculinity, they reinforce status differences between men, placing those who get drunk in a disciplined manner above those who do not.

FANTASIES OF MANHOOD IN WAGER CUPS

This link between the disciplinary function of early modern drinking games and the production of patriarchal manliness is nowhere more apparent than in "wager cups." Originating in sixteenth-century Nuremberg, but produced also in London and other European cities, wager cups assume a variety of forms. The mount on one vessel contains a die, so that the cup is meant to be shaken before it is filled, the number on the die denoting how many cups of wine the game participant must then consume. Another version, the pass glass or peg tankard, features notches, or "passes," along its length. The drinker consumes in one gulp down to the next notch before passing on the cup. The cost of failure is drinking down to yet another pass. Very little has been written about these cups and the conditions of their use, but the ornate design and precious materials of

surviving cups suggest that they were owned by wealthy families, perhaps brought out only on special occasions. The *jungfrauenbecher* or maiden cup was (and sometimes still is) used for drinking wagers at wedding celebrations in Germany as well as in drinking rituals by London's Worshipful Company of Vintners, which still owns two of the surviving cups (figure 1.1). Less expensive versions of these cups may have been available in more public spaces, as is suggested by Dutch paintings that depict groups of men drinking from pass glasses in taverns or inns. Whatever the history of their use, the cups are of

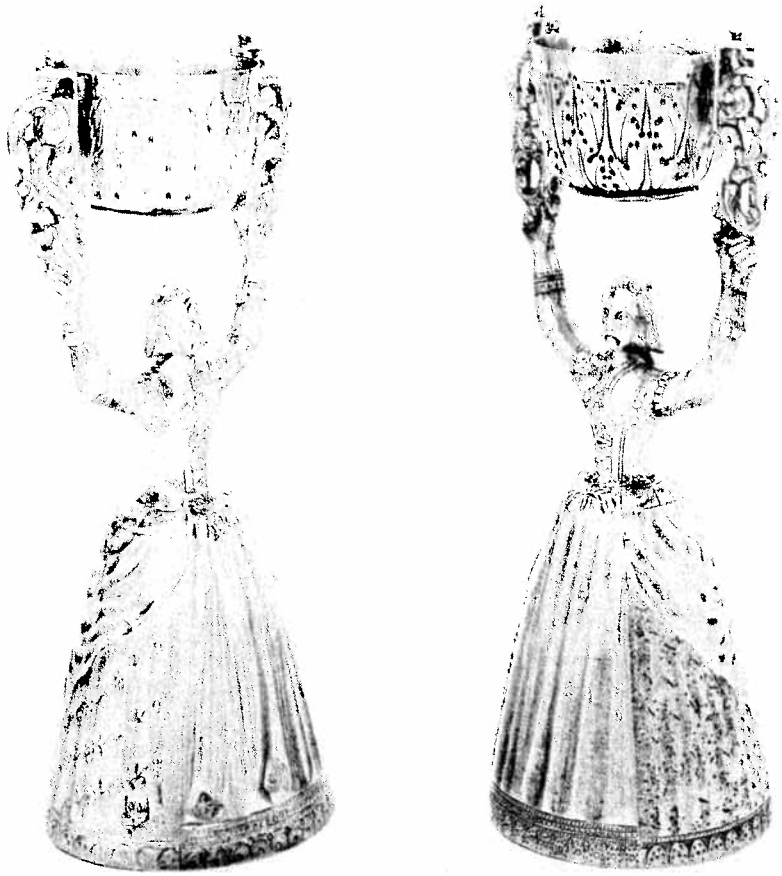

Figure 1.1 Wager Cups. On left: silver; maker's mark is WF (possibly William Fowler). London (1682–1683). On right: silver-gilt; maker's mark is possibly TI (Thomas Jenkins). Possibly London (c.1680). Reproduced by permission of the Worshipful Company of Vintners.

interest for the way they contribute, like Brathwaite's pamphlet, to a recreational discourse on binge drinking, one that imposes order on excess by inviting men who can afford access to such objects to consume alcohol in a certain way, within a prescribed amount of time, or in a measured amount. Moreover, insofar as the designs of the cups suggest imaginative connections between the drinking act and other (less compromised) cultural performances of manliness, they further illustrate how a recreational discourse on binge drinking worked to shore up displays of patriarchal manhood.

