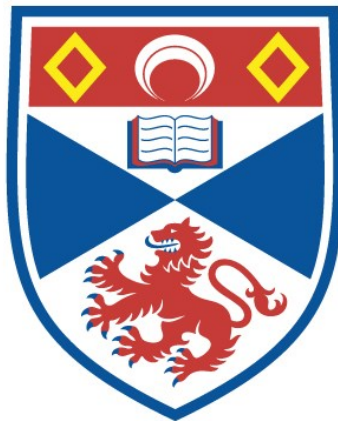


**"HARMLESS DELIGHT
BUT USEFUL AND INSTRUCTIVE" :
THE WOMAN'S VOICE IN RESTORATION
ADAPTATIONS OF SHAKESPEARE**

Cynthia M. Tuerk

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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The Woman's Voice in Restoration Adaptations of
Shakespeare

Cynthia M. Tuerk

A thesis submitted to the University of
St. Andrews for consideration for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

School of English
University of St. Andrews
St. Andrews, Fife

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Abstract

The changes and upheaval in English society and in English ideas which took place during the seventeenth century had a profound effect upon public and private perceptions of women and of women's various roles in society. A study of the drama of this period provides the means to examine the development of these new views through the popular medium of the stage. In particular, the study of adaptations of early drama offer the opportunity to compare the stage perceptions of women which were prevalent during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century with attitudes towards women which emerged during the Restoration and early eighteenth century; such an examination of these differing perceptions of women has not yet been undertaken.

The adaptation of Shakespearean plays provide the most profitable study in this area; Shakespeare was not only a highly influential playwright, but was also one of the most adapted of all the early dramatists during the years of the Restoration. In order to facilitate this survey, I have selected plays which span the entire Restoration era, beginning with William Davenant's The Law Against Lovers and Macbeth as well as John Lacy's Sauny the Scot from the 1660's, through the late 1670's and early 1680's with Edward Ravenscroft's Titus Andronicus and Nahum Tate's The Ingratitude of a Common-Wealth, and finally into the reign of Anne Stuart with William Burnaby's Love Betray'd. The study of these plays offers the best opportunity for the examination, through the medium of the theatre, of the changes which occurred in the perception of women and their changing

identity with the rapidly evolving society of Renaissance and Restoration English society.

Declarations

I, Cynthia M. Tuerk, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 95,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

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I was admitted as a research student in October 1992 and as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in October 1992; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between 1992 and 1997.

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CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

"Harmless Delight"¹

From the start of the English Renaissance and to the end of the eighteenth century, perceptions of English society and the attitudes of those within that society underwent striking changes. Beginning with the humanist movements of the Renaissance with the ensuing emphasis upon education, reason and the individual, and continuing through the Protestant Reformation with its accompanying re-examination of humanity's role in the universe and relationship to God, English society underwent massive changes in its view of the world. These changes continued throughout the seventeenth century as new religious movements gave rise to new social and political ideas, forcing the established church and hierarchies to justify their very existence and therefore forcing a corresponding re-examination of traditional ways of thinking and of perceiving the world².

As a consequence of these emerging ideas, perceptions of women and of women's role in society also underwent great upheavals during this time. There developed a new emphasis upon education, a movement begun by the humanists and encouraged by, among others, the literate and educated queen of England, Catherine of Aragon; these ideas of the importance of education

¹From Killigrew's Patent, 25 April 1662. From Restoration and Georgian England 1660-1788, David Thomas, ed., Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989, 18.

²The changes in English society during this time, and their effect upon the status of women are discussed in Sherrin Marshall Wyntjes, "Women in the Reformation Era", Becoming Visible: Women in European History, ed. Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977, 167.

often included the benefits offered by educating women. As Thomas More asserted in a letter to William Gunnell, his daughters' tutor, "Nor do I think that it affects the harvest, that a man or woman has sown the seed...learning, by which the reason is cultivated, is equally suitable to both."³.

This recognition by the Christian humanists such as More and Erasmus, who gained prominence during the Renaissance, that there was value in offering a good education to women - albeit the privileged women of the upper, the middle and the merchant classes - gave women, for the first time, the opportunity to use their minds and their new education in the classics and rhetoric to communicate their ideas in a logical and reasonable manner. However, as Joan Kelly-Gadol points out in her essay "Did Women have a Renaissance" this led to an inevitable male bias in the education of women as "her [the Renaissance girl] brothers' tutors shaped her outlook, male educators who ...further classical culture, with all its patriarchal and misogynous bias"⁴. However, many women - particularly those of the upper and noble classes - used the tenets of the male-dominated classical education to express their own uniquely feminine thoughts, thus paving the way for the more vocal and prominent

³Ruth Kelso deals in great detail with the education of women of the upper classes in Doctrine for the Lady of the Renaissance, Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1956, 62.

⁴Joan Kelly-Gadol in fact argues that women did not truly have a renaissance in her essay, "Did Women Have a Renaissance?", Becoming Visible: Women in European History, ed. Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977, 152. However, there were significant advances in the attitudes towards women and respect for women during this time.

literate women of the seventeenth century⁵.

For there was, perhaps not surprisingly, a great upsurge in the quantity of literature produced by women in England during the years of the Renaissance; women began to write and publish sonnets, elegies, novels and translations as well as indulging in private letter writing and diaries. For the most part, however, these works deal with the changing attitudes of both women and society towards religion as well as theological matters, perhaps reflecting the desire of humanist teaching to instill in women as well as men a good moral sense and virtuous minds; "Learning and morals go together" as More wrote in the letter mentioned earlier. Women began to re-examine their own spirituality and their feelings about God and organised religion, and just as male theologians had for centuries, these women felt the need to share their doubts and discoveries with their contemporaries. However, beyond the influence of the humanists, the new attitudes sweeping England owed a great deal to the Reformation and its enforced examination of the English society. The new ideas regarding religion encouraged the common public - including women - to re-examine and re-create their relationship to God. Women were, for the first time, encouraged by their fathers and husbands, but especially their pastors, to read and try to understand theology and the Bible in order to establish a direct and personal relationship with God. It is not surprising then that the first words which many women wrote and

⁵Notably, women such as Margaret Cavendish, Mary Astell and Aphra Behn, who all published under their own names and had prominent roles in Restoration society.

published centred on this new religious freedom. This concern with the theological and moral is demonstrated in the writings of Catherine Parr and the religious translations of Elizabeth I.

The writings of Catherine Parr are an excellent example of this genre of women's writings. Parr's first published work was her Prayers or Meditacions, first appearing in 1545 and producing another ten editions by 1559⁶. The work is as much an exploration of different aspects of the major religions of England at the time - Catholicism and Protestantism - as it is a collection of religious thoughts. The basis of the prayers is Catholic, but Parr herself was beginning to be influenced by the Protestant reformers, as evidenced by her many theological arguments with the king, Henry VIII who was the prime instigator of the move towards Protestantism in England. By 1547, in Parr's The Lamentations of a Sinner, the tone of the now dowager queen's writing is far more in line with the reformers' attitudes than with Catholic ideas. The tone of the work is far more personal, and the very theme of the work is Parr's recovery from "Ignorance and blindness"⁷. As this work was published some nine months after Henry VIII's death, it can be inferred that the writings do indeed reflect Parr's own ideas, and there was no influence by her not unnatural desire to please her monarch and husband.

⁶C. Fenno Hoffman, Jr., "Catherine Parr as a Woman of Letters", Huntington Library Quarterly 23, 1960, 354.

⁷Pearl Hoffman, Women of Action in Tudor England, Ames, Iowa: Iowa State UP, 1960, 357. This is an in-depth study of the major literate women in the Tudor era, giving valuable insight into the development of women's political and social voice.

The writings of Elizabeth I differ somewhat from the works of her step-mother, Catherine Parr. Elizabeth's education was, for the most part, supervised and influenced by Parr, yet it was far superior to Parr's own. Though Parr had been adequately tutored in the vernacular and some languages, she had not received herself the full classical education which she later bestowed upon her step-children. Elizabeth received, at Parr's instigation, a full classical education worthy of a royal prince, including tutoring in ancient languages and the arts of rhetoric and oration as illustrated by classical scholars. This education was put to good use during the queen's reign, notably in her skill in oration as she sought to sway both people and parliament to confirm herself as sovereign prince and asserted "that if I were turned out of the realm in my petticoat I were able to live in any place in Christendom"⁸. Elizabeth, however, did not undergo the same conversion to protestantism as Parr; her religious writings, while learned and personal, do not offer the same insight into the ideas of the reformation which encouraged women to think and to write. The majority of the queen's religious writing was done through the interpretation and translation of religious texts and documents; though while still a only child she did undertake the translation of the religious poem "The Mirror of the Sinful Soul", written by Marguerite of Navarre, another learned Renaissance woman⁹. Significantly, this translation was dedicated to and written on the encouragement of

⁸Hoffman, 220.

⁹Katharina Wilson, ed, Women Writers of the Renaissance and Reformation, Athens: U of Georgia P, 1987, 523.

Catherine Parr.

It is in the writing of letters and diaries, however, that lies the ordinary Englishwomen's most common form of self-expression; though they did not give women the same opportunity to express themselves publicly which religious translations and writing did, these private writings still allowed women to record their own impressions of the changing society about them and to discuss the issues of the day with their contemporaries¹⁰. The diary of Lady Margaret Hoby records her duties as a landed gentlewoman and also her deep religious convictions; "After order taken for the house," she writes of 14 September 1599, "and priuat praers, I writt notes into my testement", while Elizabeth Cary, Lady Falkland, used her letters to protest against her treatment by both her husband and the king¹¹. Cary had for many years discarded traditional English theological thinking and became, in 1626, a convert to Catholicism; she was persecuted by her husband for failing to conform to the established church; she writes for him not to believe the tales of "those pestilent servants of my lord's, who seek to make advantage of my misery...to work their own ends"¹². Though offering insight into

¹⁰Harriet Blodgett, ed., The Englishwoman's Diary, London: Fourth Estate Limited, 1992, 1. The diary was a form of expression which was the easiest for iterate woman to undertake; as it was a private correspondence, women were not publicly sanctioned against such writings, as could occur when women published under their own names. Many letters and diaries were published either late in a woman's life or posthumously: such a possibility would surely have been in some women's minds when they began their private writings, and should be taken into account when studying any letters or diaries.

¹¹Blodgett, 19.

¹²Tina Krontiris, "Style and Gender in Elizabeth Cary's Edward II, The Renaissance Englishwoman in Print: Counterbalancing the Canon, Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1990, 138.

the customs of the time, the real value of these works lies in the opportunity to discover the undistorted voice of the private woman and the revelation of growing dissatisfaction with traditional roles which contributed to the questioning of the established hierarchy¹³. Further, in the case of Elizabeth Cary, the writings of letters of protest and the expression of personal thoughts in writing helped to lend confidence to public writing; Cary was also England's first published woman playwright.

As the English Renaissance progressed, there was not only a marked increase in the number of published works by women, but there was also an increase in the variety of these writings; from the translations and treatises by Margaret More Roper to the sonnets and elegies of Katherine Philips, women were expressing themselves in more varied ways. Of all these writings the 1589 pamphlet by Jane Anger, Her Protection for Women, which defends women against men's sexual trickery and their scorn, was perhaps the most overtly protesting and "feminist"¹⁴. It was perhaps in response to this increase that a variety of pamphlets attacking women and women's apparent questioning of their traditional place in society appeared during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the most famous and most influential being

¹³Probably the most visible and famous examples of women's discontent with their lot are the many pamphlets written in the early seventeenth century - though there is speculation that some of these works were written by men who assumed a woman's pseudonym, some of the authors were definitely female, such as Rachel Speght.

¹⁴This term is not out of place when dealing with this text: Jane Anger's pamphlet is a biting and even bitter defense of women against societal prejudices, which sharply questions many established notions of womanhood. Feminism at its best seeks to address these very issues, whether they occur in the twentieth century or the sixteenth.

Joseph Swetnam's Arraignement of Lewd Women first appearing in 1616. Like many of the medieval pamphlets before them, these short works used biblical quotations and theological ideas - notably the fall of Eve and St. Paul's writings on women and marriage - as the basis for their verbal assault. Swetnam's work used many of these same ideas; as Ann Rosalind Jones points out, "Swetnam's main ploy is to mix classical and biblical criticism of women and then to modernize it in the direction of pragmatic cynicism" - yet his work was widely read and went through ten re-publications between its first printing in 1616 to 1634¹⁵. However, unlike many of the previous attacks upon women, Swetnam's work inspired a barrage of direct rebuttals, many of which, significantly, were written by women or were written on behalf of women using women's names.

These defenses were for the most part well-written, articulate and logical as women used their new found education to argue their case more convincingly. One of the first to respond to Swetnam's invective, Rachel Speght, was uniquely suited to be a writer of pamphlets, being the daughter of a literary editor. Her A Mouzell for Melastomus begins with the traditional 'apology' for daring to write and express her own opinions; "The consideration of this, right honourable and worshipful ladies, hath incited me (though young and the unworthiest of thousands) to encounter with a furious enemy of

¹⁵Ann Rosalind Jones deals with the woman's side of the controversy in great detail in her chapter, "Counterattacks on 'the Baytor of Women'", The Renaissance Englishwoman in Print: Counterbalancing the Canon, ed. Anne M. Haselkorn and Betty S. Travitsky, Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1990, 48.

our sex"¹⁶. This apparently self-effacing apology, however, can be read also as a clever parody of Swetnam's own self-effacing insistence upon his own reticence in his criticism of women, "yet for all that I must confess my self to be in a fault, and that I have offended you beyond satisfaction"¹⁷. Additionally, as the major works read women came from the Bible and from theological argumentative tracts, it is not surprising to see that many of the techniques used in these writings are echoed in the defenses written by women; Ester Sovernam seeks to use such methods in her pamphlet Ester hath hang'd Haman, in which "The first proveth the dignity and worthinesse of Women, out of divine Testimonies"¹⁸.

Women became more outspoken - and perhaps more confident - through these pamphlet wars and the interest which the writings generated; certainly as the seventeenth century progressed, women began to exercise their new-found voice in the practice of their own religions, with some even preaching in many of the new Protestant sects which emerged during the seventeenth century and the Commonwealth years. As Marshall Wyntjes points out, as Christian humanism gave women educational parity, so did it also

¹⁶Virtually all of the women writing during the Renaissance, Reformation and Restoration made an apology for their work. However, the meaning of apology varies from pleading, through an explanation for offense given, to vindicating from accusations and aspersions; thus, depending on the circumstances, this tradition can be seen as a height of irony rather than a sincere gesture. It is worth noting that the idea of the literary "apologia", or defence of opinion, did not come into being until the late eighteenth century, in 1794; Rachel Speght, "A Muzzle for Melastomus", The Woman's Sharp Revenge, ed. Simon Shepherd, London: Fourth Estate, 1985, 59. This is an excellent volume which provides clear texts of the original works with few editorial interruptions or unnecessary interpretations - Shepherd allows the women writers to speak for themselves.

¹⁷Joseph Swetnam, The Arraignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward and Unconstant Women, London:, Thomas Archer, 1616, 3.

¹⁸Shepherd, 85.

give them the right to criticise and speak out regarding the established church through the theories of spiritual equality; it became a tenet of the new reformed churches that the congregation must seek their own peace with God and not rely on the clergy as had been the case in the established Catholic church. A further extension of this idea came about with the emergence of radical Christian sects which more forcefully preached that freedom of conscience was the right of both men and women, with some, such as the Anabaptists, going to the extreme of encouraging women to preach and become members of the clergy. Margaret Fell, one of the founding members of Quakerism, helped to draw attention to the changing status and new-found rights of women, thus allowing women and their society to begin to publicly examine for the first time the role of women. In 1666 she published a pamphlet defending the right of women to speak in public, asking "doth the Church only consist of Men? you that deny Womens speaking, answer: Doth it not consist of Women as well as men?"¹⁹.

During the years of the Commonwealth and the Restoration of the monarchy, the traditional roles of and views regarding women and society shifted even further. The years of war and political and religious upheaval had caused many women to question the traditional hierarchies and assumptions of their society, as the violence of the war and the division within the country forced new and disturbing choices upon many families; whereas many

¹⁹Margaret Fell, "Womens Speaking Justified", The Augustan Reprint Society, 194, 1979, 17.

earlier re-assessments of women's abilities and position had been influenced by what were essentially social changes, during this time the political turmoil had a far greater influence²⁰. As the men of the household left to join the fight and often did not return, women were forced to take more dominant roles in their families. Many more women were inspired to add their voices to the public discussions concerning the war during this era, voicing concern at the strife which was destroying their families and killing their husbands and sons. By once again offering the woman's point of view and responding to the predominantly male criticism and attacks upon the more public role which women were beginning to assume, they reached out, or perhaps were forced to reach out, beyond their traditional domestic roles in their anger over the violence that engulfed their lives²¹. In the opening months of 1642, a group of women independently petitioned the Houses of Lords and the Commons for a change of public policy; however, when the women were summarily dismissed by the men of the parliament with scant attention paid to their pleas, the women attacked the Duke of Richmond and broke his staff of office²². As in the case of earlier women's writing, these women prefaced their petition with an apology for their behaviour,

²⁰The distinction between social and political influences upon society is a fine one; the Civil Wars and the Restoration were political changes which altered the perception of society as a whole and necessity a re-evaluation of all aspects of that society, including the role of women and their place in a new political order. However, the alterations in attitudes to women's education and the increased presence of women in the theatres were essentially peaceful and social changes which had no bearing upon the greater political order of the time.

²¹Marshall Wyntjes, 167.

²²Lawrence Stone, Family, Sex, and Marriage in England 1500-1800, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1977. Abr. ed. New York: Harper & Row, 1979, 225.

assuring the parliament that they were not "seeking to equal ourselves with men, either in authority or wisdom" but were "following the example of the men which have gone...before us"; yet as in the earlier writing the fact that women both felt the need and had the confidence to challenge traditional hierarchies is significant in itself²³.

Throughout the turbulent years first of the Reformation and later during the Restoration era after the public theatres had been re-opened, drama played an important role in the ongoing examination of traditional roles and established institutions; it provided a public forum for questions to be raised and answers to be offered. The theatres had always been one of the best opportunities for a predominantly illiterate public to become acquainted with differing opinions in the major debates of the time. The emerging concern with changes in society's perception of women, and the questions that then arose regarding women, their role and perceptions of that role within Renaissance society, was of course one of the issues addressed by Shakespeare in many of his plays, as he, in common with other playwrights of his time, used the stage not only to entertain but often to further social and political agendas as well. For the most part, Shakespeare offers a sympathetic portrayal of women and their difficulties, making many of his female characters complex and

²³ This practice of prefacing work with an "apology" owed itself at least partially to a desire not to offend a male audience; though no doubt a great number of the apologies were genuine - as no doubt was this example, as the women would perhaps be somewhat awed by their own audacity in addressing such an august body - by the end of the seventeenth century a certain note of sarcasm certainly can be detected in the works of such writers as Aphra Behn and Mary Astell; Stone, 226.

believable human beings and not just caricatures which reflect the views of popular prejudices; continuing to demonstrate in his dramatic treatments many of ideas and precepts of Renaissance humanist thought²⁴. By the Restoration, the drama of the time had once more assumed a more overt political and social agenda; and a part of this increasingly controversial material was supplied by the growing public debate over women, which began to played out, sometimes explicitly, upon the stages of the Restoration theatres.