The Dutch puzzle or mill-cup, originating in the seventeenth-century Netherlands and produced well into the nineteenth century (see figure 1.2), is mounted with a windmill whose vanes turn in response to breath blown through a tube attached to the cup.[40] To win the drinking wager, a player must consume the contents of the cup before the windmill ceases spinning. Most versions of the cup include a penalty dial that, after being spun, sets the consequences for losing the wager: the participant must drink the number of cupfuls indicated on the dial. The drinker who is well skilled and practiced in chugging will avoid the penalty. But the cup also rewards the player who simply works hardest during the game, for the best way to avoid the penalty is to keep the vanes spinning as long as possible so as to allow the drinker time to finish the cup's contents. And that is accomplished by sheer respiratory labor.

But to understand the ideological and cultural work of these vessels, we need to attend not only to the rules of play invoked by their structure, but also to what ludologists would call their *gameworld*, the cups' material/semiotic design.[41] The gameworlds of wager cups often invoke fantasies of ideal patriarchal manhood. In the case of the mill-cup, the fantasy is that of pastoral manly industry, for the cup spatially links the drinker's labor with that of the workers who produced the beverage being consumed. Affixed to the side of the mill is a ladder on which are two figures of millers carrying sacks of grain. The drinker's blowing tube is positioned parallel to the ladder and, in some seventeenth-century versions, the tube intersects with the ladder at the place where the blower would place his mouth. Were the cup to be filled with beer, the narrative of communal labor would be elegantly complete: the millers bring the grain into the mill, the drinker provides the energy needed for the windmill to process the grain, and the result is the beer consumed. Of course, the drinker's labor is far more genteel than that of the figures represented on the cup, allowing him, even if a denizen of the city, to indulge in this pastoral fantasy of manly industry without breaking a sweat.