However, the theatre which was now probing society and the new roles of Restoration society was no longer the same theatre which had "been used by Shakespeare and the Renaissance playwrights to express the attitudes of their patrons and by extension their own society. With the raising of the King's standard on August 20, 1642, the long smouldering tensions and misunderstandings between Charles I and his Parliament flamed into civil war, signalling the beginning of a difficult period in the history of the English stage. Just as women had found new tensions and difficulties emerging from the conflict between Royalists and Parliamentarians, so too had the players found themselves caught in the political machinations of the feuding factions.

²⁴There has been much critical debate about the role of the female characters in Shakespeare's plays, particularly among feminist literary critics. Views on Shakespeare range from the more radical feminists who brand Shakespeare a misogynist through to those who defend Shakespeare as being himself a form of early feminist; it is most likely that Shakespeare simply treated his female characters as he treated his male characters - that is, he treated them as convincing and realistic individuals rather than theatrical stereotypes.

The Parliamentary Commonwealth, influenced by a vocal Puritan minority, opposed theatres and public entertainments on the grounds that such productions were immoral and frivolous; perhaps more important to Parliament was the traditional association between the theatre and the aristocracy and the court. However, even during the tense time preceding the outbreak of war, many academics, lawyers, merchants and craftsmen of more puritan inclination had opposed the theatre as a bastion of royalist values, perceptions and decadence. Thus, this combination of open and covert opposition to the theatre on the part of the increasingly influential puritan middle classes led to the 1642 proclamation prohibiting public acting. This first Order of Parliament, dated September 2, 1642, initially seemed a temporary measure as

publike Sports doe not well agree with publike Calamities, nor publike Stage-playes with the Seasons of Humiliation, this being an Exercise of sad and pious solemnity, and the other being Spectacles of pleasure, too commonly expressing laciuius Mirth and Levitie²⁵

The clear implication of this passage is that once the time of national turmoil and mourning had passed, the frivolous past-time of drama could once more return to the public stage. Many theatre companies, however, chose to ignore this first ban and continued to produce plays, presumably to satisfy a still existing audience demand - this willingness on the part of the actors to risk imprisonment and harsh punishment indicating, perhaps, that there was indeed a public demand for drama. This led to a second ordinance, passed on July 16, 1647, suppressing

²⁵Leslie Hotson, The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage (New York: Russell & Russell Inc, 1962) 5.

all public plays and playhouses, in an effort to curb the players' inclination and the public desire. Yet a further ordinance was passed on October 22 of the same year ordering the imprisonment of any person who was discovered acting, but even this severe law did not entirely halt the activities of the hardy London theatre companies. The final law, passed on February 8, 1648, fined any one who attended a dramatic performance as well as the actors, stage managers and theatre owners; Parliament seems to have finally acknowledged that it was the public's demand for the theatre which instigated the earlier transgressions. This bill also authorised the wholesale destruction of the stages and playhouses in a further attempt to control the public appetite for drama²⁶.

Despite the best efforts of Parliament, however, drama still managed to survive in a variety of alternative forms during this hostile era of the Commonwealth; this was partly due, it must be acknowledged, to the influence and tolerance of the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell. Plays were still allowed to be published, if not performed; in 1647 the royalist Humphrey Mosely published hitherto unprinted plays by Beaumont and Fletcher from texts supplied by the King's Men and in a somewhat conciliatory gesture, this publication was dedicated to the Earl of Pembroke, a supporter of the parliamentary forces. Margaret Cavendish, the Duchess of Newcastle and an adherent of the royalist cause,

²⁶It is interesting to note that Parliament did virtually nothing to restrain private performances of plays; there are records of members of the royal family participating in masques as late as 1648. After the execution of the king, however, a great number of the nobility fled to France to join the court in exile, and private performances were few in number.

engaged in the writing of two volumes of original plays during her years in London during the 1650's, though these volumes were not published until the restoration of the monarchy²⁷.

However, despite these efforts, the view that plays were indeed only "Spectacles of pleasure", as Parliament stated in the first ban, grew in Commonwealth - or rather puritan - society; supporters of drama attempted to counter this idea by urging that public entertainments could be 'reformed' in a such way that they could be made to contribute positively to society. Plays, it was felt, could be made more moral, more uplifting and entirely free from profanity and bawdy element; in such a form, drama could help to re-establish social distinctions and encourage a harmonious and stable society. In conjunction with this interest in purging the stage of obscenity, there grew a group of theatrical 'reformers' who began to explore the use of music and spectacle on the stage, an exploration which coincidentally helped to remove much dangerous political language and comment and replace controversy with soothing and symbolic musical harmonies. In this way, many reformers sought to end the use of the theatre as a forum for social and political debate, change and propaganda and instead to install a new theatre as a platform to be used solely for the dissemination of the dominant ideas of morality²⁸.

²⁷The exception to the law seems to have been the new theatrical form of opera; influenced by William Davenant, Cromwell decreed that opera was exempt from the ban upon public theatre and allowed it to be performed openly.

²⁸Hotson, 144-6. Certainly Cromwell saw the theatre as an excellent platform for propaganda and for instruction, an idea which, somewhat ironically, was also exploited by Charles II.

One of the most important of these reformers, Sir William Davenant, began to buy houses and venues in London for the production of private entertainments. By April 1656 Davenant owned, among other properties, Lincoln's Inn Fields and Drury Lane; these new venues helped to re-establish the English stage. By using their musical nature to deflect Parliamentary and Puritan ire, Davenant staged many of his own creations, operas and spectacular entertainments, thus allowing a form of the English dramatic tradition to re-assert itself²⁹. After Oliver Cromwell's death, however, even Davenant's 'sanctioned' entertainments began to cause comment, and complaints began to be raised Davenant's productions in 1658-9. Fortunately for Davenant and the stage, the Commonwealth could not withstand the loss of their moving force, and Charles II was recalled to England in 1660, thus ending the Parliamentary, though not the Puritan, opposition to the theatre.

Upon his return to England, one of Charles' first actions was to begin the work of restoring the English theatre. Though dramatists and actors had managed to find a way to practice their craft during the dangerous years of the Commonwealth, there had still been a significant break in tradition and particularly training, for few would train for a profession which had been proscribed and which could lead to imprisonment and ruin. Charles therefore granted two theatre licenses in the first years

²⁹Davenant's primary concern during these years seems to have been with the theatre itself and with keeping the traditions of an English stage alive during a difficult time, rather not with any political motive: certainly Charles II saw him as a champion of drama rather than a Puritan reformer when he awarded Davenant the patent for the Duke's Company.

of his reign, ostensibly to restore the fortunes of the English stage, though in reality his action created a monopoly over the stage which held fast for over forty years. Sir William Davenant was given the patent for the Duke's Company, which he operated primarily out of Lisle's tennis court in Lincoln's Inn Fields until the company moved to Dorset Garden in 1671-2. The other theatre license was given to Thomas Killigrew, another prominent Commonwealth 'reformer', to operate the King's Company out of Bridges Street, Drury Lane and later, in 1674, from the Theatre Royal until this theatre was destroyed by fire.

However, despite the best efforts of the actors and playwrights of both the Commonwealth and the Restoration eras, a generation of actors, boy players, playwrights and perhaps most importantly audience expectation had effectively been lost. Many of the pre-Commonwealth theatres had been closed, destroyed or converted to other purposes. As Davenant and Killigrew struggled to continue to rebuild the English theatre, they were forced to turn to continental Europe for new staging ideas and practices. Many new ideas were incorporated into the new English theatres: the most important of these included the altered design of the theatres; the use of changeable scenery; and of course, the introduction of actresses onto the English stage. As a result of the enforced use of these innovations, the drama which was being created for the stage of the time was greatly affected in both appearance and in substance.

After the Restoration, the pre-Commonwealth Elizabethan open

air theatre was abandoned in favour of the French design of indoor theatres, the first of which were usually converted tennis courts, as was the case of the theatre used by the Duke's company in Lincoln's Inn Fields. These new theatres also adapted the proscenium design of the stage which was favoured for use in masques, turning away from the open amphitheatre design favoured in the earlier Tudor and Stuart ages. These changes in stage design facilitated the use of movable scenery and stage machines. Sir William Davenant, using techniques learned from his use of spectacle in his operas of the Commonwealth era and continuing the development of music and spectacle within the theatre which had begun during the Commonwealth, became a great innovator in this area, using his theatre at Lincoln Inn Fields to experiment with the latest machines and scenery techniques. The emphasis of the new plays moved, not surprisingly, from the use of language and verbal imagery favoured by earlier playwrights such as Shakespeare to the sheer novelty of fantastic spectacles on the stage.

These changes to the English theatre, precipitated by the return of the monarchy, had a significant impact upon the drama that was produced during the Restoration period. The monopoly held by Davenant and Killigrew ensured that there was a tight control exerted upon the theatre by the two managers' patron, the king, and that control extended to the drama that theatre produced. For the first twelve years of the reign of Charles II the court was the single most important influence upon the stage, and the drama of this period therefore tended to reflect the

ideas, values and attitudes of the court, due largely to Charles' intense interest in the theatre. Though Charles allowed the theatre artistic freedom on many sexual and moralistic issues, as evidenced in the often lewd behaviour portrayed in many Restoration comedies, as well as on some social issues such as the role of women in society and the nature of marriage, the king was quite restrictive on political and/or religious subjects, as some actors and playwrights discovered. John Lacy, acting in the drama The Change of Crowns, used the occasion to air his views upon the court, with the result that "the King was so angry at the liberty taken by Lacy's part to abuse him to his face, that he commanded they should act no more"³⁰. Such an attitude would not be surprising in a government which was trying to deal with the aftermath of twenty years of civil war and social unrest.

The greatest change of all to the theatre and drama of the Restoration, however, was unquestionably the introduction of actresses onto the English stage. Elizabethan stage conventions were partly based upon a moral concern regarding the frailty of female virtue - players were considered little better than gypsies and vagabonds and such a life would presumably prove too much for the fragile female sense of morality - and partly upon modesty, as women should not display themselves upon the public stage; this tradition had denied women access to the stage. This arguably would have influenced the depiction of female characters by the playwrights of the time; however skilled the actor, it was

³⁰Samuel Pepys, The Diary of Samuel Pepys, London: MacMillan and Co. Limited, 1906, 485.

still a boy speaking the part of a woman, with a limited knowledge of female experience and a limited ability to fully express a women's role on the stage³¹. In the few years after the Restoration, boy actors were still used by the new theatre companies to act the female roles, as Samuel Pepys noted, August 18, 1660, while watching a performance of The Loyal Subject "one Kinason, a boy, acted the Duke's sister, but made the loveliest lady that ever I saw in my life, only her voice not very good"³². The boy players, however, were soon abandoned in favour of women, following the success of women on the stage on the continent and the portrayal of Desdemona in the October 11, 1660 performance of The Moore of Venice by an Englishwoman, generally acknowledged as Mrs. Hughes³³.

Thus, in 1660, for the first time the words given to the female characters on the public stage could be presented as coming from actual women, lending an immediacy to these portraits of women and firing the public's imagination regarding topics pertaining to women. Actresses such as Rebecca Marshall and Nell Gwynn became public figures who influenced the drama which was written as playwrights created roles with their particular talents in mind. Indeed, the visibility and outspokenness of

³¹For a detailed study of the role of cross-dressing on the Renaissance English stage, see Jean Howard's The Stage and Social Struggle in Early Modern England as well as Howard and Phyllis Rackin's Engendering a Nation and Stephen Orgel's Impersonations: The performance of gender in Shakespeare's England. All of these scholars examine the causes and the effects for the tradition of boy actors in England.

³²Pepys, 45-6.

³³Montague Summers, Shakespeare Adaptations (New York: Haskell House, 1966) xxi.

many of the early English actresses furthered the discussion surrounding women in society and influenced their portrayal on the stage, as the public debated the propriety of women in the theatre.

Though actresses would undoubtedly have made their way on to the English stage through the natural development and progression of the theatre, the discontinuity in the English dramatic tradition and training created by the difficulties of the Commonwealth era provided a convenient occasion for such a change, as well as the necessary stimulation for a complete change in theatre practice. There was also a belief, in the early days of the Restoration theatre, that the presence of women upon the stage would raise the moral tone of theatre, that they would provide "useful and instructive representations of human life" to the public enjoying the entertainment; women were ostensibly allowed onto the stage because "the woman's parts therein have been acted by men in the habit of women, at which some have taken offence"³⁴. In reality, however, many still had reservations regarding their real role in the theatre; "Women now (& never 'til now) permitted to appeare & act, which inflaming severall young noble-men & gallants, became their whores" as John Evelyn complains in his diary³⁵. Women upon the stage evoked mixed reactions from the public and from critics. Samuel Pepys in December 1666 asserts that "the women do very well" while the

³⁴David Thomas, ed., Restoration and Georgian England 1660-1788, Cambridge UP, 1989, from Killigrew's patent, 18.; Thomas, 17.

³⁵John Evelyn, The Diary of John Evelyn, vol. iii, Oxford: Clarendon P, 1955, 465-6.

diarist and author John Evelyn commented in January of 1662 that "the fair and famous comedian called Roxolana...taken to be the Earl of Oxford's *Miss* (as at this time they began to call lewd women)"; as indicated by Evelyn, actresses soon became increasingly popular for purely sexual reasons, as men flocked to the theatres to watch attractive women upon the stage³⁶.

The return of the theatres, combined with the strictures placed upon them by Charles' control, left the new producers of drama with the difficulty of having to produce a wide variety of plays, and a large number of dramas in order to keep up with the demands of their audience. During the early years of the Restoration theatre, there were relatively few dramatists with the practical experience necessary for the production of successful drama available to keep up with demand for new plays. Therefore, until the modern playwrights were familiar enough with theatre practices to produce new drama, the two managers turned to older drama to satisfy their audience's desires; in particular, the managers turned to the works of Shakspeare to supplement their theatrical lists, attracted by Shakespeare's realistic characters and striking stories.

Davenant was the primary initiator of Shakespearean adaptations, though such adaptations continued long after his

³⁶Pepys, 446.; John Evelyn, The Diary of John Evelyn, London: MacMillan & Co., Ltd, 1908, 218.

death in 1668³⁷. Initially, the plays were produced in their original form, attempting to keep to the original intentions, as in an early production of Hamlet performed in August of 1661³⁸. John Downes comments upon Davenant coaching Betterton, Davenant "having seen Mr. Taylor of the Black-Fryars Company Act it, who being Instructed by the Author Mr. Shakespeare"; Pepys later stated that Betterton "did the prince's part beyond imagination"³⁹. However, Davenant soon realised that his godfather's work could not be performed on the Restoration stage without some alterations in the plays being made; John Evelyn, commenting upon a November 26, 1661 performance of Hamlet stated that "The old play began to disgust this refined age; since his Majestie being so long abroad"⁴⁰. The fashions of the theatre and the tastes of the audiences had made much Shakespearean drama unsuitable to the stage, and had to be changed to suit those new tastes if it were to survive. Shakespearean adaptations took place in a series of 'clusters' of re-workings; first, during the 1660's, then from 1677-83 and finally from 1700-03⁴¹. All of the adaptors of Shakespeare, from Davenant at the beginning of the

³⁷For the purposes of this study, I am defining adaptation as any work which not only uses the Shakespearean original as the basis for the new play, but also includes a number of the original, unaltered lines; thus, Dryden's All for Love, which is based upon Antony and Cleopatra but which includes none of Shakespeare's own lines, is not an adaptation.

³⁸It is worth pointing out that in order to secure the plays Davenant needed in order to increase his company's repertory, he agreed to "reform" the early plays to make them more suitable for the Restoration stage.

³⁹John Downes, Roscius Anglicanus, Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume eds., London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1987, 51.; Samuel Pepys, The Shorter Pepys, Robert Latham ed., London: Guild Publishing, 1986, 150.

⁴⁰Evelyn, 217.

⁴¹Christopher Spencer, introduction, Five Restoration Adaptations of Shakespeare (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1965) 1-2.

Restoration to the playwrights of the very early eighteenth century, used Shakespeare's plays primarily as source material rather than as closely followed dramatic guides; they were "the source...followed closely at times but in which he made changes that are keys to *his* vision of the potentialities" of the story, characters and major themes⁴².

These adaptors found many 'flaws' in Shakespeare's work. They felt that there was disorder within the play and the plot; the quality of the language was not as refined as the language of their own age; there was a deplorable lack of poetic justice in the plays' conclusions. Davenant, for example, sought more deliberate and explicit effects of parallelism in the plays, demanding and creating from the original texts more symmetry and balance in his adaptations. However, in addition to these aesthetic changes, the Restoration adaptors needed, from a purely practical point of view, to alter Shakespeare's plays to suit the new demands of the stage.

The use of music and spectacle created a further need to make changes to the older plays, in order to allow the great extravaganzas of music and sensation which the audience demanded to be fitted into the adapted play. The use of movable scenery and the more elaborate stage machines also required changes to the play; the need for poetic imagery to designate setting was greatly reduced thus dictating cuts to 'superfluous' imagery and metaphor. The use of movable scenery also visibly and forcibly

⁴²C. Spencer, 9.

demonstrated to the adaptors the rapidity and frequency of Shakespearean scene changes, as the scenery would be constantly shifted to allow for each new scene instead of use of verse to indicate a new setting⁴³. Though this constant scenic shuffle did make very obvious the violation of the Aristotlean unities prevalent in much Shakespearean drama - an aspect of Shakespeare which offended neo-classical critics of the time - the continually changing scenes would also be very costly and difficult, even with the sophisticated machinery used in Restoration theatres. Reducing scenes was therefore a very cost effective way of altering the original plays, especially as it could be done under the guise of restoring dramatic purity.

Just as the stage had become dominated by the new techniques of moving scenery and complex stage machines, so too had the forestage become dominated by 'actors', that is, the emergence of a leading actor who commanded a loyal audience following. Audiences would often attend the theatre to watch a particular actor, rather than with the intention of seeing the play. Thus the older plays were often re-written to highlight the talents of a particular actor; the plays had to be cut and changed to allow each leading actor to display their person and technique to the best advantage. This trend of creating vehicles for actors of course extended to the depiction of women on the stage.

The use of actresses does not seem to have increased the popular or critical appreciation of Shakespeare's heroines,

⁴³Gary Taylor, Reinventing Shakespeare (London: Hogarth P, 1989) 16.

perhaps because the audience, intrigued with the novelty of women on the stage, were often more interested in the actresses playing the role than in the roles themselves⁴⁴. Indeed, theatre historian Lucyle Hook attributes Davenant's theatrical success to his acknowledgement of the audience's interest in "real, Beautiful Women"⁴⁵. Both Pepys and Evelyn comment upon the Shakespearean male roles, such as Betterton's Hamlet, but relatively little mention is made of the women's roles. This is most likely due to the changes and upheavals of the wars and the corresponding differences between Elizabethan and Restoration culture; both English society and women's roles in that society had so changed that Shakespeare's plays, written over half a century previously, no longer reflected the feelings of contemporary society. The women's roles, much more than the male roles, were re-written or often increased in number in order to make the plays relevant to the traumas and tensions of Restoration society and Restoration women. The woman's voice in society, which had been long marginalised and stifled, was now beginning to be heard openly and in public, and the new roles assigned to women in both new drama and adaptations had to reflect this phenomenon⁴⁶.

⁴⁴Taylor, 19.

⁴⁵Lucyle Hook, "Shakespeare Improv'd, or A Case for the Affirmative," *SQ*, 4 (1953), 290.

⁴⁶While Shakespeare's female characters were for the most part well-rounded and fully realised, they still reflected the limited role which women had in Elizabethan and Jacobean society. This role was substantially increased in Restoration society as laws began to change and women began to be more active.

The changes made to these women's roles give vital information regarding the state of the Restoration society and the changing attitudes towards women, relationships between men and women, and women's changing roles in society. The perception of women's roles on the stage and within society changed even within the Restoration era itself, as new political and social upheavals altered the populace's perception of their world and themselves. Laura Rosenthal identifies a specific tension between the presentation in many Restoration comedies of a sympathetic heroine choosing her own husband - a subversive idea after years of women being entirely subordinated by the marriage contract - and the increasing objectification of the female body through the presence of the often sexually mature and aware actress on the stage⁴⁷. This dichotomy, Rosenthal states, has its sources within the changing social and economic life of the Restoration; the drama of the time "theatricalizes the instability of the status of women"⁴⁸.

By selecting plays from opposite ends of the forty to fifty years which made up the Restoration era it is possible to see how women's theatrical roles changed to express this instability, how they developed or were further constricted from the Elizabethan era to the final days of the Restoration era in the early eighteenth century. Shakespeare's comedies - which deal primarily with social rather than political or religious issues -

⁴⁷"Reading Masks: The Actress and the Spectatrix in Restoration Shakespeare", Broken Boundaries: Women and Feminism in Restoration Drama, Katherine M. Quinsey, ed, Lexington, KY: UP of Kentucky, 1996, 203.

⁴⁸Rosenthal, 204.

and their corresponding adaptations, well suit study in this area. The tragedies, though many have distinctly political overtones, create a richness and complexity of both male and female characters, which also offer great opportunities for insight. In addition, the political issues which are often implicit in the tragedies of both Shakespeare and his adaptors often help to illuminate the changing role of women; many of the adapted tragedies - as well as a number of the comedies - seem to express their more unusual or controversial views through the words of the play's female, rather than male, characters. Such use of the woman's voice by a playwright may either belittle the controversial political idea expressed, or may offer the opportunity to voice such ideas with a decreased risk of censure. The ambiguous and developing voice of the woman during the Restoration, which seemed to be feared and dismissed in equal measure, was a tool well suited to the expression of potentially dangerous material - if necessary, a threatened playwright could use the ambiguous treatment of women in the Restoration to claim that his intention was diminish and ridicule, rather than inflame. The increasing objectification of women as "sexual and economic objects" in society and on the stage could marginalise any controversial or subversive ideas voiced by a playwright's female character; though the words of the women could be dismissed, the playwright was at least given the opportunity to raise potentially contentious issues and questions and present alternative points of view to his - or, increasingly, her - audience.

In these Restoration adaptations of Shakespeare, the questions raised regarding the challenge to the traditional roles of women can be examined from both the first glimmerings of such new concepts through to an increasingly intense scrutiny of women's public roles during the Restoration. This is particularly the case because the adaptations are based upon the work of the major playwright of the era which saw the beginning of this re-examination of society, particularly where women were concerned; however, these works have been altered specifically to suit the tastes of the new post-Renaissance sensibilities. In this way the adaptations are peculiarly suited to illustrate the varying and changing roles of women in both Renaissance and Restoration society; the adaptations reveal the prejudices and opinions of the both the playwrights and their patrons, and by extension, their societies. An in-depth study of these adaptations, combined with an analysis of the existing documents referring to the debate on women, reveals the progress made in the portrayal of women on the stage and by association the perception of the public woman within their society in not only the Renaissance, but also in the Restoration era.

A number of plays offer the opportunity to study in depth the changes made to women in these adaptations⁴⁹. Not surprisingly, William Davenant offers some of the earliest examples of these new plays, as befits an individual who worked so relentlessly to re-establish the stage in the Restoration era.

⁴⁹Hazelton Spencer, in his 1927 book Shakespeare Improved gives a comprehensive list of the major surviving adaptations of the Restoration and early eighteenth century, including complete plot synopses.

In 1662 he merged Shakespeare's Much Ado About Nothing and Measure for Measure to create The Law Against Lovers, a witty comedy. Using the basic story of Measure for Measure - that of a sovereign leaving his principality in the care of a apparently corrupt deputy - Davenant adds the witty characters of Beatrice and Benedick, and their light-hearted companions from Much Ado About Nothing. In addition, Davenant also alters many of the characters derived from Measure from Measure; most notably Mariana is excised from the new play, and Angelo becomes no longer corrupt, but instead simply misguided. This changes a great deal the dark story of political intrigue, lightening the original play's tone while still keeping a great deal of its social commentary; indeed, Davenant felt secure enough in the lighter tone of The Law Against Lovers to add some potentially controversial scenes, most particularly a bid to free the condemned Claudio which takes the form of a revolt against the supposedly corrupt and venal Angelo, led by his brother, Benedick and instigated by his ward, Beatrice. Through such new scenes as this and by keeping a great deal of Shakespeare's original societal concerns intact, Davenant manages to make many telling comments on society - many of which comments are given to the female characters.

Another early adaptation, and a play which also examines the more social influences of the changes in women's roles in society, is John Lacy's Sauny the Scot, a version of The Taming of the Shrew. Unlike Davenant, who appears to have some concern for the social message of his works, Lacy seems interested in

little more than creating a broad and crude farce. The main body of the action remains unchanged; Petruchio woos and weds the shrewish 'Peg', taking her to his lands in rural Scotland in order to brutalise her into compliance. The major changes to the story occur in the final act; unlike Shakespeare's Kate, Peg declares her individuality and her disgust with her husband once she is returned to her father's house. This open display of defiance provokes a chilling response from Lacy's Petruchio; he threatens to first extract her teeth, and when that fails to bring about Peg's compliance, he attempts to bury her alive - it is this final threat which finally makes Peg the obedient wife, unlike the Shakespearean original with the subtle communication between husband and wife which brings about Kate's transformation.

Davenant's other major adaptation of the 1660's, a version of Macbeth, keeps much of the actual plot the same as Shakespeare's, though he does include some spurious scenes involving the supernatural seemingly designed to exploit fully new staging techniques; instead, he greatly expands the role of Lady MacDuff. This gives the opportunity for an obvious and straight-forward dichotomy between two women, one apparently good and the other apparently evil; Davenant exploits this new relationship fully, and includes a number of scenes of rhetoric and moral debate between the two opposing major female characters. This play is more concerned with the role of women in the more public sphere of politics, rather than examining solely the private relationship between men and women, as is

Tate's later adaptation of Coriolanus.

Nahum Tate's adaptation of Coriolanus, entitled The Ingratitude of a Commonwealth, is a much later play, written during the alarms and crises of the early 1680's. Tate has, like the earlier playwrights, largely followed the action of Shakespeare's play; his major changes deal with alterations to character rather than to action. Many of his changes in fact simplify the characters, making them fit more closely the emerging stereotypes of the Restoration stage. However, some characters were expanded upon: notably Virgilia becomes a much more vocal and visible character, instead of the virtual non-entity of the Shakespearean original. The ending of Tate's play, as in the case of Lacy's, is also altered; in a series of increasingly bloody scenes, Aufidius kills not only Coriolanus but also massacres his family: he is killed, in his turn, by a deranged Volumnia.

Another bloody adaptation, Edward Ravenscroft's version of Titus Andronicus, was also created in a time of crisis: Ravenscroft's play first appeared in the late 1670's and was later published in 1687, though whether there is a connection is open to debate. Certainly both plays are more concerned with character than plot; like The Ingratitude of a Commonwealth, Ravenscroft's Titus Andronicus offers few variations on Shakespeare's plot-line - the few changes merely seem to simplify the action and condense the time-line - but instead the playwright re-creates a number of the characters in a manner more

conducive to the Restoration stage. The most noticeable of these changes are made to the female characters, no doubt due at least partially to the small number of women in the play. Ravenscroft polarises the two dominant women, the Goth queen Tamora and the Roman virgin Lavinia, creating a clear conflict between good and evil in their on-stage relationship.

William Burnaby chose a drastically different type of play to adapt in 1703, perhaps influenced by the presence of a queen regnant on the throne as well as the relative calm in English society during the early eighteenth century; Love Betray'd is a light-hearted yet socially significant version of Twelfth Night, which returns to the more social aspects of male-female relationships. Burnaby follows the example of many of the Restoration's previous Shakespearean adapters, and keeps the basic plot-line, that of the disguised Viola wooing the haughty Olivia on behalf of the man whom Viola herself loves, intact; however, many of the discordant elements of Twelfth Night have been discarded. There is no baiting of Malvolio by Toby Belch and Maria; in fact all of these characters have disappeared entirely. Burnaby instead concentrates on the tangled love plots and on the remaining characters of the play; though he has cut out a number of characters, Burnaby also adds a number of women's roles. The play is transformed into an elaborate and sophisticated comedy of manners, and in accordance with the custom of such plays, the women are most outspoken about themselves and their place in society.

There has been little critical work done on any of the adaptors of early modern dramatists, particularly those from the Restoration era. There were two major studies undertaken in the very early twentieth century, by the critics Hazelton Spencer and Montague Summers; however, these works were largely straightforward comparisons of the Shakespearean original and its later adaptation, with little in-depth critical insight. A compilation of selected Restoration texts was edited by Charles Spencer in the 1960's, and until the recent Everyman edition of five Restoration adaptations, this was the only scholarly edition of any of the Restoration adaptations available - a large number of plays were produced in facsimile by Cornmarket Press in the 1960's and 1970's, but these plays had no editorial commentary or reference included with the text. There has been some interest in this area of study in more recent years, as evidenced by the work of Elizabeth Howe on Restoration actresses and Michael Dobson on adaptations of Shakespeare from 1660 to 1769, but none of these works - though of value to any scholar of Restoration adaptations - has directly addressed the nature of the women's roles in these early adaptations.

There have been very few critical works dealing with this particular aspect of the study of Restoration. Some early work on the place of women in these early adaptations was done by Lucyle Hook in an article for the 1953 Shakespeare Quarterly. She approached a study of the plays from the point of view of a theatre historian; a similar approach was taken by Katherine Maus in her article reviewing the work of Restoration actresses,

published in ELH in 1979. Two of the very few pieces written with the specific view to provide a scholarly, critical understanding of the role of women in early adaptations of Shakespeare appeared in The Appropriation of Shakespeare, a collection of essays written with a view of illuminating the cultural appropriation of Shakespeare through successive generations of dramatists. In particular, Jean Marsden's article "Rewritten Women: Shakespearean Heroines in the Restoration" sought to analyse the effect which the changes made to the original plays had upon the female characters; though this article raises many valid points, the brevity of space given to the topic, as well as a reliance upon many of the early assumptions made about these plays has largely hampered the critic's analytic skills. Marsden deals with similar issues in her 1995 book entitled The Re-Imagined Text: Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Eighteenth-Century Literary Theory, where she seeks to place a number of Restoration adaptations into the context of contemporary literary theory; again, her focus upon literary criticism and a reliance upon conduct books and other primarily male writings limits Marsden's analysis of the female characters of her selected plays.

Many critics have subscribed to and also reinforced conventional assumptions regarding Shakespearean adaptations, no doubt due at least partially to the difficulty in obtaining contemporary information and reliable texts. These early assumptions - which largely dismissed the work of later adaptors of Shakespeare as inferior and flawed - when combined with a lack

of knowledge of the tensions inherent in the historical period in which these plays were written, may lead a critic to overlook important elements in the texts of the plays. Significantly, the majority of recent work on the early adaptations of Shakespeare have begun to include a historical perspective in their analysis, as critics begin to examine these works in the context of a broader critical survey or to concentrate, as does Rosenthal, on the impact of the actress and other changes in the theatres of the Restoration upon these early plays.

An inherent difficulty in examining these adaptations is the lack of both primary texts and critical material available for study, and this also makes any detailed examination a challenge to the scholar; it is necessary to include a great deal of information regarding the primary texts in such a study, as the availability of the primary texts to the reader may be problematic. The Cornmarket facsimiles offer the best authentic examples of the plays themselves, yet they can limit the critic to a solely textual analysis of the works. However, there is an abundance of material to be found in concentrating primarily on the texts of the plays; while keeping in mind the issues of staging and theatrical history, it is possible to construct a compelling argument for the strength of the woman's voice in these plays from textual evidence and social history alone. To incorporate a detailed examination of theatre history - itself a complex and specialised area of study - into such a study would broaden the scope of such an analysis to the point of being unwieldy.

On the whole, the progress made in the portrayal of women in these plays is positive; although the female roles are still by no means as numerous or as socially significant as the majority of the male roles in the adaptations, the women in the drama now are given a voice which, no doubt due to the increasing input of women in drama and in society, is uniquely their own, and which is often allowed to express overtly ideas which can be termed politically - though more often socially - subversive. The progress made in the women's roles, however, is somewhat uneven; the early plays by Davenant depict very strong women, often expressing subversive and controversial ideas; the later plays, however, written during the turbulent years of the Exclusion Crisis and the Popish Plot lessen the subversive role of the female characters and return them to more traditional roles. By the early eighteenth century, with the return to stability caused by the smooth succession from William of Orange to Anne, the last of the Stewart monarchs, the adaptations are again offering a bolder view of women. There does seem to be, therefore, a correlation between the stability of Restoration society and the risks taken by dramatists in their drama - a not uncommon occurrence in very public and possibly persuasive mediums - as dramatists felt it was safe to indulge in a certain amount of experimentation in their work, raising controversies which were out of place during more turbulent times. Nonetheless, the dramatists of the Restoration age built upon the foundation of believable female characters which Shakespeare created, and then gave these characters, through the actresses, a uniquely female voice, taking full advantage of the new

visibility of women on the stage and the undeniable popularity of the actresses. The expanded and expanding role of women in Restoration society is reflected in the growing voice of women on the stage in these Shakespearean adaptations, which influenced the perceptions of women of the time and built the foundations for the even more vocal feminists who were to come.

CHAPTER II - THE LAW AGAINST LOVERS

"For I'll have all in
my own management"¹

Written in the midst of the feelings of euphoria and relief prevalent during the years immediately after the Restoration of the monarchy and the accompanying attainment of peace, one of the first of the new adaptations of early plays to be produced specifically for the Restoration stage was William Davenant's The Law Against Lovers; it is also the earliest surviving full adaptation of Shakespeare². The play's author was suited in many ways to undertake the role of re-creating the English stage, a task which often included the work of adapting the earlier plays of England's Golden Age to suit new tastes and the introduction of actresses to the new stage³. Apart from his position as Poet Laureate, Davenant was reputedly a godson of Shakespeare's;

¹William Davenant, The Law Against Lovers, London: Cornmarket P, 1970, 293.

²Tim Harris, London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987, 2. Harris notes that the crowds of the Restoration seem to have played a significant role in politics and society during these years, pointing out that it was "popular unrest in the City in late 1659 and early 1660" which helped bring about Charles' restoration.

³Leslie Hotson states that despite Davenant's frequent sojourns in England where he worked at the promotion of English drama, 1660 Davenant journeyed to England "no doubt in the train of Charles II" (198), indicating that Davenant was well known to the new king. Indeed, there were initially some players still active in England in early 1660, immediately before the Restoration, as is evidenced by accounts of arrests and trails of actors in early 1660. However, Davenant and Killigrew, initially working together, managed to force out all other actors and establish their own monopoly of two dominant, licensed companies. For a full account of these events see Hotson's study, The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage.

indeed, at times he claimed to be Shakespeare's illegitimate son⁴. He was also a major and most important figure in the Restoration theatre circles; Davenant created the Duke's Company and held the patent under Charles II as well as gaining the exclusive license for a great many Elizabethan and Jacobean plays, including a number of Shakespeare's works. Together with Thomas Killigrew of the King's Company, who was the other major figure of Restoration theatre, Davenant effectively controlled the Restoration stage; again using a royal patent, they divided England's past drama between the two and prevented any other company from using previous drama as the basis for building a repertoire.

It is worth noting that Davenant, in his effort to secure the rights to the older plays in order to increase the repertoire of his new company, ostensibly agreed to reform or adapt the early drama in order to make it more suitable for the Restoration stage. However, the Lord Chamberlain of the time writes that

Whereas Sr William Davenant, Knight hath humbly presented to us a proposition of reformeing some of the most ancient Playes that were playd at Blackfriars and of makeinge them, fitt...Therefore wee haue granted unto the sayd Sr William Davenant, liberty to represent the playes above named⁵

It is clear that the impetus for the reforming of the early plays

⁴However, despite Davenant's claims of closeness, the role of godfather was largely ceremonial and it is possible that Shakespeare and Davenant met only once or twice in their lives; Downes, 51-2. This is most likely a spurious claim, designed to attract attention to his work and perhaps to give his own company more "legitimacy" in the eyes of the theatre-going public: that is, Davenant may have been trying to evoke a sense of continuing a uniquely English theatre tradition in order to eclipse his theatrical rivals.

⁵John Freehafer, "The Formation of the London Patent Companies in 1660", The Theatre Notebook, Vol. 20, 27. Freehafer, in turn, quotes Nicoll, from The History of English Drama.

came from Davenant, and was not an imposed condition, and given the close relationship which Davenant seemed to enjoy with the new monarch, it is certainly possible that Davenant could have done away with this requirement if he felt it was unworkable; certainly Davenant did not so much "reform" his Hamlet as make some significant cuts from the text. Further, it must surely be significant that Killigrew, who was apparently under no such "obligation" to reform drama, also very quickly took to having Shakespeare's plays adapted for performance; there was clearly a demand to alter the earlier drama, and Davenant's charter only shows that he, perhaps more than Killigrew, understood his audience. In actual fact, by the time of the presentation of the king's warrant to both Davenant and Killigrew on 21 August of 1660, Charles II himself orders that:

...and we do further hereby authorise and command the said Thomas Killigrew and Sir William Davenant to peruse all plays that have been formerly written, and to expunge all profanities and scurrility from the same before they be represented or acted.⁶

indicating that in fact both companies were bound by Davenant's "restriction".

It is also, indeed, worth noting that of all the early playwrights from the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, only Shakespeare was widely adapted, and that this was undertaken not only by Davenant, but also by such eminent and well respected poets and playwrights as John Dryden, Thomas Shadwell who was

⁶David Thomas, Restoration and Georgian England, 1660-1788, Cambridge UP, Cambridge, 1989, 12. This volume includes excerpts from the major theatrical contracts and documents from the Restoration and most of the eighteenth century.

himself also a poet laureate, Thomas Otway and Colley Cibber. In total, some twenty-two different adaptations and productions of Shakespeare's work appeared on the Restoration stage from 1660 to the end of Queen Anne's reign in 1714; in comparison, roughly thirteen plays by Beaumont and Fletcher were produced during the same period⁷. Much of Shakespeare's new popularity was undoubtedly due to the work and the influence of Davenant, who effectively marketed Shakespeare as a literary genius and first praised the playwright as a "national treasure"⁸.

The Law Against Lovers was in fact Davenant's second Shakespearean adaptation; the first was an early version of Hamlet which was seen by John Evelyn in November 1661 and appeared in print in 1676. Most of Shakespeare's original text in this first adaptation remains intact, as Davenant's alterations consist for the most part of series of cuts to the text - a decision which was hardly surprising considering the play's length and the number of long, thoughtful speeches, a state of affairs which still inspires modern producers to make substantial cuts to the text⁹. Mongi Raddadi, who has examined the major surviving Davenant adaptations in detail, explains that

⁷For the most part, dramatists such as Jonson had his work accepted onto the Restoration stage with few changes. Jonson in particular, with his strict adherence to classical guidelines and very literate style, could be easily transposed to the Restoration stage with virtually no changes.