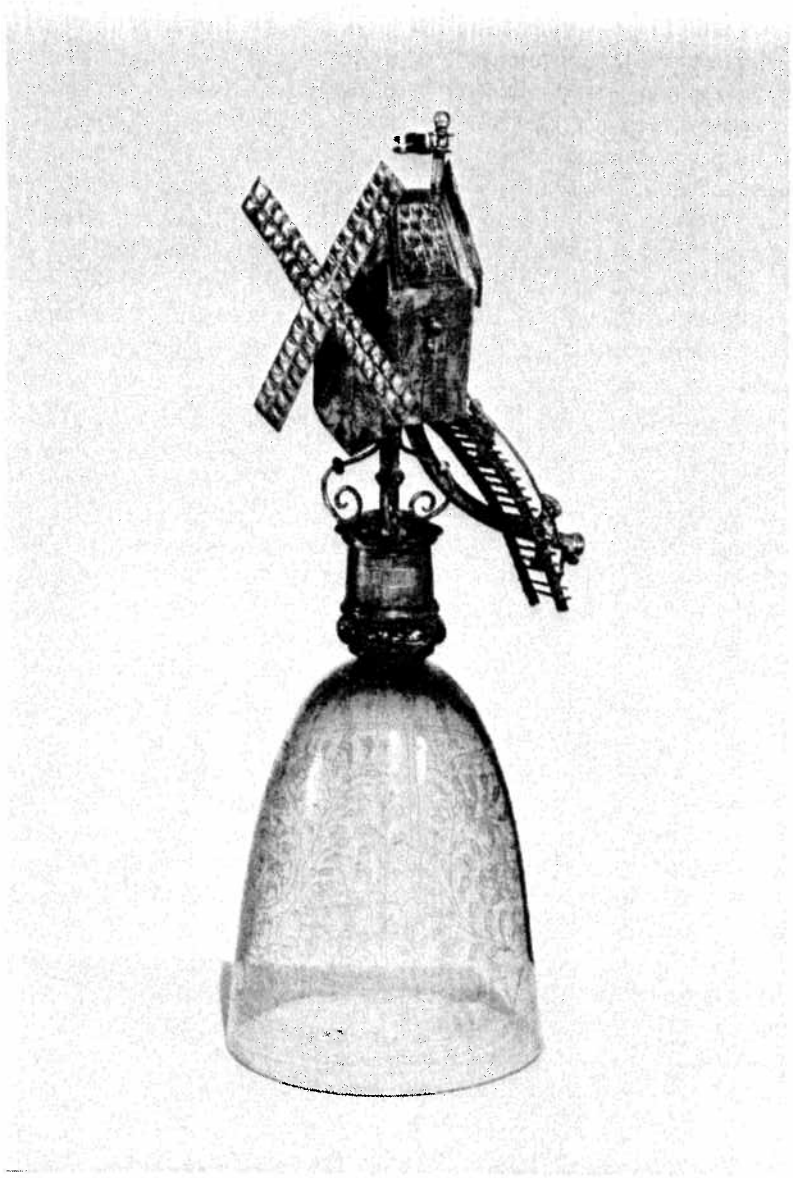

Figure 1.2 Windmill cup. Silver. Probably German (c.1880). Reproduced by permission of Billy Schmerling Sender, Pasarel Ltd.

Whereas the mill-cup invites urban drinkers to participate in an imaginary pastoral scene, where they may bond with each other over shared labor, the maiden cup offers drinkers the opportunity to manage the sexual excesses of an imaginary female body. The vessel takes the form of a woman who wears a billowing skirt that, when turned over, is revealed to be a cup.[42] She holds above her another cup attached to her hands by a swiveling mechanism, so that the cup can swing completely around. Structurally, the vessel challenges its drinkers to consume the contents of both containers without spilling a drop, a task all the more challenging as the drinker becomes increasingly inebriated. The design of the cup's gameworld casts this drinking wager in erotic terms. To consume the larger cup, the participant must turn over the maiden's skirts, looking into and drinking from the space where a woman's legs and genitalia would be. The maiden figure herself is explicitly eroticized. In the German version she is dressed in ornate Venetian fashions, with a low-cut bodice and elaborate hairdo (figure 1.3). The figure of the English cup (figure 1.1) wears more modest attire, her hair restrained beneath a cap. And yet there is an erotic valence to the maiden's innocence. Indeed, when the cup was used by London's Worshipful Company of Vintners—with liverymen drinking a toast to the company from the main skirt cup and a toast to the Company's Master from the small cup—the ritual was called "kissing the maid."[43] Some later versions of the cups recognize these erotic dimensions. Two nineteenth-century cups owned by the Metropolitan Museum, virtually identical to their seventeenth-century predecessors, add engraved inscriptions on the maiden figures' aprons, as if issued directly from their laps: "Hands of[f] I pray you Handle not me / For I am blind and you can see / If you love me lend me not / For fear of breaking bend me not."[44] Though on one level this is merely a warning to handle the cup with care—not unlike curses owners of books wrote in their covers[45]—it works also, especially in combination with the maiden's dress, as erotic provocation. Like the women present in the scenes of drinking Brathwaite's pamphlet describes, the maiden of the cup is to be treated as an erotic object, regardless of her protests. And the drinker's successful control of the unwieldy cup, whose contents may easily spill out, becomes symbolic of his ability to manage female sexual excess.

Such symbolism could have material effects, at least according to the account provided by a witness in an early seventeenth-century legal case, who describes how a group of inebriated men at an English inn used drinking game tropes to structure their sexual assault of a female servant. As if enacting the fantasy of the maiden cup, the men

Figure 1.3 Meinrad Bauch, the elder. Kleiner Jungfrauenbecher (small maiden cup). Gold-plated silver, with turbo snail shell. Nuremberg (c.1603–1609). Reproduced by permission of Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Grünes Gewölbe. Photo credit: SLUB Dresden / Deutsche Fotothek.

are described as having taken turns "one after another [to] lift her clothes up to her girdle" in order to "feel her privities and look upon them."[46] Their assault takes the explicit shape of a drinking game when the men, with beers in hand, pretend to be chivalric heroes:

> After which done Jay (who named himself the knight of the castle) sat upon a bench, taking and holding Edith between his legs, placing a stool before her face, and holding her arms fast. And then and there drawing their wicked rapiers and laying them upon the table made proclamations in these or the like words viz: "Oyes, whosoever dareth to break down the walls of grimcunt castle let him approach."[47]

As each man comes forward pretending to be a knight, he lifts up the servant's skirts and proceeds to fondle and then throw a beer at her genitals. The connection to the kinds of drinking games I discussed earlier becomes even more evident when one of the men, who tells the maid that he is more "honest" than the others, declares he "would not break the walls of the castle but would drink a health unto it and so drunk up the glass of beer."