⁸Or as Michael Dobson phrases it, "the national poet".

⁹There is some question, however, as to when the cuts to the text were made: it is possible that the alterations were only made for the publication of the adaptation's text and were not made for the earlier production; however, it is likely that Davenant would have made the alterations before his November 1661 performance - particularly as the play had been performed in August of the same year and there would have been ample time for Davenant to judge what changes would be necessary to appease his audience.

Censorship may have been one reason for Davenant's cutting in Hamlet, but the omissions which appear to have been made in order to shift areas of emphasis according to his own dramatic intent are more extensive, and their implications for both characterisation and plot are wider¹⁰

The Law Against Lovers, then, which followed Hamlet by some two to three months, was the first play in which Davenant greatly altered the text - or in this case, two texts - in order to suit the new dramatic style; a style in which the playwright would seek to incorporate more fully the elements of song and of spectacle, and would also, of course, wish to exploit more fully the new resource of the actress, perhaps exploring the significance of this change - and other social changes - upon women.

Perhaps inevitably, there was not universal praise for Davenant's creation; it was parodied in verse by an anonymous writer whom Leslie Hotson terms "a man-about-town" soon after its opening performance

Then came the knight agen with his Lawe
 Against Lovers the worst that ever you saw
 In dressing of which he playnely did shew it
 Hee was a far better Cooke then a Poet
 And only he the Art of it had
 Of two good Playes to make one bad¹¹

¹⁰Mongi Raddadi, Davenant's Adaptations of Shakespeare, 72.

¹¹Hotson, 245-7. Hotson includes the verse in its entirety. The author does not single out Davenant for ridicule, but comments upon the stage in general and mentions a variety of playwrights and plays by name. Hotson himself, on page 248, agrees with the anonymous author, referring to Davenant's "harebrained effort" in combining the two Shakespeare plays. This verse is also mentioned in Michael Dobson's The Making of the National Poet, page 32, though Dobson himself is more positive in his view of Davenant's creation than is Hotson.

in a type of satiric verse which was not unusual for the time¹². However, though this verse is obviously satirising Davenant and his dramatic efforts, it does establish that The Law Against Lovers was a well-known play which would be easily recognised by all regular theatre-goers, and indeed by those outside London itself. It may even indicate a certain amount of success for Davenant's play - the author would hardly mention a play with which his audience would be completely unfamiliar, and the contempt in the verse's tone would suggest that the play was popular enough to arouse the disgust of the un-named author¹³. It is after all quite certain that Pepys, a fairly representative theatre patron, enjoyed the play, as he recorded in his diary of 18 February, 1662 about his trip to "the Opera"; William Van Lennep also indicates that the first performance was attended by Jacques Thierry and Will Schellinks "who stated: Judged to be their [that is, the Duke's Company] best play", again suggesting that the anonymous wit of 1662 may have been in a minority in his opinion of the play¹⁴.

Davenant's The Law Against Lovers, perhaps his boldest

¹²This particular verse was written apparently by a Londoner "to apprise his friend in the country of the plays current in London" (Hotson, 245). Playwrights, poets and wits often referred to their rivals' works or plays and poems popular in society - partly no doubt to give a sense of immediacy to their own drama or make their writing topical, and partly, of course, to elicit a favourable audience response and display their own wit at their contemporaries' expense.

¹³In his chapter for Shakespeare: An Illustrated Stage History, Jonathon Bate and Russell Jackson, eds., Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996, Bate confirms that The Law Against Lovers was indeed a "successful production".

¹⁴Pepys record of his visit is not only recorded in his Diary, but also mentioned in The London Stage, under the heading for the premiere of The Law Against Lovers. Van Lennep, 48; Van Lennep, 47.

undertaking in his attempt - with varying success - to fuse two disparate plays, was first performed by the Duke's Company on the twelfth of February, 1662, which happened to be Ash Wednesday. The production was mounted at the new theatre at Lincoln's Inn Fields, and was repeated again almost immediately on 18 February, 1662; it was then later revived in December of the same year. Despite an initial positive reaction to the play from that consummate play-goer Samuel Pepys, who states that the production was "a good play and well performed", there is no documentary evidence to suggest that The Law Against Lovers was ever performed after 1662, though of course the anonymous satiric verse of the same year does suggest a certain degree of audience familiarity. It may be, however, given the apparently small number of performances, that Davenant was too bold in his conception and design when creating this play to appeal wholeheartedly to the prevalent Restoration tastes.

The plot of The Law Against Lovers is essentially the same as the plot of Shakespeare's Measure for Measure, with, however, the addition of a sub-plot involving the romantic "battle" between the witty couple, Beatrice and Benedick, from Much Ado About Nothing; the character of Balthazar is also added to the play in a somewhat altered, and enlarged, role. Davenant also adds, not surprisingly given the undoubted increasing demand for women and by women for female characters, the role of a "little sister" for Beatrice, whom he names Viola - this new character of Viola is essentially superfluous; she is little more than a stock "ingenue" role, perhaps added to accommodate an actress who

specialised in such roles¹⁵. Pepys offers some support for this idea in his relevant entry when he comments that the play was "well performed, especially the little girl's [Viola, possibly played by an actress named Moll Davis] (whom I never saw act before) dancing and singing; and were it not for her, the loss of Roxolana (another actress named Hester Davenport, who had presumably left the company in late 1661 or early 1662) would spoil the house."; clearly there was an actress in Davenant's company who specialised in such girlish roles, and who was accommodated by her inclusion in this play¹⁶.

The choice of Shakespeare's Measure for Measure for adaptation seems initially a strange one, even with the inclusion of the "witty couple" of Benedick and Beatrice. The original play is still considered problematic to contemporary Shakespeare scholars, and it is unlikely that the difficulties and complexities of the play would have been fully appreciated by the Restoration audience which Davenant sought to impress. However, there is one area which makes Measure for Measure a most topical play: in 1650, the Puritan parliament had introduced an Act of Parliament which made adultery a capital offence. This Act was then repealed in 1661 by the first parliament to sit under the newly restored Charles II. However, though the initial Act of 1650 and its almost immediate rescinding by the new Cavalier

¹⁵Playwrights did create roles with the talents of particular actresses in mind - Nell Gwynn would often have comic roles created for her in particular, and there is some evidence that the role of Lavinia in Otway's The History and Fall of Caius Marius was written especially for Elizabeth Barry.

¹⁶Van Lennep, 48.

parliament give a clear indication of the contrasting attitudes of the two parliaments and invite parallels with Shakespeare's original drama, the reality was that the original Puritan law was rarely enforced, and the Cavalier overturning of the law was almost certainly done for effect rather than through a feeling of urgency or concern¹⁷. Davenant's adaptation would have used Measure for Measure to create an atmosphere in keeping with the public mood, rather than to make a great political or social comment on the Puritans and their attitudes to sex.

Davenant combines the two plot strands of Angelo's "testing" by the Duke, and Benedick and Beatrice's merry war, by the simple device of transforming Benedick into Angelo's brother, who has lately returned from the wars, and by also making Beatrice the ward of Angelo, though she soon assumes her own rights and is portrayed in the play as an independent individual¹⁸. Having then established Beatrice and Benedick, and their close relationship to Angelo, Davenant uses these characters to introduce an open campaign against Angelo's perceived tyranny, a campaign which quickly leads to open rebellion and conflict. The addition of Beatrice and Benedick, and the changes to the plot which this addition requires, alter the tone of play while keeping much of Shakespeare's complex exploration of morality and society intact; it does, however, allow Davenant to diffuse some

¹⁷Margaret James, Social Problems and Policy During the Puritan Revolution 1640-1660, 1930, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1966, 13.

¹⁸Davenant does not go into any details about the conflict in which Benedick has done "great service" (I.i.) - it seems merely to be an excuse for the Duke to begin his leisure and to enable Davenant to keep his own Benedick as close to Shakespeare's original soldiering figure as possible.

of the more difficult and controversial political elements of Measure for Measure, thus making the play more acceptable to the sensibilities of the Restoration censor¹⁹. It also allows Davenant to expand not only the number of female roles but also their social commentary and insight.

With the addition of Beatrice and Benedick, then, and their combined sub-plots of love and rebellion, the focus of The Law Against Lovers shifts, from political and moral corruption to social satire and commentary as well as the resolution of a series of love plots, creating a witty comment on his society within the confines of an essentially conventional romance²⁰. This allows Davenant to deal with potentially sensitive issues in a less confrontational style; in addition, the recent upheavals in society had altered the populace's views of the traditional hierarchical structure of their society; Davenant's decision to concentrate on the social and moral aspects would be particularly topical and create more of an interest in his own play as well as allaying any political fears.

The disturbing mixed messages of Shakespeare's original play - ideas of corruption from within and the intense vulnerability

¹⁹The changes which Davenant made also help to make his adaptation more acceptable to the neo-classical critics of the time; most notably, the changes remove the mixing of dramatic genres which many of characterise Shakespeare's plays. Davenant also makes changes to character and language to "refine" the play and suit it to Restoration sensibilities.

²⁰This was a relatively common ploy for dramatists seeking to write about issues which could be considered dangerous in the turbulent politics of the 1670's and 1680's. Davenant himself employed the same technique in his adaptation of Macbeth; it was also use by Nahum Tate in 1681 in his version of King Lear.

to temptation of the most righteous of men - now simply disappear, as does the ambiguity of the original ending and Isabella's and the Duke's proposed marriage²¹. The major conflict of the play is now the "simple opposition" of the characters - primarily Beatrice and Benedick - to Angelo's politicking and power games²². The main focus of the play now becomes the groups of lovers and their places and roles in society, and is no longer the political corruption and societal immorality that is rampant in Shakespeare's play. To this end, many key characters involved closely with the political plotting of Measure for Measure are quite radically altered, to make them less of a power in the play and allow the focus more easily - and indeed more naturally - to shift onto the lovers and a more straightforward social satire.

In his study of Restoration adaptations of Shakespeare, Hazelton Spencer states that "The Duke's character is not much altered."; this, however, is not the case²³. The Duke in Davenant's play has become a much less ambiguous and more

²¹There is a certain irony in Davenant's decision to change the matched couples at his play's conclusion - Isabella's apparently forced proposed marriage to the Duke offends the modern audience far more than it is likely to have offended the essentially pragmatic Restoration play-goer; though there was an increase in the awareness of women's roles in courtship and marriage, the over-riding feeling is likely to have been that Isabella had done quite well to marry such a powerful man and perhaps share in his power. A later version of Measure for Measure (1700) in fact left this portion of the play intact. It could be argued - given the prominence of and sympathy towards women in other Davenant plays and adaptations, that this decision to take out the dubious marriage of Isabella and the Duke is more a reflection of Davenant's views than perhaps a passionate argument for a sudden shift in broader English sensibilities.

²²Anonymous, Introduction to The Law Against Lovers, London: Cornmarket P Ltd, 1970.

²³Spencer, 144.

acceptable figure than in Measure for Measure. Raddadi describes this Duke as "old and weary of ruling", not the vigorous and rather devious figure of Shakespeare; he is largely an observer in the play, taking little action and for the most part only offering commentary and the occasional piece of advice, as the role of manipulator is taken over by Beatrice and Benedick²⁴.

Similarly, Angelo is also altered substantially from the Shakespearean original; he is now, for the most part, a positive though misguided character. His treatment of Isabella and Claudio has become a species of a test of virtue, and not an attempt to force himself onto an unwilling woman. In addition, he never abandons the rigid ideals which caused the Duke to first choose him as an appropriate Deputy, a situation which largely exonerates not only Angelo but the Duke as well, as his judgement is, in the end, justified. In The Law Against Lovers, Angelo's flaw is not his inherent wickedness and hypocrisy, but his attempt to force others to live their life according to his own - admittedly high - standards. It is this intolerance which is punished, a most fitting homily for the time, given the years of misery caused by inflexibility during the civil wars.

These changes to the major characters of Measure for Measure, combined with the additional characters from Much Ado About Nothing, help to emphasise, if not to highlight, the importance of the female roles in the play. The combination of the two plays enlarges the number of female roles and creates a

²⁴Raddadi, 92.

balance between the two: there are now an equal number of major male and female roles, as Benedick is matched by Beatrice, Angelo by Isabella, Claudio by Juliet and Balthazar by Viola. Though at least in part this balance is undoubtedly due to neo-classic ideas about symmetry and balance in drama, the primary effect of the increased number of women is to heighten their presence not only while the actresses are on the stage but in the play as a whole, bringing attention to their place in the society both in the play and in the constantly changing England of the Restoration.

The role of the actress was a central one in the development of both the new forms of drama and the roles of women in that new drama. In The Law Against Lovers, the part of Viola in particular has no basis in any Shakespearean play; she was almost certainly created with a view not only to swelling the number of female roles in the adaptation but also to demonstrating the talents of a particular actress²⁵. In his report of the play, Pepys concentrates upon the "dancing and singing" of the "little girl", rather than upon her acting ability; William Van Lennep speculates in The London Stage that the "little girl" may have been a young actress named Moll Davis, who specialised in ingenue roles, a view which is supported by Elizabeth Howe in The First English Actresses²⁶. Pepys' additional comment on the loss of the early actress Hester Davenport who performed the role of

²⁵There is no relation between Davenant's Viola and the character of Viola in Shakespeare's Twelfth Night.

²⁶Howe, 184. Howe lists the major actresses of the Restoration and their most important roles in an appendix.

Roxolana in the June 1661 production of The Seige of Rhodes further emphasises the importance of such actresses. Davenport left the Duke's Company in February of 1662, an event which evidently left a vacuum in the company with regard to ingenue roles - a vacuum which Davenant felt it necessary to fill with the trained dancer. Such was Moll Davis' appeal that Nell Gwynn began her own career as an imitator of Davenant's ingenue.

This episode illustrates the early and quickly expanding power of actresses as they became better known to the public and endeared themselves to audiences, often when acting in particular roles. As the actresses developed their roles and their followings they often became typecast in specific roles - Pepys, when speaking of Moll Davis' predecessor, mentions her by the name of her most prominent role rather by name. However, this also led to an increase in their power within the hierarchy of the theatre as the audiences began to demand to see particular actresses, and as roles began to be written for specific women, with their specific talents in mind. As the prominence of women in the theatre rose, they began to become more important to the drama and to the theatre; John Webster's Jacobean revenge tragedy The White Devil, a play which features a very strong female character in the persona of Vittoria, was renamed for the Restoration stage Vittoria Corombona for its presentation in October of 1661, a move which removes an ambiguity about the centre of the play's focus and boldly states to an audience unfamiliar with the play that the major female role and by association, the actress who played the role, were of the highest

import in the drama²⁷.

It is reasonably clear, then, that the role of Viola was created for Moll Davis in order to help establish her reputation as an actress specialising in ingenue roles; this character would allow not only the inclusion a certain amount of extraneous singing and dancing through the character of Viola, but would also allow Davenant to provide some relief and lighten the more serious overtones in the play. However, not even Viola is immune to the spirit of rebellion which subtly pervades the play; her songs are often satirical of society in general and are sharply critical of Angelo and his government.

As well as the changes caused by the addition of Viola, Davenant's addition of Beatrice - and her counterpart, Benedick - gives another actress the opportunity to display her skills to their best advantage. The inclusion of Shakespeare's couple conducting their "merry war" can be viewed as the first example of the "witty couple", that is a pair of lovers who express their regard through clever repartee - indeed, Raddadi states outright that "the 'merry war' between Benedick and Beatrice is essentially a contest of wit"²⁸. It is not difficult to extrapolate further and state outright that Davenant's Beatrice and Benedick are the first example of the witty couple on the

²⁷The play, which was performed by the King's Company, seems to have been little altered from Webster's original. Pepys was unimpressed with the play, calling it "a very poor play"; however, it was played a number of times and was revived ten years later.

²⁸Raddadi, 98.

Restoration stage, which would be hardly surprising, since, as Howe points out, "its [the gay or witty couple] roots have been traced from Shakespeare's Much Ado About Nothing through Shirley, Brome and Davenant"²⁹.

The witty couple gave the actresses of the Restoration the opportunity to demonstrate wit as well as femininity, though at times the wit was of a decidedly sophisticated and worldly type; it was a chance for women to display their cleverness and to be more than simply ornamental. The ideal witty heroine combined intelligence, education and wit with a sense of self confidence and indeed self worth, remaining completely self possessed and in command of her situation throughout the play. It is also vital to the character and to the plot that she demonstrate a strong grasp of the intricacies of language and of the power of speech, matching her male counterpart in wit at all times. Though Shakespeare's Beatrice certainly exhibits qualities of intelligence, wit and self possession, Davenant's Beatrice possesses not only these attributes in abundance but also the Restoration sexual awareness and an ability to manipulate circumstance which is somewhat missing in the original character. The idea of the "witty couple" allows Davenant to portray a forceful woman who is not afraid to take charge of a difficult situation and if possible, to turn it to her advantage.

²⁹Dryden's The Rival Ladies, produced in 1664, is usually accredited with having introduced the "gay couple" to the Restoration stage, and it certainly introduced the idea of the comedy of manners. However, as it acknowledged that Shakespeare first introduced this pairing in such comedies as Love's Labours Lost and, of course, Much Ado About Nothing, this idea must be re-evaluated; Howe, 66.

Initially, however, it appears that Davenant has altered his own Beatrice relatively little from the Shakespearean original; it is only on closer examination that it becomes clear that in fact Davenant's Beatrice differs from Shakespeare's in a number of ways. She is of immense import to the play, not only as character to help reveal some of the internal tension in the play, which does still harbour some darker undertones, but also as an initiator of events and prime motivator of the revolt which makes up most of the plot. Perhaps the greatest indicator of Beatrice's importance comes from her use of her voice and her language; in particular, it is from one of Beatrice's speeches early in act II that Davenant draws his title, as she boldly describes a revolt amongst the women of Savoy against what they perceive as the unjust "Law against Lovers" instituted by Angelo³⁰.

In addition, the relationship which Davenant develops between his Beatrice and Benedick, and which perhaps sheds the most light upon the nature of his Beatrice, has little of the ambiguity with which Shakespeare endows his own couple, where Beatrice seems uncertain and even hostile towards the flippant and apparently oblivious Benedick, as is evidenced by the famous closing line given to Beatrice at the conclusion of their first encounter: "You always end with a jade's trick, I know you of old."³¹ Though Davenant does include this apparent accusation,

³⁰William Davenant, The Law Against Lovers, London: Cornmarket P Ltd, 1970, 283.

³¹William Shakespeare, Much Ado About Nothing, A.R. Humphreys, ed., London: Routledge, 1981, I.i.133-4.

at least partially, as his Beatrice asserts "Juliet, he always ends with a Jades trick." (Davenant, 277), the omission of Beatrice's final comment - her admission of a previous knowledge of Benedick and his ways - excludes the possible interpretation of the line as a reference to an earlier, unhappy liaison as may be inferred from Shakespeare's lines³². The line instead becomes of a piece with the light-hearted banter of the previous exchange and a further opportunity for the pair to display their dazzling wit and ability to manipulate language. The sting is further removed by Beatrice addressing the comment to Julietta - who has already been established as part of Beatrice's witty circle of friends - who takes the opportunity to make her own witty rejoinder, responding "The Gentleman's wit is tir'd after spurring" (Davenant, 277), again reinforcing the idea of this comment being on a level with the light-hearted tone of the earlier conversation.

As well as her ability to manipulate and control language, Davenant's Beatrice shows herself to be fully in control of the events in the play. Unlike the Beatrice of Much Ado About Nothing, who is completely taken in by the ruse of her friends as they attempt to convince her of Benedick's love, the Beatrice of The Law Against Lovers is fully aware of the attempts by her friends and family to pair her with Benedick. Indeed, she goes so far as to neatly turn the tables on one conspirator, Balthazar, and convinces him that it is he whom she loves, and

³²There is further evidence of this previous relationship elsewhere in the play, such as II.i.261-4; it is a common practice to interpret the characters' relationship in this way on the stage.

not Benedick; such manipulation of events is very much part of the character of the witty Restoration heroine, and does not feature in Shakespeare's original character. More importantly, Davenant's decision to have his Beatrice fully aware of the conspiracy to unite her with Benedick prevents her from betraying her feelings to either Benedick or the audience during a time of stress; she is never seen as emotional or distressed, but instead remains completely calm and in control during even the most trying circumstances. The only time Beatrice does openly display emotion or distress is when she pleads with the Duke for Benedick to be pardoned; and this is a calculated display of emotion, created to serve a specific purpose and planned by Beatrice in an earlier scene.

This lack of credulity with regards to the plotting of her friends alters the nature of Beatrice's final decision to marry Benedick. Instead of being deceived into believing in Benedick's regard and then forced, with her erstwhile lover, to reveal her feelings when her friends display hers and Benedick's private writings and so turn "our own hands against our hearts" (Shakespeare, V.iv.91), Davenant's Beatrice light-heartedly and freely offers her own hand to a Benedick who has already hinted at his own regard. The pair are brought together not through trickery, but through their joint plotting and their feelings of aggrievement at what they perceive as the injustice of Angelo and not through the artificial means of the imposed misdirection of their friends and families. This new version of the pairing off of Beatrice and Benedick is very much in the style of the

Restoration comedy of manners and the witty couple, allowing both characters, but particularly the woman, to make their own decisions regarding their marriage, and to express that choice fully and freely.

Davenant also gives Isabella the opportunity to make her own choices regarding marriage. In Measure for Measure, Isabella remains silent for the final one hundred lines of what could be viewed as the most crucial moments of the play, even when the Duke states that he intends to marry her; in Davenant's adaptation, however, Isabella is allowed to voice her own assent to the Duke's decision to marry her to Angelo, who has in fact already declared his love to her in a previous scene. This change gives Isabella the opportunity to control her own marriage - a change which is particularly significant given that marriage was the only real option for women of the time, and the control over her own marriage was effectively control over her own life.

This change suits well Davenant's new Isabella. She is now much more militant; she is much more scornful of Angelo and his behaviour, though this alteration is also at least partly due to the change in the character of Angelo. In the final confrontation with Angelo, a scene which Davenant felt the need to add to the play, Isabella remains strong in the face of his wrath, using spiritual as well as intellectual points to refute his own arguments. This new forcefulness, however, is balanced by an added compassion to her dealings with Claudio; she is now more understanding about his desire to live and his "frailty",

making her in many ways more sympathetic to a Restoration audience. This empathy also includes Julietta - when Julietta approaches Isabella and begs her to yield to Angelo in order to save Claudio's life, she does still refuse to sacrifice her honour, but with none of the stridency and inflexibility of Shakespeare's original. Instead, she treats Julietta with compassion, pitying her plight and explaining to her the reasons why she herself cannot accept Angelo's offer. These changes do take a great deal of the complexity away from the original Isabella of Measure for Measure, but the result makes Davenant's character more comprehensible and more identifiable to the audiences of the time; this, in turn, can only help in making the more forceful and individualistic attributes of her character seem all the more appealing.

However, despite these many additions and changes to the characters of Viola, Beatrice and Isabella, the female character who is altered perhaps the most is Julietta. In Measure for Measure, she is virtually a non-entity, purely a figure of sympathy and pity, who is entirely a victim with neither a voice in the play - her lines are restricted to lamentations on her fate and pious repentance for her failings - nor any influence upon the events which determine her eventual fate. Davenant, however, expands her role significantly; not only is it much more substantial, but she is also now more vocal, as well as assertive. She takes an active role in the events of the play and attempts, at any rate, to control the developments of the plot. Most significantly, she actively conspires to obtain

Claudio's release from prison - that is, his escape - regardless of the risk which she would then take of incurring his penalty herself, thus also demonstrating a considerable amount of selflessness and of courage which would be reminiscent of some of the outspoken women of the Protestant sects who remained loyal to their husbands and religious leaders while the men were imprisoned, and who worked ceaselessly to secure their release. When Julietta is herself offered the opportunity to escape - an opportunity engineered, in its turn, by Claudio - she refuses, preferring instead to stay near to Claudio and share his imprisonment.

Also significant is Davenant's decision to give the important and pertinent arguments for Isabella's yielding to Angelo to Julietta, who as Claudio's wife is closely concerned with his fate, instead of to Claudio. The original Shakespearean scene between Claudio and Isabella is cut considerably, and it falls to Julietta to plead with Isabella to accede to Angelo's demands and thus save her brother's life, a task which she undertakes with great passion and persuasion, though also with wit and the use of logical thought. The major debate over the morality of a woman sacrificing her honour in order to save a life is now a debate between two women and not between a woman and a man; this can be interpreted as implying that such a decision, one of the ultimate control over a woman's body, is best left to the devices of the women most concerned. Though the eventual outcome of the debate - that Julietta concedes that Isabella is justified in refusing to yield to Angelo - is of

course necessary and somewhat pre-ordained for the purposes of the plot, there is still the implication that perhaps women have the right to more choice and more basic rights, in order to ensure that they are not themselves abused by both society - as represented by Julietta and Claudio - and the law - present in the person of Angelo.

It is clear then that Davenant did not add new female characters and alter the existing ones simply to cater to new audience tastes and exploit the new resource of the actress. He makes his female characters far more vocal and active, as they debate the fate of their society, and in the case of Beatrice, actively attempt to change existing power structures. Given his similar treatment of women in other major adaptations - most notably his treatment of Lady MacDuff in his 1667 production of Macbeth - it seems that Davenant at least felt that society was demanding to see new attitudes and new possibilities for women represented on the stage, as a reflection of the changes on-going in the society of the time.

With such a complex plot, and the intricacies of the attempt to combine two quite disparate Shakespearean plays, the most effective way to analyse the changes made to the female roles of The Law Against Lovers, and the effect which this has on the play, is a close and detailed examination of the play. Such an approach offers the opportunity to observe how the alterations made for the Restoration stage influence the perception of the

female characters both in the play, and by extrapolation, the women of Davenant's society; in particular, the increased vocalisations and the often outspoken commentary offered by Davenant's strong female characters gives insight into the corresponding changes occurring in the public role and voice of women during the turbulent years following the Restoration.

An indication of the dramatist's views on his characters can often be gleaned from way that the characters are described in the *Dramatis Personae*, or "The Names of the Persons", as Davenant terms it in The Law Against Lovers. Though it is possible that the playwright's interpretation of the cast of characters would appear in playbills available during the performance, this of course would not necessarily be seen by the audience - it can only be certain that Davenant's "Names of the Persons" appears in the 1673 published edition of the play - and therefore would not necessarily influence the perception of the characters by the audience. It does, however, indicate to some extent the importance of the female characters in the play, or at least the importance which Davenant attaches to the female characters.

In the two Shakespearean plays, Much Ado About Nothing and Measure for Measure, as in many other plays of both the Elizabethan and the Jacobean periods, the female characters tend to be identified - and therefore to a certain extent defined - by their relationship to the male characters of the play. In Measure for Measure, Isabella is described as "sister to Claudio" and Juliet as "beloved of Claudio", while the men themselves are

identified according to their titles and in their own right - Angelo is described as "the Deputy", and Claudio is known as "a young Gentleman" (Shakespeare, Measure for Measure, *Dramatis Personae*). Again, in Much Ado About Nothing, Shakespeare describes Beatrice simply as "niece to Leonato", unlike Benedick who is termed "a young lord of Padua"; indeed, Balthazar, who is a relatively minor character in the play and little more than a servant, is still given a designation in his own right, that of "a singer", and then a further qualification as "attendant upon Don Pedro" (Davenant, Much Ado About Nothing, *Dramatis Personae*).

In The Law Against Lovers, however, Davenant does not entirely keep to this pattern. Isabella and is still defined by her relationship to a dominant male character in the play; she is again described as "Sister to Claudio"; Angelo also undergoes a change in designation, though in his case it is far more subtle; he is now referred to as not "The Deputy", but as "his Deputy", making clear his position as a subordinate to the ruling Duke and not a power in his own right. There is also a change in interpretation in the characters of Julietta and Claudio; though Julietta is described only as "Mistress of Claudio", Claudio is now defined only by his relationship to Julietta, as "in love with Julietta" and not by his social position. This change now places Julietta and Claudio on equal terms; they both are defined according to their love relationship to each other and not according to any position in society. Further, this shift in emphasis in Claudio's role in the play also shifts the emphasis in Julietta's role; she is now seen to be of greater

importance, as she helps to define Claudio's character, a move which makes Julietta less of a victim and more of an active participant in the action (Davenant, *The Names of the Persons*).

There is a dramatic shift from the original designation in instances of Beatrice and Benedick, however; Benedick is now relegated to the position as "Brother to Angelo", thus defining him according to his relationship to more socially powerful characters and not according to his own position, while Beatrice's position undergoes something of a revolution. Davenant's Beatrice is defined as "a great Heiress", a definition which gives her considerable weight and power in her own right (Davenant, *The Names of the Persons*). This change is rendered all the more significant by the fact that Beatrice is also the ward of Angelo, and could therefore have been defined according to that important relationship and not according to her position at all; indeed, at one point in the play she shows her acute displeasure with Angelo's behaviour and rule by insisting upon her rights and assuming full rights to her property, openly stating that he had no right over herself or her property any further. Davenant must have felt that the character of Beatrice was prominent enough and important enough to be given an identity in her own right and not in relation to any dominant male character or guardian, as is the case in Much Ado About Nothing - she has a place in society which is independent of her relationship to any man.

This emphasis upon an expanded and more important role for

women is established almost immediately in the play; Davenant wastes no time introducing his female characters and establishing their strong personalities. Davenant introduces the Beatrice-Benedick portion of the plot immediately, in a scene which is initially very close to the Shakespearean original; Beatrice, her sister Viola and cousin Julietta meet Balthazar to discuss Benedick's success in a recent conflict. In the ensuing conversation Beatrice establishes herself as a witty and also independent woman, and even Viola demonstrates a ready wit and independent spirit, as she quickly engages in repartee with Balthazar:

Balt. Small Mistress, have you learnt that in your Primer?

Viol. A bud that has some prickles, Sir. Take heed; You cannot gather me. (Davenant, 275)

This spirit of female independence is further established when Beatrice, upon discovering that Benedick is approaching, decides to eavesdrop on his conversation with Eschalus; Beatrice demonstrates her easy grasp of men's language and traditional male concepts as she states

The man of War, having been flesht
In the last Battel, will bear all before him.
Let us sound a retreat, and hide ourselves
Behind the Hangings, to mark his behaviour
(Davenant, 275)

using military language, the language of power, to both assert her own authority and to mock her opponent. This behaviour also demonstrates Beatrice's determination not only to know all there is regarding Benedick, but also her desire to know all that there is to know about the workings of her country, which indicates an interest in political and social developments which would traditionally have been at odds with a woman's role. That the

political import of Benedick's conversation with Eschalus is evidenced by her later remembrance of this conversation and her decision to act, as Beatrice will, of course, go on to break the constraints of tradition with regard to a woman's role in shaping the future in a most spectacular manner.

Isabella makes her own first appearance at the end of the first act, in a scene which closely mirrors Isabella's first appearance in Measure for Measure; she is presented as very much a contrast to the more worldly Beatrice. Davenant retains the majority of the dialogue of this scene intact, no doubt feeling that Shakespeare's words were more than adequate to portray Isabella's pure nature. Isabella is presented as a character who is entirely innocent and pious, not only in so far as she is a novice, but also that her nature is truly good and holy; to this end, where Shakespeare is content to have his Isabella exit the scene by simply bidding Lucio "Good sir, adieu" (Shakespeare, I.iv.90), Davenant has his Isabella leave the audience with a final indication of her piety, saying

Heaven guide you, Gentlemen;
And so prepare to Angelo my way,
As if Saint Clare did prompt me how to pray.
(Davenant, 281)

There is little in this scene to indicate that Isabella, like Beatrice, can be outspoken and forceful when the need arises; however, the scene does demonstrate that she is a woman of conviction and strong character. In addition, by so forcefully establishing Isabella as perfectly innocent and even holy, Davenant gives his later rebellion against the perceived tyranny of Angelo more weight; not only for his apparent abuse of such

a pious woman, but also because if even such a paragon of obedience and virtue opposes Angelo, than surely the rebellion is in some way justified.

The next scene, however, offers Isabella's prospective role as pleading for mercy in sharp contrast to the anticipation of Beatrice's much more active role in the rebellion - from implicit acquiescence to actively fomenting and partaking in open revolt. The opening of the scene again calls to mind Isabella and her incipient call for mercy, as Benedick pleads with Angelo to spare Claudio, an endeavour in which he is wholly unsuccessful. Interestingly, Isabella will, in Davenant's version of the play, ultimately succeed where the men - Benedick, Lucio, Eschalus and Balthazar - fail, demonstrating the superior power of her own voice over the words of the men, and highlighting the overall success of women in their objectives in this play, while the men for the most part fail quite dismally. To reinforce this idea, Davenant introduces Eschalus as a harbinger of Angelo's desire that Benedick wed Beatrice, an essay in which he, like Benedick, fails.

Into this atmosphere of masculine inadequacy Beatrice enters full of confidence and purpose, quickly dismissing Benedick's attempts at banter, "I wonder you will still be talking, Benedick;/No body marks you." (Davenant, 283) as irrelevant. Davenant uses the line from Much Ado About Nothing, act I, scene i, lines 107-8, to good effect by shifting it into this scene; by changing the placing of the remark, Davenant allows Beatrice

not only to register her own preoccupation with her greater purpose - she immediately brings her concern into focus by demanding "Where is Lord Angelo?" (Davenant, 283) - and to signal a corresponding change in tone, but it also allows her to dismiss as unworthy and insignificant the play's male wits' attempts at mockery at her expense.

Beatrice uses her voice as a weapon for the first time in this scene, as she begins to fully appreciate her own possibilities and come to terms with her own power. She again uses martial language, but now her intent is not to mock but to inspire and incite:

Beat. Heaven send the good Duke here again! do you
Not hear, Signior, Eschalus, of the Mutiny
In Town?

Esch. No, Madam, is there a Mutiny?

Beat. All the Midwives, Nurses, and Milk-women
Are up in Arms, because the Governour
Has made a Law against Lovers. (Davenant, 283)

Her speech is subversive in the extreme: her use of the term "the good Duke" indicates that in her eyes Angelo is not only a poor ruler but of dubious moral character, an indication which is reinforced through her talk of mutiny, which indicates a common and serious purpose and a steadfast resistance to Angelo. That the participants of the mutiny are to be found even amongst the women of the town only emphasises the gravity of the situation, as the most peaceful and gentle members of society, "the Midwives, Nurses, and Milk-women", who are all concerned only with life, are the instigators of this revolt.

It is also, significantly, reminiscent of the groups of

women who acted against what they perceived as the unjust actions of Parliament during the years of the Civil Wars and the Commonwealth, perhaps most particularly, the event of 1649. Masses of women assembled outside of Westminster during a sitting of the House in order to protest not only against the difficult economic and social conditions caused by the years of conflict, but also to demand - not request - the release of the leaders of the Leveller movement, who had been imprisoned for speaking out against Parliament³³. By making her bold statement using what is essentially the traditional masculine language of power - that is, the language of the military - Beatrice imbues her speech with an additional resolution and authority.

Davenant, however, immediately follows this militaristic posture on the part of Beatrice with a digression into marriage - Eschalus, Angelo's emissary, once again introduces the topic of matrimony: "Madam, you will marry, and have your freedom." (Davenant, 283). Beatrice, however, rejects and ridicules the suggestion: "Marry?" (Davenant, 283); she dismisses the suggestion as easily as she dismissed Benedick's earlier attempts at drawing her into joining his witty banter. She then goes on to demonstrate her intelligence and education further as she describes her "ideal" husband:

³³The Levellers were one of the radical Protestant religious sects which grew out of the turbulence of revolutionary England. The Levellers had very libertarian ideas of equality, the right of the individual and the need to rely on one's own conscience - dangerous ideas in the atmosphere of the 1640's and 1650's; they eventually began to become involved in politics and secular society, thus leading to numerous confrontations with Parliament and the law. The leaders of the sect spent a great deal of time in prison, with their loyal wives and followers often petitioning Parliament for their release. As was the case with many of the more liberal sects of the time, a great many women were attracted to their ideas.

Marry? yes, if you'll fashion me a man
 Of a middle constitution, between
 Lord Angelo's Carthusian gravity,
 And his Brother Benedick; the one is
 Too like a State-Image and says nothing;
 And the other, too like a Country Lady's
 Eldest Son, evermore talking. (Davenant, 283-4)

She combines learned language, talking of Angelo's "Carthusian gravity" - a description which indicates that Beatrice has had a proper classical education, as advocated by Christian humanists and as realised by such prominent women of the Restoration as Margaret Cavendish and Margaret Fell; she is thus educated as well as intelligent and witty, and demonstrates the corresponding strong grasp of rhetoric.

This use of language is combined with a continued theme of politics, indicating a strong focus to her thoughts, as she refers to a "State-Image" as a possible slight to Angelo, that he is not the true ruler, but the image, or reverse of the "good Duke" - that this comment is taken as negative is proved by Benedick asserting "Nay do by persecute my Brother,/And I am satisfy'd." (Davenant, 284). Her words keep her true objective in focus, that of the injustice of Angelo's laws and her opposition to both them and Angelo himself, as evidenced clearly in her earlier sarcastic comments,

What to his Prayers?
 As Executioners kneel down and ask pardon,
 Before the handle the Axe. (Davenant, 283)

Even when momentarily distracted from her purpose by Eschalus, she returns to her arguments and her objective immediately, exhibiting again the force and drive of her personality.

Thus Beatrice returns more directly to the subject of Angelo and her own potential power over the situation which he has created. She asks outright, "Signior Eschalus, is not my Wardship out?" (Davenant, 284), demonstrating that she is conversant in the law and knowledgable about how it affects her; with this question she firmly establishes her rights in the world. She goes further, proving not only her independence from her former guardian, but indeed her supremacy over him, "And this house, where the Governour lives, mine own?" (Davenant, 284), at least on a domestic level. Angelo is now effectively a guest - or worse - in Beatrice's own house,

Methinks my Guardian
Is but a rude Tenant. How durst he with
Unmanly power, force my Cousin Juliet from me?
(Davenant, 284)

and is therefore more beholden to her than she is to him. She reiterates her open defiance of Angelo's authority in her use of the term "unmanly power", a term which is both a slight to Angelo in its implication that he is not the sort of man to rule, and also in its reference to the participants in her "mutiny": matters of marriage and birth belong in the domain of women, and not of men.