It is not surprising that an inn, the most upscale of English public drinking establishments, provides the setting for this disturbing drinking game. The servant who delivers the testimony notes that the men involved had been drinking beer in an upper chamber of the inn for several hours, consuming 2s. 8d. worth of alcohol, before they descended into the kitchen to commit the assault. These details underscore not only the men's level of inebriation but also their socioeconomic status, for the private chambers of inns and taverns were more exclusive and expensive places to drink. In other words, these are the kind of men who ought to be socially disgraced by abandoning themselves to their sexual desires and chasing a mere servant girl around public premises. Their descent from the patriarchal arena of the upper chambers into the feminized and lower-status arena of the kitchen represents that social degeneration in spatial terms. By stylizing their drunken sexual assault as a game, however, specifically a game of chivalric pretend, the men—like the student drinkers in Brathwaite's *The Law of Drinking* and the users of wager vessels such as the windmill or dice cups—translate otherwise animalistic, socially debasing behavior into organized sport, a performance of not antipatriarchal but patriarchal masculinity.

The episode raises questions about the methodology I have employed throughout this chapter. For one thing, what counts as a "drinking game"? In this category I have included toasts like those

Brathwaite describes or those performed using wager cups in rituals by the Worshipful Company of Vintners; pranks such as that of Shakespeare's lord; a sexual assault framed as a game; as well as more easily definable binge drinking play, such as that involving windmill wager cups. In moving across such disparate sources, I am relying on the well-established link anthropologists and sociologists have theorized between ritual and play. But I am also strategically associating these disparate activities and texts in order to think more broadly about the early modern recreational discourse that London, metropolis of vice, helped promote. In putting such a range of texts into conversation, I am not suggesting that the wager cups offer extraliterary, "historical" support for my reading of more recognizably "literary" texts like Brathwaite's *Law* and Shakespeare's induction to *The Taming of the Shrew*. As I have argued elsewhere, along with other scholars of material culture, historical objects we can touch do not give us access to some stable realm of the real, some privileged account of "how it was."[48] Rather, my goal has been to think about these items as part of a larger recreational discourse that, whether or not engaged through actual practices of play, did a certain kind of cultural work: it transformed binge drinking from an emasculating or plebian vice into a forum for the performance of patriarchal manhood.

This is not to say that the patriarchal manhood produced was stable and robust. The work of blowing into a tube attached to the mill-cup is far from commensurate with the kind of labor involved in producing the beverage in the cup. Similarly, the successful manipulation of a maiden cup by no means testifies to a man's ability to handle the bodies of real women in his life. And, to return to *The Taming of the Shrew*'s Sly, pretending to be a drunken lord does not make a tinker into an aristocrat who commands a household. These are, after all, simply games. As such, the masculinity they produce and the class distinctions they reinforce are provisional and fleeting, even fantastical. This is not to suggest that such fictions are inconsequential, however, as is demonstrated by the legal testimony as well as by the story of Sly. In a closing scene that may have been performed for early modern audiences of *The Taming of the Shrew*, Sly awakens from his drunken slumber to reflect on the play about shrew-taming that he has seen at the lord's house as part of the lord's elaborate drinking game. From having witnessed the dramatization, Sly is confident that he "know[s] now how to tame a shrew" (153) and, like the drunk men who commit sexual assault in the inn, he is ready to practice his knowledge on a real woman, his wife. Nevertheless, given

how poorly Sly fares in his conflict with the alehouse hostess earlier in the play, his threat to discipline his wife appears less than convincing. Even the tapster is doubtful, offering to accompany Sly home to confront his angry spouse. Drinking fantasies provide Sly, like other early modern men, an imaginative forum through which to negotiate the challenges of masculinity that cannot be so easily managed in reality, where disciplining bodies—one's own and those of others—is not always such a pleasure.

NOTES

For their helpful comments on earlier versions of this chapter, I thank Amanda Bailey and Roze Hentschell as well as my UC Davis drafts group: Seeta Chaganti, Fran Dolan, Margie Ferguson, Noah Guynn, and Claire Waters. Thanks also to Stephen Freeth, Natalie Giannini, and Libby Otto for their research assistance.