Beatrice's strong position is a sign of a change in attitude to bold, outspoken and above all independent-minded women in the new atmosphere of the Restoration; previously, women found, in practice, that it was virtually impossible to hold property in their own right, as Thomas Edgar asserts in his 1632 document The Lawes Resolution of Womens Rights, where he states that

that Women have no voyte in Parliament, They make no Lawes,

they consent to none, they abrogate none. All of them are understood either married or to be married and their desires a subject to their husband, I know no remedy³⁴

Though legally women did have some rights over their patrimony, custom had long overruled the law and it was virtually impossible for a woman of property to live without the influence of a guardian. It seems that the pressure exerted by women during the Interregnum had some effect upon society, and Beatrice, and the witty heroines who follow her, was in every way a truly independent woman.

In asserting her own rights, Beatrice demonstrates an incisive knowledge of the law, and one that is perhaps superior to Angelo's own knowledge. He has, after all, already planned to marry his brother to his "great Heiress" so recently under his protection - now that Beatrice is no longer in wardship, however, he has no power over her property or herself whatsoever, and so cannot make such a marriage³⁵, a point which Beatrice seems to have grasped, even if Angelo and Eschalus have not. In addition, Beatrice's response to Eschalus' defence of Angelo, that "it was the Law that us'd that force" (Davenant, 284) in taking Julietta from Beatrice, shows a comprehensive awareness of what Edgar terms "secret Sponsion"³⁶. Edgar writes that

Those Spousals which are made when a man is with-out
witness...which though it be tolerated, when by

³⁴The Lawes Resolution of Womens Rights, 6.

³⁵Thomas Edgar goes into a great deal of detail regarding marriage and women's rights both in and out of it. He makes it quite clear that whatever the custom or practice, the law gives a woman of age whose parents are deceased full rights over her property and herself.

³⁶The Lawes Resolution of Womens Rights, 53.

liquid or plaine probation it may appeare to the Judge, and there is not any lawfull impediment to hinder the Contract³⁷

indicating that while a private marriage agreement is not the most desirable form of marriage, it could be considered binding, a state of affairs which Beatrice fully endorses: "The Law? is she not married by such Vows/As will stand firm in Heaven?" (Davenant, 284).

Beatrice than goes on, asserting that

...that's the substantial part
Which carries the effect, and must she then
Be punisht for neglect of form?
Must conscience be made good by compliment?
(Davenant, 284)

Beatrice, though aware of the law, is more concerned with issues of morality and conscience, that is on what might be termed justice as opposed to law; in particular, Beatrice is not just content to rely on her own moral sense, but does so defiantly. The final statement - "Must conscience be made good by compliment" - effectively negates the morality of Angelo's justice, making it nothing more than the shell of law without spirit of divine justice; it separates the moral sense from the business of law and government.

Beatrice's scorn for the workings of government and the law increases as the scene progresses, as Beatrice becomes more and more outspoken regarding her feelings about Angelo. She tells Eschalus outright:

...desire my Guardian

³⁷The Lawes Resolution of Womens Rights, 53.

To let the Divines govern the Civilians.
 I would have my Cousins spiritual marriage
 Stand good in conscience, though 'tis bad in Law
 (Davenant, 284)

voicing plainly her disgust with Angelo's form of justice. She re-iterates the separation of morality and that law which is now present in Davenant's Savoy, which means that in Beatrice's eyes society is not in harmony. Her continued use of the term "my Guardian" when referring to Angelo has now become a term of abuse, mocking his authority; as he is no longer guardian to Beatrice, so does Beatrice say that he has lost his guardianship of justice in Savoy.

Beatrice reaches the height of her scorn in her closing lines, a scorn which aimed not only at Angelo, but ultimately at all men of government, of authority, of power, and perhaps, simply at all unthinking men:

...you States-men manage your discourse
 Amongst yourselves by signs. I am not mute
 Enough to understand your Mysteries.
 Come, Viola, I'll write to the Duke.
 (Davenant, 284)

She is clearly implying that these esteemed men, who are attempting to engage her in witty conversation, only can talk and discuss the serious situation, and not act to alter it. Her ironic comment that she, who has spoken only to the point and only to spur on action, is "mute", is clearly intended to sting the pride - and the consciences - of these men who, as men of power, could help to alter the circumstances which threaten the innocent; for the men are in fact themselves acting in the stereotyped behaviour of women, by talking and not acting, and she implies that their "Mysteries" are nothing more than words,

a fact which she herself understand only too well. Beatrice's own final words indicate that she, at any rate, will take action; that she clearly and confidently expects a result from her writing to the Duke serves to impress the audience even further that Beatrice is a woman of means and influence, and a force to be reckoned with in her own right.

Isabella, by comparison, is much less fierce and much more circumspect in her pleading with Angelo. In a significant departure from Shakespeare's original, Davenant creates in his Isabella a woman renowned for her virtue and piety:

Ang. Already is his sister come,
She has the reputation, Provost, of
A virtuous Maid.

Prov. I, my good Lord, a very virtuous Maid,
And to be shortly of a sisterhood.
(Davenant, 285)

This is, however, the only major alteration which Davenant makes in this scene, though given the brilliance of the dialogue and the excellency of Isabella's rhetoric in Measure for Measure, there is hardly any need for Davenant to add to her words in either of her first two debates with Angelo - the only changes which Davenant makes involve softening the more unpleasant aspects of Shakespeare's character. However, Shakespeare's Isabella is, in her exchanges with Angelo, unquestionably outspoken and persuasive, using her voice as both a tool of persuasion, and if necessary, a weapon; and Davenant does nothing to remove this impression of Isabella from the audience.

Julietta, however, is altered considerably when she next appears on stage. In keeping with Davenant's decision to make

her a more outspoken character, when Julietta is visited by the disguised Duke in prison, she gives much more comprehensive and more revealing answers than her Shakespearean counterpart. In Measure for Measure, Juliet simply agrees with all of the Duke's exhortations to repent of her sin, challenging any of his remarks neither overtly or covertly; in The Law Against Lovers, however, Julietta does not tamely agree with all of the disguised Duke's comments. Instead, when the Duke admonishes her to repent of "the sin you carry" (Davenant, 288), she does not docilely agree, but prevaricates instead; where Shakespeare's Julietta answers the Duke with "I do, and bear the same most patiently" (Shakespeare, II.iii.20), Davenant's Julietta never admits to repenting, nor does she admit that her unborn child is a "sin", answering simply that "I bear my punishment most patiently." (Davenant, 288). This defiance the "conventional" morality is reinforced by her answer to the Duke's question "So then it seems you mutually have sin'd?":

We mutually have sin'd against the Law:
And I repent for it, but am as much
Afflicted at my ignorance,
Not knowing 'twas a sin when I trangrest,
As at the sin it self. (Davenant, 288)

Julietta admits the sin against the state, but, like Beatrice, she holds that it was not a sin against morality, as she and Claudio had been married in their own eyes and in the eyes of God. It seems that the women of the play, particularly Beatrice and Julietta, have no difficulty in seeing the discrepancy which exists between the moral and the law, a discrepancy which is underlined again in this scene, as Julietta explains that "As 'tis an evil I repent, and grieve not for/The shame, because you

think it is deserv'd" (Davenant, 288), when again counselled by the Duke to repent. The emphasis, in this passage, is on the "you", indicating that Julietta is bowing to the supposed spiritual authority of a genuine friar, and still does not regard her behaviour with Claudio as being in any way wrong.

Though both Julietta and Isabella state their resistance most eloquently to the power of the authority which seems to have control over them, they take relatively little action, preferring to only voice their dissent. Beatrice, upon her re-appearance in act III, is therefore a sharp contrast to this, in her decision to not only speak out against Angelo's rule, but to act against him as well; she is increasingly forceful and dominant. She begins her dissent almost immediately upon her entrance on-stage, delivering to Benedick a scornful summary of Angelo's rule:

Your Brother is a proper Prince, he rules
With a Rod in's hand instead of a Scepter,
Like a Country School-Master in a Church;
He keeps a large Palace with no Attendants,
And is fit to have none but Boys for his Subjects
(Davenant, 292)

She mocks not only his rule - which she does with savage accuracy, offering the image of a ruler who must govern by fear alone, as he has no right to his power, to "a Scepter" and does not know how to rule except by "a Rod" - but his supposed piety as well, denigrating Angelo and his virtue to the position of a "Country School-Master in a Church", small minded and petty.

Again, Davenant does seem to attempt to somewhat soften her forceful attitude by introducing a debate with Benedick on

marriage; however, as on the earlier occasion when Eschalus raised the same topic, it is Benedick, the male participant in the debate, who introduces the idea. It seems that it is Davenant's *men* who are concerned with marriage, rather than his women; Isabella is a novice in a convent, Julietta is in prison because she has not seen the need to undergo a formal marriage ceremony, and Beatrice too often dismisses the idea of marriage altogether. When Benedick again raises the idea of matrimony, with his comment "I hope, Lady, you have no plot upon me./I'll marry no woman." (Davenant, 293), and attempts to draw Beatrice into a conversation on the topic, she gives him a short and scornful answer, culminating in her terse, "Marry you? what should I do with you?" (Davenant, 293), as she then quickly brings the conversation back to her own objective, "I will trust you; not as a man of love,/But a man of Arms." (Davenant, 293). As in all of her earlier conversation, Beatrice is very much in control of the flow and movement of the dialogue, graciously allowing the men their own fancies and vagaries but firmly returning her discourse to what she sees the truly important issues.

Thus as Benedick again attempts to engage her in some light banter,

...I will declare
That though I'm very loth to come within
The narrow compass of a Wedding Ring;
Yet I owe every fair Lady a good turn.
(Davenant, 293)

Beatrice ignores his witticisms and bluntly states her business,

In brief you must
Renew familiarity with your Brother;

And steal the use of his Signet to seal
 Julietta's pardon and her liberty,
 And Claudio's too: this done, they shall practice
 Their escape, I'll endeavour mine; and you
 Signior may shift for your self.
 (Davenant, 293)

This plan, which Davenant creates and which he makes entirely of Beatrice's own devising, is spoken with confidence; she assumes that Benedick will see the merits of her plan and fall in with it accordingly as the best solution to the injustice caused by Angelo's rule. She does, it is true, accept the necessity of Benedick's help - this in itself being an indication that she has already acted against Angelo and perhaps turned him out of her house in protest at his actions - but she then insists that "You shall give me the Signet, for I'll have/All in my own management." (Davenant, 293); not only will Beatrice allow no one else to either take the risk of the enterprise or have the satisfaction of assisting her friends, but the only way that she can be certain of her plan being successfully carried out is by undertaking the more active portion of it herself³⁸.

Her plan is also, tellingly, an essentially non-combatant scheme - Beatrice has found a way to set right her perceived grievance against Angelo without the risk of wide-spread bloodshed. However, while Beatrice concentrates on her objective - and her successful escape - Benedick's response, "No, though

³⁸In Paula R. Backscheider's text Spectacular Politics: Theatrical Power and Mass Culture in Early Modern England, she establishes that in some drama of the early 1660's, "women represent unsanctioned, unofficial kinds of government, inappropriate kinds of influence, and illusionary forms of power...they have no interest in the welfare of the state"; this is patently not the case in Davenant's play, as Beatrice is acting in the interests of justice and indeed will have her actions sanctioned by the Duke in the final scenes.

I rob my Brother of the Signet;/You shall not rob me of the danger." (Davenant, 293), is typically male. As Beatrice scornfully asserts, again using the language of men and of war with ironic effect, "You would have the honour of the business." (Davenant, 294); Benedick's primary concern is not with their friends, but with the glory of the affair, and the risk. Beatrice is also concerned with honour, but it is with her own honour; an honour based upon her own conscience and personal sense of morality rather than upon the conventions of her society. She dismisses Benedick's assertion, that "'Tis due to my Sex." (Davenant, 294), with undisguised disdain.

Into this tense atmosphere, Davenant introduces a moment of frivolity - undoubtedly to lighten an increasingly sombre mood - in the person of the young Viola. The primary motivation behind this interlude, like the very creation of the character of Viola herself, undoubtedly was to allow the actress to display her talents and fulfil the audience's expectations by performing a sprightly song and a dance; however, Davenant works a political commentary into even this light-hearted episode, and thus gives even little Viola a more contentious voice. The song combines traditional images of lovers with more melancholy imagery, as she sings: "Wake all the dead...they mind not poor Lovers who walk above/On the Decks of the World in Storms of love." (Davenant, 294); it is ironic that in a song sung by the youngest and most innocent character, images of death and disharmony dominate. This theme is expressed even more overtly in the second verse, which declares flatly that "The State is now Love's foe"

(Davenant, 294) and describes in explicit detail how Cupid has been restrained, how the law "Has Seiz'd on his Arms...Has pinion'd his wings, and fetter'd his feet" (Davenant, 294), a sentiment which is emphasised yet again in the strident line "O Heavens that love should be subjected to law!" (Davenant, 294). There is a similar sentiment in a later scenes, where Viola and the other conspirators attempt to "laugh him out/Of's Politicks" (Davenant, 303) and later still when Lucio leads the key conspirators in a mocking song satirising Angelo's rule; the overwhelming tone of all of these scenes is similar to Beatrice's earlier comment regarding Angelo's rule; that of an unjust and oppressive law crushing the finer feelings and the moral sense of the society of the play - Viola and Beatrice are united in their feelings, their comments and their actions regarding the law.

The episode which follows Viola's musical interlude does not so much advance the plot as shed further light upon Beatrice's character, as well as offering further relief from the darker overtones of the more political plot. Davenant partially re-creates the deception plot from Much Ado About Nothing, as Lucio and Balthazar attempt to convince Beatrice that Benedick is in fact, for all his bantering, in love with her. However, in a significant departure from Shakespeare, Beatrice's response to their clumsy attempts at foolery is a plainly spoken, "This sounds like fiction and design" (Davenant, 295) - Lucio's and Balthazar's words are in fact both.

Davenant's witty heroine then proceeds to turn the tables neatly upon her supposed tormentors; she sends Balthazar away, initially to divine the truth of the matter, but then so that she may manipulate Lucio and trick him, in turn, by making Lucio believe that Beatrice herself loves him, and not Benedick. The trickery Beatrice employs is both subtle and somewhat devious, demonstrating a fine appreciation for the intricacies of language and the power of both words and suggestion; she never says outright that she loves Lucio, "Lucio, my heart is design'd to another...You know the man." (Davenant, 296), but instead allows him to assume that he is her beloved, "Sits the wind on that side? I must hoise sail/With Top, and Top-gallant." (Davenant, 296). Beatrice skilfully manoeuvres Lucio into admitting that

He [Benedick] know as much of the matter of this visit,
As I do of the Great Turk's particular
Inclination to Red Herring. (Davenant, 296)

through a careful manipulation of his perceptions of herself and her feelings; then, once she has no further use for her misguided suitor, and quickly abandons him - there is no further sport to be had from Lucio. Beatrice has once again demonstrated her intellectual and verbal superiority over the other characters of the play.

The changes made to the characters of Isabella and Julietta are highlighted in the next section of the play, as Isabella meets first Claudio and then Julietta in the emotionally charged atmosphere of the prison. Davenant excludes a great deal of the more unpleasant aspects of the corresponding scene in Measure for Measure by the simple expedient of cutting most of Isabella's

strident railing at Claudio when he not unreasonably pleads "Sweet sister, let me live." (Shakespeare, III.i.132); instead, Davenant's Claudio is resigned to his fate,

Sweet Sister! I would live,
Were not the ransom of my life much more
Than all your honour and your virtue too
(Davenant, 299)

and only pleads "Will you be good to Juliet?" (Davenant, 299). This change is significant to Davenant's vision of the character of Isabella; Davenant's Isabella is a much simpler and more easily understood character than Shakespeare's, indicating that Davenant's prime concern is that his female character be a figure of sympathy to the audience, so that her words might be heard all the more clearly and not be mistaken as shrewishness and contrariness.

Davenant builds the sense of urgency and of mounting events by immediately following this scene of Claudio's and Isabella's despair and resignation with Beatrice and Benedick discussing their plot to liberate their friends; this urgency is heightened by Benedick's revelation that Eschalus has joined their plot, at Benedick's urging. However, as has been established earlier, Benedick often falls into his witty jesting, while Beatrice remains focused upon her purpose, finally exclaiming that "These male-Conspirators are so tedious" (Davenant, 301) as an expression of her exasperation with the apparent frivolity of the male characters around her.

Davenant creates an additional scene in the prison, where Isabella and Julietta meet, and Julietta confronts Isabella

regarding her decision not to yield to Angelo's demands and thus save Claudio's life. By introducing this new scene, Davenant not only greatly expands Julietta's role - thus allowing for greater scope for the actress playing the role and also greatly increasing Julietta's importance as a character in her own right - but it also causes one of the play's most important moral debates, the argument between the nature of virtue and honour, a debate between the two women most concerned with the matter.

The scene begins with both women vigorously asserting themselves and their own points of view; Isabella greets Julietta with "Have comfort sister? I must call you so;/Though the uncivil Law will not allow/You yet that name." (Davenant, 306), establishing immediately her own defiance of the law and her affirmation of her independent voice and conscience, and going on to avow Julietta's own rights in this matter; "perhaps/Like conscience, love, when satisfy'd within,/May oft offend the Law, and yet not sin." (Davenant, 306) Julietta herself then declares "I find the greatest love is an offence...How can I lose that honour which I gave/To him" (Davenant, 306), denying that her offence, though against the law, is in fact a sin, or even a crime - again, the women are more concerned with their own morality than with the morality of the society around them.

However, it is with this assertion of Julietta, where she states her own ideas of honour, that the debate with Isabella over honour and virtue is engaged, for Isabella insists that Julietta gave too much of herself to Claudio:

When you your honour did to Claudio give,
 Coz'ning your self, you did our Sex deceive.
 Honour is publick treasure, and 'tis fit
 Law should in publick form dispose of it
 ...Sister! you gave much more than was your own."
 (Davenant, 306)

For Isabella, the public perception of a woman's honour is of great importance; however, given her earlier greeting to Julietta and her impassioned arguments on Claudio's behalf, it is possible to speculate that her primary concern is not that a woman is somehow intrinsically lessened through the loss of her virtue, but rather that Julietta - and through her all women - now has been diminished in the public regard. All women are judged according to the actions of the few, hence Isabella's assertion that Julietta "did our Sex deceive", and by losing her "publick treasure" through giving a man her virtue, Julietta has damaged the public perception of women and their honour. This is a point of view with which Julietta does not entirely agree, and it is around this difference in perception of virtue and honour - the public and the private - that the central argument of the debate between Julietta and Isabella is based.

When Isabella tells Julietta of Angelo's demand, that "Unless I yield my Brother is to dye" (Davenant, 307), Julietta's response is an eloquent plea for Isabella to reconsider her decision:

Oh Isabell! why are we useless made?
 Too weak t'inforce, and artless to perswade: ...
 Yet you have means (Davenant, 307)

Julietta is despondent that traditionally women have had no way to influence events - a state of affairs which Beatrice apparently is set upon rectifying - yet, she cleverly turns that

convention to her advantage as she points out that Isabella now has the opportunity to do what no woman - nor man - is able. She engages Isabella in a debate which is impassioned and emotional, but which is also coherent and logical, demonstrating a skill with rhetoric and debate which is lacking in Shakespeare's Juliet.

Julietta argues that Isabella would not lose honour by yielding to Angelo, as "May none do ill, that so they may do good?/Nature no greater gift than life can give." (Davenant, 307)³⁹. This argument underlines the essential difference between not only the two women's viewpoints, but also between the theoretical and the real: Isabella is concerned with the finer points of morality, as she expresses the noble sentiment, "By vertue we our nature long outlive" (Davenant, 307), while Julietta sees only her immediate situation, and retorts, "Can it be vertue to let Claudio dye?" (Davenant, 307). These differences in approaches lead the women to debate the very nature of virtue, as Isabella insists that "His life should not be sav'd by Infamy" (Davenant, 307), as Claudio would then himself somehow be tainted by the sin which saved his life, while Julietta answers that "Loath'd Infamy consists of evils grown...But those seem least...for good intent are done." (Davenant, 307), that the sin would be purified by the virtue of the result. What makes this debate so important to the play and to the female characters is that Davenant has given such an

³⁹In the Cornmarket facsimile edition of the play, this line is ascribed to Isabella: however the sense of the debate and the scene is maintained only when the line is given to Julietta.

abstract, philosophical question to the women to ponder and discuss; Davenant's female characters are not only able to deal with such complex issues, but they see no reason why they should not be allowed to deal with them.

There is no real resolution to this debate; Isabella, departing from her use of philosophical and theological arguments, attempts to persuade Julietta by using Julietta's own emphasis upon the real and not the abstract, and offers to arrange for Julietta to take her own place with Angelo. Julietta's response to this offer, "E're I will Claudio in my self betray, I will the torment of his death endure" (Davenant, 308), however, shows not just a reluctance to undertake the very action which she has been urging Isabella to consider; Julietta considers herself Claudio's wife, and in such a circumstance, she would indeed be betraying Claudio as well as herself by falling in with Isabella's plan. Her refusal to consider Isabella's proposal illustrates a female attitude to marriage and to honour, as does the entire debate itself, and the very fact that there is no clear resolution save Julietta's sad lament, "we know not what is good or ill" (Davenant, 308) demonstrates the complexity of the issue and the sophistication of the women's arguments.

Just as Isabella attempts to sway Julietta using philosophical and intellectual arguments, so does she use similar rhetoric as she attempts a final time to persuade Angelo to abandon his wicked plan and spare Claudio's life without exacting his price. In a scene which is entirely of Davenant's creation,

Angelo uses a variety of blandishments in order to tempt Isabella into submitting to his advances while Isabella herself remains steadfast in her resolve and her condemnation of Angelo himself. She begins her verbal offensive immediately upon entering, stating that

My Lord, I hardly could my self forgive
For suing still to have my Brother live,
But that a higher hope directs my aim;
Which, saving his frail life, would yours reclaim.
(Davenant, 314)

using the spiritual argument that by repenting of his own sin, and pardoning Claudio, Angelo himself will be blessed; however, the response she receives is a cold "You bring me counsel still instead of love" (Davenant, 314) - Angelo does not argue against the truth of Isabella's argument, he simply ignores it and concentrates on his own purpose.

When Angelo attempts to bribe Isabella, insinuating that "Wealth draws a Curtain o're the face of same;/Restores lost beauty, and recovers fame." (Davenant, 315) - a true sentiment, but hardly the noble ideals of an honest ruler - Isabella replies scornfully, "Catch Fools in Nets without a Covert laid;/Can I, who see the treason, be betrayed?" (Davenant, 315); Isabella now has been driven to openly and directly accuse Angelo of treason, of betraying justice and the state with his actions. It is at this moment, when Isabella feels nothing but scorn and derision for Angelo, that Davenant has Angelo reveal his "true" motives for the ordeal through which he has put Isabella and her brother; he wished to lure Isabella out the cloister by threatening Claudio and then test Isabella, to see if she was "worthy" to be

Angelo's wife.

This idea of "testing" a wife has a long tradition in literature; its origins go back as far as the Bible and reflects the ambivalent and mistrustful attitude which many men have traditionally had towards women. In this convention, the woman has traditionally forgiven her lover or husband for indulging in such a testing, and has even welcomed his attentions - the story of the patient Griselda, best known from Chaucer, is perhaps the most famous case, though the idea was common in Renaissance and Jacobean literature as well. However, when Angelo confesses this trial of virtue to Isabella, she responds in a most atypical manner, with some of the most scathing language of the play. The strict code of ethics which led to Isabella being so harsh to Julietta again comes to the fore, as she lashes out against Angelo's words:

In favour of my Sex and not of you,
I wish your love so violent and true,
That those who shall hereafter curious be,
To seek that frailty, which they would not see,
May be your punishment become afraid,
To use those Nets which you ignobly laid!
(Davenant, 316)

she does not see this testing as natural or laudable, as Angelo has attempted to make it seem, but as unworthy and cruel. She goes on at length, "How little honour then you had obtain'd/If, where but little was, you that had stain'd?" (Davenant, 316); if someone weaker than Isabella had been approached, than she would have had to live with the dishonour and shame caused by Angelo and her own "publick Treasure" would have been lost forever through his cruelty. Again, Isabella realises that a woman's

actions determine her public reputation and impinge on the reputation of all of her sex; however, she now fully appreciates that a man may act as he wishes and face no repercussions or recriminations, and it is this inequity that give her the impetus to speak her mind fully and eloquently.

Though the revelations of Angelo's true motives take some of the urgency out of the rebellion from an audience point of view, it does not diminish the tension of the intrigue and the plotting which continues to take place on the stage; the conspirators continue with their plans, though in the case of Benedick, perhaps over-enthusiastically, as Beatrice caustically points out:

Can whispers hide your bus'ness, Benedick,
When you are such a Weather-Cock, that with
But looking on you I can quickly find
Where the wind sits. (Davenant, 318)

The rebellion itself takes place entirely off-stage; thus, the audience sees the revolt entirely through Beatrice and her reaction to the messengers' news. Beatrice, as befits a key figure in the rebellion and a woman of words and action, has refused to take shelter from the fighting despite pleas from Viola, "Sister! Sister! can we not hide our selves?/Beat. "Fear nothing, Viola" (Davenant, 320) and it is from this open and vulnerable position that she receives news of the progress of her rebellion.

Upon hearing that "Count Benedick is lost" (Davenant, 321), and the rebellion is in ruins, Beatrice comes close to admitting to warm feelings for Benedick, "Lost, valiant Benedick,/Lost by

thy noble kindness for my sake" (Davenant, 321), but even in this extremity, upon the entrance of Balthazar she is entirely purposeful again, and demands "Tell me, I pray, the business of this night" (Davenant, 321). Upon hearing of Benedick's plight, that "'Tis whisper'd and suspected, that he will /Be sentenc'd for Rebellion" (Davenant, 322), Beatrice instantly realises that she has an opportunity to help both Benedick and to complete the work she began with the rebellion, "I'll to the Duke...He'll not deny me when in tears I kneel" (Davenant, 322); Beatrice has acknowledged that she is responsible for Benedick's actions, as it was she who first broached the topic of revolt, and Benedick was essentially her agent in the affair. Her decision to appeal to the Duke is a rather calculating one; she even determines to use that most traditional of woman's weapons, tears, to make an emotional impact upon this man of power. However, this determination to face her ruler also places Beatrice in danger of meeting Benedick's fate, as she boldly states:

Though Benedick has much offended, yet
 Forgive that valour which by yours was bred;
 And let him not be lost who was misled.
 (Davenant, 323)

and honourably admits to her part in the rebellion; like Julietta in her attempts to aid Claudio, Beatrice is unafraid to act and to accept the consequences of her actions and of her words. Significantly, Davenant includes no stage direction for Beatrice to weep as she approaches the Duke, though he does provide such direction for Juliet and Claudio. It seems that though Beatrice recognises the potential power of such public expressions of emotion, when she herself must produce such an effect she scorns to do so.

As Beatrice takes on the new role of supplicant - albeit in a calculated and deliberate manner - as the play reaches its denouement, so does Isabella take on the role of educator and pardoner. Davenant gives Isabella the opportunity to confront Angelo after his fall from grace and forgive him in her own right, and not plead for his life at the behest of another as in Measure for Measure. Her words to him are solemnly instructive, though perhaps tinged with just a touch of spite:

As in a great Eclipse the curious run
T'inform themselves exactly of the Sun:
For when his light is lessen'd, they see more
Of his unevenness, than they saw before.
(Davenant, 325)

but they strike a chord with Angelo who responds in a similar vein, "The spots in him only imagin'd be;/But all reported stains are true in me." (Davenant, 325). Isabella is the instrument of Angelo's salvation, and so offers him forgiveness and hope,

As your confession of the worst of you
Seems now to utter more than does seem true,
So of the best of you, which is your love,
Perhaps you told much more than you could prove
...I shall redeem you now from half your fear;
I must be gone, but Claudio shall appear.
(Davenant, 325)

It is clear from this passage that Davenant's Isabella, unlike Shakespeare's, has been taken fully into the Duke's confidence, that the Duke found her worthy of being entrusted with securing Angelo's salvation unaided and in her own way. Thus not only is Angelo satisfactorily redeemed and the way paved for the final reconciliation, but Isabella is clearly given the upper hand in the relationship and it is possible to speculate that the Duke also took Isabella into his confidence regarding her marriage to Angelo.

Davenant reiterates this dominance in the relationship as he concludes the play with the traditional string of marriages; the Duke asks Isabella to "Lend me, Chast Isabella, your fair hand" (Davenant, 328), giving her the choice of whether to comply with his request or to refuse the much chastened and humbled Angelo, while denying this choice to Angelo himself. This is an important departure from Measure for Measure, where Isabella is commanded "Give me your hand and say you will be mine" (Shakespeare, V.i.490); the emphasis in this version of Isabella's marriage is upon the man's possession of the woman and of the woman's lack of choice, and Isabella never consents to marry the Duke; it is assumed but never stated. Davenant allows his Isabella to state her acquiescence to the Duke's plan,

I have so long your counsel follow'd with
 Success, as I am taught not to suspect
 Much happiness will still attend
 Th'obedience which does yield
 To your command. (Davenant, 328)

Given her earlier forgiveness of Angelo and her tacit acknowledgement of his love, Isabella's decision to accept the Duke's "counsel" - not command, but advice - seems logical and even inevitable, particularly in view of her own moral superiority of her prospective husband.

The pairing off of Beatrice and Benedick is also accomplished by the Duke in this final scene; again the Duke emphasises that he is merely acting on an established affection, "I give you but/The heart, which I perceive you had before." (Davenant, 328). Beatrice agrees to her prospective marriage with Benedick, but also retains her martial language, "th'end of

this long Treaty will but bring/The war home to you own doors" (Davenant, 328) and answers the Duke and Benedick in a style more reminiscent of Shakespeare's Katharina than his Beatrice. It is clear that Beatrice does not intend to surrender her voice in this marriage.

It is hardly surprising that Davenant chose to end his play with a string of marriages - it is, after all, a comedy and comedies traditionally end in marriage. In addition, in an obscure way, it is necessary that these vocal women marry - it would help a conservative audience accept such radical words and ideas being spoken by mere women, if at the conclusion of the play, the subversives assumed their proper place in society as wives. However, by giving his female characters a certain amount of choice in the matter, he alters the complexion of the marriages, and makes a subtle argument for the rights of women of his society to choose their husbands - an area of concern even in the Restoration. Davenant does allow for an eligible but unmatched woman at the play's conclusion; Viola is not only unmatched but, "I'll run from that foolish Boy [Cupid],/and then let him try to overtake me." (Davenant, 326) seems unwilling to be matched. This view could of course be attributed to her youth and apparent innocence, but this view somewhat foreshadows a later female character who very stridently insists that she will never marry - in Charles Gilden's 1702 adaptation of Twelfth Night, entitled Love Betray'd, the character of Maria's witty and attractive cousin, Emilia, remains unattached at the play's conclusion, and states most categorically that she will never

marry.

The choice of combining Measure for Measure and Much Ado About Nothing is not, perhaps, a very obvious one - certainly Davenant's efforts have in recent years been dismissed or even vilified, as Hazelton Spencer does, calling it "a dull thing"⁴⁰. However, it cannot be simply a coincidence that Davenant chose plays with particularly outspoken and dominant female characters to combine into one adaptation; not only are Beatrice and Isabella vocal, but they are also considered admirable, unlike Katherina from The Taming of the Shrew or Cressida from Troilus and Cressida. Given the changes made even to lesser female characters in The Law Against Lovers, such as Julietta and Viola, it seems that Davenant wanted to include strong, vocal women in his new play, and thus portray how it would take intelligent women of spirit to triumph in the difficult circumstances of not only the play, but of a society still smarting from years of discord.

Beatrice, the instigator of the abortive rebellion, undoubtedly dominates the entire play. The quality of the language which Davenant gives to her, and the ease with which she beguiles the other characters - particularly the male characters - indicate a level of sophistication and of importance which is not truly matched by any other character - not even by Benedick. Beatrice verbally bests everyone with whom she speaks,

⁴⁰H. Spencer, 151.

effortlessly turning conversations to her own advantage and achieving her own aims while thwarting the plans of others when they run counter to her own desires. Of all the characters she demonstrates the most sparkling wit and the most persuasive and successful voice.

Isabella's role in the play, though less active, is important from a philosophical point of view. She raises disturbing issues about the nature of morality and its place in society; about the responsibility of the individual in righting wrongs and about the interpretation of the nature of virtue and of sin. To an audience fresh from the horrors of war such questions would be exceptionally pertinent, and perhaps even disturbing. She in effect functions as the play's conscience, which is indeed no slight role.

Julietta, that greatly altered and enlarged character, represents the traditional woman, passionately concerned with her husband and child. The women in Davenant's audience would no doubt identify greatly with this character; for, like women in the of years of the civil war, Julietta's fears and concerns remain firmly rooted in her immediate domestic situation. She is content to live her life quietly and simply; but when the need arises, Julietta, like the women who marched on Parliament in the 1640's and 1650's, is capable of great cunning, of great persuasiveness and of resolute action; her plan for the rescue of Claudio, which involved some considerable risk to her own person, demonstrates a level of guile and a resolution for action

which is largely absent in Shakespeare's more passive character. Davenant's Julietta, unlike Shakespeare's, refuses to be nothing more than a victim, and attempts to take control of not only her own destiny but of those around her.

Davenant often juxtaposes his major female characters; a scene featuring Beatrice, then one where Isabella dominates or Julietta comes to the fore. This allows the audience to see all the more clearly the three types of situations in which his women - and perhaps all women - are using their voices: the very public Beatrice, crying for change; the intensely private, individual level of Isabella's conversations of conscience with Angelo the ruling power and with Julietta; and the domestic in Julietta's concerns and speeches as they deal with her concerns for her husband and family.

The overall result of these courageous, active and above all vocal women is a positive portrayal of women and of their essential usefulness in society. Davenant's women do not allow their voices to be stifled, nor do they let their voices go unheard; and it is ultimately their voices which bring about the play's eventual happy ending.

CHAPTER III - SAUNY THE SCOT

"Thou hast a tongue,
make use on't"¹

There was a great increase in the amount of drama produced after 1662, the year of Davenant's The Law Against Lovers, as the two companies each struggled to capture the greater share of audience attention; in addition, younger playwrights were now discovering the theatre, and writers such as Etherege and Dryden were finding that there were merits in writing for the stage. One of the new breed of playwrights was John Lacy, an actor and writer, who specialised in comedies and comic roles and was attached to Thomas Killigrew's company, the King's Company, at the Bridges Street theatre. In 1667, Lacy produced an adaptation of Shakespeare's The Taming of the Shrew, which he entitled Sauny the Scot or the Taming of a Shrew, and in which he included a comic role written especially for himself.

There is therefore a gap of five years between Davenant's positive and witty comedy The Law Against Lovers in 1662 and Lacy's Sauny the Scot, which is a far broader comedy. Given the attention which Davenant paid to the portrayal of women and their place in society in his own play, the choice of The Taming of the Shrew for adaptation would seem to be a very topical one, though also one replete with potential controversy. Shakespeare's The Taming of the Shrew is a difficult play to stage and to

¹John Lacy, Sauny the Scot, London: Cornmarket P, 1969, 39.

understand at the best of times; in the Restoration, given the delicacy of - and at times the confusion over - the social situation of women, with women such as Margaret Cavendish, Margaret Fell and Aphra Behn all making themselves heard in a society which did not always wish to hear them, an adaptation of this particular play would be fraught with difficulties. However, The Taming of the Shrew also offers one of the best opportunities for displaying new attitudes and offering new ideas, as it deals with not only women and their rights, but with marriage as well, and with society as a whole.

An understanding of the influence of the Christian Humanist movement of the Renaissance is particularly important for an understanding not only Lacy's adaptation, but also the original Shakespearean play as well; the views of the Christian Humanists on marriage are crucial. The humanists - and later, the Protestant reformers and radical thinkers - viewed chaste marriage, where both partners remain faithful, as being the most positive Christian state². In order for a marriage to remain strong, therefore, it must be a partnership of mutual respect between consenting individuals, so that both partners - both male and female - could resist the stain of adultery³. In addition to this emphasis upon happy marriages, many of the new Protestant thinkers, including Martin Luther, recognized the value of women

²This was a radical departure from medieval religious thought, which held that celibacy, and single-minded devotion to God was the most blessed state.

³There is evidence that the average age at which individuals entered into their first marriage rose steadily throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and on into the nineteenth centuries. Stone, 41-2.

and their own contribution to spirituality - though it must be borne in mind that this spirituality was still often to be expressed while within the confines of the home. Luther's own wife was universally praised for her staunch defense of her husband and her keeping a good home for Luther and his fellow Protestant theologians.

These quite revolutionary ideas regarding relationships and marriage continued to hold sway into the Restoration through the many Protestant sects which flourished during the Interregnum, and to a certain extent through the continuing influence of the Puritans; though it is worth noting that many Puritans did lapse back into more conventional views, that women should remain only in the home and should look to their husbands for both secular and spiritual guidance, rather than to the revolutionary ideas of the many women - many prophets and visionaries - who continued to seek their spirituality from God directly and the Bible⁴. These early movements influenced the way that women of the Restoration regarded themselves in relation to marriage; they also influenced the way in which men regarded women. In addition, the emphasis upon an active spiritual life encouraged

⁴There is something of a debate between two different views of the Puritans and their attitudes towards women; one, that the Puritans were almost violently anti-women, the other that Puritans had a more "romantic" approach, as indicated by both Linda Woodbridge in her study Women and the English Renaissance: Literature and the Nature of Womanhood 1540-1620 and Juliet Dusinberre in her reading of the religious reformers of the Renaissance in her work Shakespeare and the Nature of Women. It is possible to look only at those Puritan texts which, in the words of Jerome Friedman in his study of Puritan propaganda Miracles and the Pulp Press During the English Revolution, "blame women for the sins of society" (179); however, this gives a very jaundiced and inherently simplistic view. There are also Puritan works which encourage and praise women and deal with what Woodbridge terms the "official adulation of domesticity" (238), though these works do tend to be less lurid than the more virulent examples of Puritan pamphlet writing.

women to speak out and to air their own ideas, thereby leading women being further encouraged to take a more active role in society and in literature than had been the case in previous ages.

As women began to realise that they too had a valid role in the more public aspects of society, and that their voices and their words - the more traditional seat of domestic power - could be just as effective in the public arena as they had been in the private, female dramatists such as Aphra Behn and women writers such as the Duchess of Newcastle, began to make an impact upon Restoration society.