1. William Shakespeare, *The Taming of the Shrew: Texts and Contexts*, ed. Frances E. Dolan (Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1996), induction, 1.30. Further references to the play appear in my text.
2. Thomas Young, *England's Bane, or the Description of Drunkenness* (London, 1634), sig. D2r.
3. Sir Walter Raleigh, *Sir Walter Raleigh's Instruction to his Sonne: and to Posteritie*, 3rd ed. (London, 1633), 82, 87.
4. I borrow the phrase from Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), discussed further below.
5. Theodore B. Leinwand, "Spongy Plebs, Mighty Lords, and the Dynamics of the Alehouse," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 19.2 (1989): 159–84, esp. 172.
6. On drunkenness as effeminizing, see Karen Britland, "Circe's Cup: Wine and Women in Early Modern Drama," in *A Pleasing Sinne: Drink and Conviviality in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. Adam Smyth, Studies in Renaissance Literature (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 109–25. On the tavern as an effeminizing space, see Jean E. Howard and Phyllis Rackin, *Engendering a Nation: A Feminist Account of Shakespeare's English Histories*, Feminist Readings of Shakespeare (New York: Routledge, 1997), esp. chap. 11. On drunkenness and drinking establishments as linked to disorder, see David Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England 1602–1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); Paul Griffiths, "Masterless Young People in Norwich, 1560–1645," in *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England*, ed. Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox, and Steve Hindle (New York: Macmillan, 1996), esp. 159; A. Lynn Martin, *Alcohol, Sex, and Gender in Late*

Medieval and Early Modern Europe (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), esp. chap. 6.

7. Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*. Amanda Bailey, *Flaunting: Style and the Subversive Male Body in Early Modern England* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2007). For an exploration of how Dutch youths' excessive drinking constituted a form of manly display, see Benjamin Roberts, "Drinking Like a Man: The Paradox of Excessive Drinking for Seventeenth-Century Dutch Youth," *Journal of Family History* 29 (2004): 237–52.
8. Roger Caillois, *Man, Play and Games*, trans. Meyer Barash (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001[1958]). There are obvious limitations to this schema, which introduces a problematic binary. In fact, improvisation and "free-play" are governed by rules, though these may be implicit or internalized by participants. To be fair, however, even Caillois uses this schema primarily as a heuristic device.
9. There has been interesting work on the relationship between drinking, male homosociality, and status. See Stella Achilleos, "The *Anacreontea* and a Tradition of Refined Male Sociability," in Smyth, *Pleasing Sinne*, 21–35; Cedric C. Brown, "Sons of Beer and Sons of Ben: Drink as a Social Marker in Seventeenth-Century England," in Smyth, *Pleasing Sinne*, 3–20; Michelle O'Callaghan, "Tavern Societies, the Inns of Court, and the Culture of Conviviality in Early Seventeenth-Century London," in Smyth, *Pleasing Sinne*, 37–51; B. Ann Tlusty, *Bacchus and the Civic Order: The Culture of Drink in Early Modern Germany* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001); Patricia Fumerton, "Not Home: Alehouses, Ballads, and the Vagrant Husband in Early Modern England," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32.3 (2002): 493–518. Much of this work has focused, however, on different spaces and contexts for drinking (inns vs. taverns vs. alehouses; particular male societies) or different kinds of drink (wine vs. beer vs. ale). In my focus on the relationship between social status and *techniques* of consumption, I pursue a less widely developed angle, so far discussed only in relation to pledge drinking. On the latter, see Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), esp. 92–94; and Tlusty, *Bacchus*.
10. Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, 247.
11. Bruce R. Smith, *Shakespeare and Masculinity*, Oxford Shakespeare Topics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 44–54.
12. Ibid., 54–57.
13. Ibid., 63.
14. Brathwaite's book appeared in English as Blasius Multibibus, *A Solemne Joviall Disputation, Theoreticke and Praticke: Briefly Shadowing the Law of Drinking* (Oenozphthopolis [i.e., London], 1617). Despite its popularity in its own day, the book has been

virtually ignored by scholars, even as Brathwaite's conduct books *The English Gentleman* (London, 1630) and *The English Gentlewoman* (London, 1631) have assumed centrality in an emerging canon of seventeenth-century advice literature. The exception is O'Callaghan, "Tavern Societies." Similarly, wager cups have received very little scholarly notice and virtually none by scholars of literature and history. The few collectors and museum curators who consider the cups either treat them as amusing historical novelties or emphasize their expert craftsmanship and precious materials. The exception is Roberts, "Drinking Like a Man," who discusses Dutch versions of the cups as evidence of the centrality of drinking to early modern Dutch youth culture.

15. The bulk of criticism on excessive drinking emphasizes early modern religio-moralist discourses. See, for example, Charlotte McBride, "A Natural Drink for an English Man: National Stereotyping in Early Modern Culture," in Smyth, *Pleasing Sinne*, 181–91; Mack P. Holt, "Europe Divided: Wine, Beer, and the Reformation in Sixteenth-century Europe," in *Alcohol: A Social and Cultural History*, ed. Mack P. Holt (Oxford: Berg, 2006), 25–40; Smyth, "'It were far better to be a *Toad*, or a *Serpant*, then a Drunkard': Writing About Drunkenness," in Smyth, *Pleasing Sinne*, 193–210. Smyth includes one pro-drinking text in his discussion but focuses on the ways this text "picked up and responded to established condemnations of drunkenness" (193). Several scholars have observed that early modern medical discourse links moderate alcohol consumption with good health. See Ken Albala, "To Your Health: Wine as Food and Medicine in Mid-sixteenth-century Italy," in Holt, *Alcohol: A Social and Cultural History*, 11–24. The best work on what I call a hedonistic discourse of drinking is Joshua Scodel, *Excess and the Mean in Early Modern English Literature*, Literature in History (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), which explores the ways seventeenth-century poets adapt ancient symposiastic drinking poetry, celebrating the pleasures of excessive wine drinking as an escape from daily cares.
16. Qtd. in Peter Clark, *The English Alehouse: A Social History, 1200–1830* (London: Longman, 1983), 49. This is not to say that all drinking in public houses lead to drunkenness. With alcohol being cheaper and more accessible than clean water, it (and especially ale) was widely consumed for more than recreational purposes. Nevertheless, city authorities regularly complained about male drunkenness at taverns, alehouses, and, to a lesser extent, inns. On the different functions of alehouses, taverns, and inns, see R. F. Bretherton, "Country Inns and Alehouses," in *Englishmen at Rest and Play: Some Phases of English Leisure 1558–1714*, ed. Reginald Lennard (Oxford: Clarendon, 1931), 147–201. And on the urban inn in particular,

Alan Everitt, "The English Urban Inn, 1650–1760," in *Perspectives in English Urban History*, ed. Alan Everitt (London: Macmillan, 1973), 90–137.

17. Leah S. Marcus, *The Politics of Mirth: Jonson, Herrick, Milton, Marvell and the Defense of Old Holiday Pastimes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986). On the extent to which London tastes impacted the design and furnishings of English country houses and the recreational pursuits of their female dwellers, see Alice T. Friedman, "Inside/Out: Women, Domesticity, and the Pleasures of the City," in *Material London, ca. 1600*, ed. Lena Cowen Orlin (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 232–50.
18. Young, *England's Bane*, sig. D3v.
19. Jean Howard, *Theater of a City: The Places of London Comedy, 1598–1642* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), esp. chap. 4.
20. O'Callaghan, "Tavern Societies," nicely situates Brathwaite's work within an urban elite tavern culture. An account of *Law*'s publishing history and relation to its German source can be found in Matthew Wilson Black, "Richard Brathwait: An Account of His Life and Works" (Doctoral Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1928), esp. 101–5.
21. George Evans Light, "All Hopped Up: Beer, Cultivated National Identity, and Anglo-Dutch Relations, 1524–1625," *Journal X* 2.2 (1998): 159–78, discusses English efforts to "blame their own perceived national inebriety" (160) on other nations, especially the Dutch.
22. Young, *England's Bane*, sig. E8v–F1r.
23. Thomas Nashe's *Summer's Last Will and Testament* uses the term, apparently referring to the German tradition of "drinking *Brüderschaft*": "A vous, monsieur Winter, a frolick upsy freese: cross, ho! Super nagulum." Qtd. in Karl Elze, *Notes on Elizabethan Dramatists: With Conjectural Emendations of the Text* (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1880), 32. It is possible (and, if so, all the more interesting given the connection between urban culture and drinking games) that Pimlico refers to the name of a game, like Crambo and other terms in this list.
24. Young, *England's Bane*, sig. D3v.
25. Richard Brathwaite, *The Law of Drinking*, ed. W. Brian Hooker (New Haven, CT: Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor, 1903), 71.
26. Ibid., 72.
27. Ibid., 71.
28. Ibid., 69.
29. Ibid., 70. One might argue that this tension between Brathwaite's rhetoric of civility and the riotous activities he describes supports Smyth's point that even pro-drinking literature that offers elaborate rules for drinking in an effort to represent it as an elite art reveals the disorder behind all the ordered rules. But I would suggest that it is worth our while investigating more closely the productive work these rules of drinking play perform.
30. Brathwaite, *Law*, 41, 44.
31. Ibid., 45.
32. Ibid., 38–39.
33. Ibid., 53.
34. Ibid., 39.
35. Brathwaite, *The English Gentleman*, 37.
36. Brathwaite, *Law*, 65.
37. Ibid., 78.
38. Ibid., 34.
39. Adam Zucker, "The Social Stakes of Gambling in Early Modern London," in *Masculinity and the Metropolis of Vice*, 73.
40. No English versions survive, but given how much of seventeenth-century English drinking culture was influenced by the Dutch—the most obvious example being the shift from ale to beer—it is not hard to imagine that these objects traveled to England. If so, they would necessarily have come through the port of London.
41. Espen Aarseth, "Genre Trouble: Narrativism and the Art of Simulation," in *First Person: New Media as Story, Performance, and Game*, ed. Wardrip-Fruin and Pat Harrigan (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004) argues that the gameworld is the most "coincidental" (48) of the elements of game design (e.g., chess will be the same game whether one plays with pieces shaped like chivalric warriors or abstract pegs). I follow other theorists of games, however, in arguing that the gameworld's design is highly significant to the experience of game-play.
42. The most useful of sources on maiden cups is Yvonne Hackenbroch, "Wager Cups," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 26.9 (1968): 380–88.
43. Sophia Lee, *The Worshipful Company of Vintners: A Catalogue of Plate* (London: Vintners' Company, 1996), 37.
44. The dating of these particular cups is uncertain. The Metropolitan Museum has long dated them to the middle of the seventeenth century, but a recent appraiser suspects they may have been produced in the nineteenth century, when there was a minor vogue for copies of maiden cups. In any event they seem designed to resemble their seventeenth-century counterparts.
45. William H. Sherman, "What Did Renaissance Readers Write in Their Books?," in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies*, ed. Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 119–37.
46. G. R. Quaife, *Wanton Wenches and Wayward Wives: Peasants and Illicit Sex in Early Seventeenth Century England* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1979), 170. I am grateful to Fran Dolan for bringing this text to my attention.

47. Ibid.
48. Gina Bloom, *Voice in Motion: Staging Gender, Shaping Sound in Early Modern England*, Material Texts (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007). See also, Natasha Korda, *Shakespeare's Domestic Economies: Gender and Property in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).

CHAPTER 2

UNIVERSITY OF VICE: DRINK, GENTILITY, AND MASCULINITY IN OXFORD, CAMBRIDGE, AND LONDON

Laurie Ellinghausen

The early modern universities of Oxford and Cambridge might be imagined as hermetically sealed bastions of learning and piety, because of their historical role as training grounds for clergy. However, this pastoral image runs aground on the fact that scholars actively participated in urban pastimes—and with growing populations, notable increases in building activity, active city councils, and thriving craft guilds, as well as crime and poverty, late sixteenth-century Oxford and Cambridge certainly offered an urban experience, if on a smaller scale than that of London.[1] Noting the regularity with which historians separate the university from its urban environs, Victor Morgan argues that the two should be examined in relation to each other and to the larger spheres of which they are a part:

> There is, perhaps, a temptation to conceive the relationship between a university and its urban context simply as bipartite.... I suspect that the relationship is rarely as simple as this. To borrow a phrase of the anthropologists, universities and their urban environs are almost always "part societies," and the relationship between these two particular constituent elements can only be fully understood within the larger context.[2]