In 1666, less than a year before Lacy's Sauny the Scot appeared on the stage, the Quaker leader Margaret Fell published the first edition of her pamphlet "Womens Speaking Justified, Proved and Allowed by Scriptures", while imprisoned in Lancaster Castle under the sentence of praemunire, that is, denying the ecclesiastical supremacy of the sovereign⁵. The writing and subsequent publication of this pamphlet indicates that Fell felt there was a need for such a defense of women speaking in public - and by extension, writing and being published - signifying that there must have been some opposition to the new, more public role to which some women were aspiring; however, it may be taken that Fell's work did nothing to calm such opposition, and no doubt created more tension regarding the more active stance of Restoration woman. Such a backlash against this new outspoken

⁵Augustan Reprint Society, 1979.

female attitude would serve to make Lacy's adaptation even more topical and of even more interest.

However, there were other factors which influenced the development of new attitudes towards society and women's place during the years immediately after the Restoration. The prevalence of the plague, culminating in the Plague Year of 1665, and finally the Great Fire of London in September of 1666 all contributed to a change in attitude; in the face of great upheaval and great adversity, societies often attempt to return to so-called traditional values, in an effort to re-stabilise the precarious society and to feel somehow safe in the face of calamity. The burgeoning women writers and the vocal women of 1662 who were encouraged by the general public relief at the return of the monarch and stable government and who were reflected so admirably in Davenant's The Law Against Lovers were now being increasingly ostracised and ridiculed by a populace who wanted nothing more than a return to conventional and conservative society. There was now a new, and perhaps less tolerant, mood, and Lacy sought to capture this mood in his play.

The Taming of the Shrew was acted, in fact, by Killigrew's company in its original form in 1662, as was John Fletcher's "sequel" to Shakespeare's play, The Woman's Prize or The Tamer Tam'd; however, The Taming of the Shrew was not particularly popular in its original form, and no doubt Lacy, keeping in mind the King's warrant of August 1660, thought to make the play more accessible to his audience. Sauny the Scot owes a great deal to

a mixture of the tradition of the burlesque or the low comedy in English theatre, through such plays as Gammer Gurton's Needle and Ralph Roister Doister, as well as such elements of rustic comedy in Shakespearean plays as the rude mechanical in A Midsummers Night's Dream and the grave digger from Hamlet, and the influence of the Italian improvised comedy - which had its roots in the commedia dell'arte - which was now beginning to be imported from the continent and to make an impact upon the English stage and upon society⁶.

These elements of more physical and common comedy coincide with Lacy's decision to create for himself not just a comic role but in fact the title role; the power of the actor-director and the actor-playwright, who could create star roles with their own particular talents in mind, was increasing during these formative years of the new theatre as they grew increasingly popular with the audiences - Lacy is described by a contemporary chronicler as "A Comedian whose Abilities in Action were sufficiently known to all that frequented the King's Theatre"⁷. Lacy's talents as a comic actor seem to have been universally admired; Gerard Langbaine wrote in his An Account of the English Dramatick Poets in 1691 that "this Age never had, so the next never will have his Equal, at least not his Superior", and praised his writing talents as well:

[Lacy] knew both how to judge and write plays, and if his comedies are somewhat allied to French Farce 'tis out of choice, rather than want of ability to write

⁶Loftis, 163-4.

⁷From Langbaine's An Account of the English Dramatick Poets.

true Comedy⁸

For all of Langbaine's praise for Lacy, however, in his list of the principal dramatic poets of the age and their works, he entirely ignores Lacy's Sauny the Scot; all of Lacy's other plays are listed, yet Langbaine obviously felt that Lacy's adaptation was not worth recording⁹. However, Langbaine's presumed opinions notwithstanding, Sauny the Scot did contribute to Restoration society, and did reflect upon the tensions at work within that society.

It is always useful, when examining any adaptation, to examine the source play; this particularly is the case when dealing with a play as difficult and as delicate as is The Taming of the Shrew. Though the play can be viewed as a simple - albeit at times violent - farce, in actuality it is a more complex play involving questions of partnership in marriage; of men's and women's rights and duties both in a marriage and out of marriage; of the role of women in a larger society; and of the rights of a woman to speech, or her lack thereof. Lynda Boose writes in an article which deals in great detail with past attempts to control the female tongue, that The Taming of the Shrew locates both women's "abjected position in the social order of early modern England and the costs exacted [from women] for resistance"; in light of the recent and ongoing turmoil in

⁸McCollum, 119.

⁹Langbaine also ignores Davenant's adaptation of MacBeth, written in 1666, though he does include The Law Against Lovers and The Tempest; it is possible that Langbaine did not consider that the adaptations were truly independent dramatic works and therefore not worth recording.

Restoration society, any play which dealt with the nature of social order would be of particular interest to both the theatrical companies, keen to lure in the public, and the public themselves¹⁰.

Shakespeare's original The Taming of the Shrew, then, would provide ample opportunities for an adaptor to examine difficult issues about the nature of individual rights, as well as the public and private roles of the strong, vocal woman; Lacy takes this complex, at times awkward and above all intensely topical play with its controversies and uncomfortable situations, and attempts to turn it into what more recent critics have termed either "a good bustling farce" or "a vulgar adaptation"¹¹. Many of Lacy's changes seem to have had the aim of simplifying The Taming of the Shrew's more troublesome features; Lacy first removes the Induction and the later scenes featuring Christopher Sly altogether, a decision which causes the play to lose some of its ambiguity and its uncertainty regarding the nature of reality both within the play and off the stage as well¹².

¹⁰"Scolding Brides and Bridling Scolds," SO, 1991, Summer. Boose also looks at Shakespeare's source play, The Taming of a Shrew and at major adaptations of The Taming of the Shrew, including Sauny the Scot; Boose is distinctly unimpressed by Lacy's work.

¹¹Montague Summers, Shakespeare Adaptations, 1922, New York: Haskell House, 1966, "Introduction", xxviii. Summers is one of the few scholars this century to look at any of the Restoration adaptations - Summers examines five plays; Hazelton Spencer, Shakespeare Improved, Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1927, 280. Spencer wrote about all of the Restoration Shakespearean adaptations in some detail in 1927 - to be fair, Spencer does not express admiration for any of the adaptations, so his low opinion of Sauny the Scot is not surprising. A more recent edition of Sauny the Scot appears in the 1996 Everyman book of adaptations entitled Shakespeare Made Fit; Sandra Clark deals with five plays which all offer different views on the art of adapting.

¹²Many later adapters - notably David Garrick who wrote a very successful adaptation of The Taming of the Shrew in the mid-eighteenth century - as well as many directors have preferred to remove the Induction from

Lacy also makes substantial changes to the text of the play itself; the dialogue is for the most part shortened, with long speeches - such as Katherina's famous speech on the duty of wives - being cut, and the remaining dialogue being converted almost entirely to prose. The characters are also greatly changed from Shakespeare's original as, for the most part, Lacy makes his own characters quite superficial, almost stereotypical beings; Petruchio becomes little more than a violent bully, Katherina - now named Margaret - loses her complexity and is presented as a harridan. The fifth act, perhaps the most pivotal section of the play, is altered completely, to make Petruchio's victory complete and unequivocal; there are also some allusions in this new final act which seem to suggest links to Fletcher's "sequel" of Shakespeare's original comedy, entitled The Woman's Prize or the Tamer Tam'd¹³. Hazelton Spencer in fact asserts that there were quite strong links between Lacy's Sauny the Scot and Fletcher's sequel, and states that the "answer" to the play - though whether he includes Shakespeare's play in this term is left uncertain - was "often and perhaps regularly played after each performance of Sauny"¹⁴.

The resulting play seems to have achieved some popularity,

performance. It is possible that Lacy set the trend for this procedure, but the unfinished state of the Christopher Sly episodes is a far more likely possibility.

¹³In this supposed sequel, Petruchio is shown re-marrying, after Katherina dies as a result of his treatment; this new wife succeeds in gaining the support of all the women in her town and manages to completely subjugate Petruchio by using variations of his own methods. The apparent popularity of this play, into the Restoration, seems to indicate a level of dissatisfaction with The Taming of the Shrew and its treatment of Kate.

¹⁴H. Spencer, 280.

at least with those members of the Restoration audience who were seeking simple, low comedy and burlesque; H. Spencer says that "the thing survived till Garrick's time", a statement which certainly betrays his own distaste for Lacy's adaptation¹⁵. He uses this tolerance of Sauny the Scot to illustrate his point "that Restoration audiences thought his [Lacy's] jocular brutality amusing is an impressive index to the taste of that refined age"; Spencer uses this apparent popularity of the adapted play as evidence for his own condemnation of the Restoration taste in drama¹⁶. However, there is equal support for the theory that Sauny the Scot was not inordinately popular; Spencer himself records comments from a 1719 text which writes about a new production of Sauny the Scot which was to become virtually the last revival of the play, quoting that "The Alterations seem to be made/In the Devil's Name"; the eighteenth century author goes on to revile the drama in general and in particular the character of Sauny himself¹⁷. However, the most overwhelming evidence that Lacy's adaptation was not universally popular comes from both The London Stage, a compilation of virtually all of the plays which appeared in London theatres from 1660 into the nineteenth century, and from a similarly survey written by John Downes during the Restoration entitled Roscus Anglicanus; these studies indicate that Lacy's version of The Taming of the Shrew was not performed very often, in fact not more than five or six times, though it was performed more often

¹⁵H. Spencer, 281.

¹⁶H. Spencer, 280.

¹⁷H. Spencer, 276.

than Shakespeare's original.

In reality, the brutality inherent in the play, and the staged violence which is directed towards women in the person of the character of Margaret, overwhelms much of the potential for comedy which may have arisen from Lacy's portrayal of the title character. This brutal behaviour would seem all the more real to a Restoration audience, as the audience members would know that the character suffering this treatment on the stage was truly a woman, that is an actress and not an actor playing a woman as had been the case during The Taming of the Shrew's original productions; though of course the violence is not truly real, the audience's titillation would only be enhanced by the presence of an actual woman on the stage in the role of the victim.

There is some evidence of this discomfort from diaries and writings of the time, and from the relatively small number of performances the play had and the very limited number of revivals it received; though considering the discomfort which the Shakespearean original - which is considerably less violent than Lacy's play - may prompt among even male members of the audience, this may not be surprising¹⁸. However, given this initial discomfort, Lacy's play would presumably have caused a similar or even a greater amount of uneasiness; despite changes made by

¹⁸The number of performances which a play produced was quite important; Restoration audiences demanded constant entertainment and constant variety. If a play was not well-received, the chances of it being performed again were quite slim, as the companies would be unwilling to risk alienating their audience further by repeating a poor performance; Boose, 179.

Lacy to the play and to its characters, which no doubt were intended to somewhat soften the play's more unpleasant images so that they would not detract from Lacy's comic effects, the open degradation of Margaret is much more extreme than any treatment meted out to Shakespeare's Katharina. The abuse levelled at Lacy's Margaret would be all the more shocking to a Restoration audience given that women tended not to be abused physically on the stage even in the broadest of burlesques - female characters might be shouted at and verbally abused, or might engage in mutually abusive dialogues with both female and male characters, but they would not be actually beaten in the open view of the audience¹⁹. In another Lacy play, The Old Troop, which also features a wilful woman and also a woman who behaves in an even more outrageously masculine manner than Lacy implies does Margaret - she dresses as a soldier and assumes a number of male mannerisms in order to be near the man whom she loves - presents a woman who swears freely, who drinks profusely with men who are her "fellow" soldiers, but is not at any point humiliated or physically abused; presumably the "nobility" of her reasons allows her some amount of social leeway.

It is not just the depiction of the female characters - most particularly Margaret - that Lacy has altered, however; Lacy also re-arranges the order of the scenes in the play, altering the sequence of events, as well as changing the presentation of the

¹⁹The Restoration broad farce, The Enchanted Castle, which is in itself a burlesque of another Shakespearean adaptation and burlesque, Davenant and Dryden's The Tempest, opening with such a scene of mutual abuse and recrimination. The language of this scene becomes quite violent at times, but it never crosses into physical violence.

other characters which affect the audience's perception of the women in the play. The simplification of the other characters contributes greatly to this different perception of the female roles, as the complexity of motivation and deep psychological issues of The Taming of the Shrew are lost. Petruchio is the male character who perhaps is altered the most; Spencer states that there is a "transformation of Petruchio from a madcap to a brute", as all subtlety of intellect and any frivolity in the character disappear under the weight of Lacy's Petruchio's cruelty²⁰. Lacy's version of Lucentio is also altered to become more of a stereotypical Restoration wit, and the character of Sauny is, of course, an entirely new character to the play. Lacy's comic servant is a throwback to the role of "tricky servant" of Greek comedy, a character which is found in great profusion in Restoration drama and became something of a stock character; the only function of this character is to aid his master and provide comic entertainment for the audience, usually through the use of physical comedy and innuendo. The original characters upon which Lacy based these characters are all exaggerated and made much more extreme, turning them into caricatures of the Shakespearean precursors.

The female characters are also significantly changed and often simplified. The most obvious alteration is actually an omission; the character of the Widow whom Hortensio marries in the play's final act - Hortensio becomes Geraldo in Sauny the Scot - almost completely disappears from the play; her most

²⁰H. Spencer, 280.

important scene, in which she spars with the reformed Katherina is removed entirely, and she is left with only one line of her own. Everything which the audience learns about the Widow is learned from her prospective bridegroom, a change which colours the audience's perception of the only female character other than the sisters Margaret and Bianca; the Widow is not allowed to give her own account of who she is and to state her own motives and ideas in her own voice as Shakespeare's Widow is allowed when she wittily banters with Hortensio, or when she taunts the newly tamed Katherina. It is, however, the changes made to the characters of Bianca and to Katherina - or Margaret, as Lacy re-names his shrew - which are of far greater importance and impact on the play.

Of these two characters, the most important is undoubtedly the character of the shrew, Margaret. The first, and the most obvious change which Lacy makes to Shakespeare's Katherina concerns the name of his central female character; many of the characters central to the shrew main plot, as opposed to the Bianca sub-plot, retain their original Shakespearean designations - most notably Petruchio and Bianca. However, Lacy chooses to change the name of his shrew from Shakespeare's Katherina, to Margaret. Though this is a somewhat puzzling decision, and perhaps even seemingly rather insignificant, this change of name can help shed some light on some Lacy's possible intentions in his alterations to the original play.

A woman of renown in Restoration society was Margaret

Cavendish, the Duchess of Newcastle; this famous - or infamous - woman was certainly at the centre of a great deal of attention and gossip, and often became a target for satirical comments because of her prominence, her outspokenness and her influence - or at least her influence over her very important husband. However, Cavendish was also a prolific poet, essayist - and perhaps most significantly - a dramatist; she was particularly active during the years of the Commonwealth on behalf of the Royalist cause, petitioning Parliament and writing essays and plays in support of the King. She was, in other words, a woman who used her voice often and well to express both her own feelings and also to attempt to influence others.

Despite the gains in women's confidence in speaking out, there was still a great deal of hostility towards women who took such a public role both during the years of the Commonwealth and into the Restoration, at least from those in the seats of power; when the women could not simply be dismissed, as was attempted by the Duke of Richmond during an early interruption of Parliament in 1642, they were often ridiculed and publically belittled²¹. J. Marsden in Rewritten Women argues that this ambivalence of the times found its way onto the stage as well in open society in the new women's roles; that is, that a great number of the female roles created on the stage both in the

²¹A crowd of over four hundred women petitioned the House of Commons and the House of Lords about the severe economic hardships caused by the continuing hostilities between Parliamentary forces and the King's army. The Duke of Richmond's response to this petition was a cry of "Away with these women, we were best have a Parliament of women"; the women's response was to attack the Duke and break his staff of office. A full account of this and similar episodes can be found in Stone.

adaptations of earlier plays and new plays of the Restoration are, in fact, largely essentially passive. This attitude is largely a simplification of the very complex tensions which were operating within Restoration society, as the re-evaluation of the patriarchal hierarchy, brought on by the Puritan revolution and the execution of Charles I, warred with a desire to contain possible disruptive elements which developed within English society during the upheaval of the Civil Wars; at least one of these conflicts involved the attempt by women to assert their own rights within the domestic sphere, an area which had traditionally been associated with patriarchal power²². It is possible to extrapolate a dichotomy in operation in the drama of the time, as some playwrights would seek to explore these new tensions, while others would seem to express a certain intent to repress women within the drama, a view which finds support in the words of Robert Gould on Aphra Behn, where he equates women with a demonic invention "full of lewd desires"²³.

It was often the female dramatists in particular who came under the harshest attack and were vilified the most by the more repressive elements of society, both for their unwomanly behaviour and for daring to write and express their own opinions, just as the men of the time were expressing theirs. A satiric play of the late Restoration era - written by an anonymous male dramatist - was entitled The Female Wits, and performed in 1696.

²²Laura Rosenthal identifies the conflict between women's increasing search for self-determination within the marriage relationship and the increasing objectification of women as objects for sex and economic advantage.

²³Janet Todd, The Sign of Angellica, 34.

It is a largely derisive work which abuses the women playwrights Mary Pix, Catherine Trotter and most particularly, Mary de la Riviere Manley; however, it was not only men who were dubious about the virtues of the new breed of female writer. A woman of the time, Elizabeth Cottington, wrote in a letter to one Herbert Aston in May of 1669,

We are in expectation still of Mr. Dryden's play. There is a bold woman hath offered one: my cousin Aston can give you a better account of her than I can. Some verses I have seen which are not ill; that is commendation enough: she will think so too, I believe, when it comes upon the stage. I tremble for the poor woman exposed among the critics.²⁴

There were some women of the Restoration who felt that the risks of the writing occupation far outweighed the benefits of any possible freedom of expression.

Given the mixed feelings which seem to have developed regarding the more public roles of women as public censure warred with the defiance of women writers, Lacy, by calling his own shrew "Margaret" rather than "Katherina", could mock and even maliciously "tame", one of the leading women writers of the day; one, moreover, who had in fact helped to keep the English theatre alive during the dangerous years of the Commonwealth by both writing and publishing many of her own plays²⁵. Two of these plays written by Cavendish - The Female Academy, published in

²⁴Elaine Hobby, The Virtue of Necessity, 111. The "poor woman" in question is likely to be either Frances Boothby, or, as Van Lennep believes, Aphra Behn. There is another account of this incident in The London Stage, 163.

²⁵Cavendish produced two volumes of plays, entitled Plays Written by the Thrice Noble, Illustrious and Excellent Princess, the Lady Marchioness of Newcastle, published in 1662, and Plays Never Before Printed, Written by the Thrice Noble, Illustrious and Excellent Princess, The Duchess of Newcastle.

1662, and The Female Wits, published in 1668 - examine in a quite specific fashion the idea of intelligent women outwitting the men in the play²⁶. This was a theme which she continued in such prose works as The New Blazing World, where Cavendish writes, as in her play The Convent of Pleasure, of the pleasant and indeed joyful existence led by women who live without men, whom she describes as "the only troublers of Women"²⁷.

Margaret Cavendish was, moreover, a distinctive figure in Restoration society not only for her writing abilities; she was also a great individualist in her personal style. One of her more outrageous habits was her preference for mixing the elements of both male and female dress, creating the outward appearance of a hybrid between the two sexes; indeed, at one point in 1665 she also imitated male behaviour as well as adopting their dress²⁸. However, Cavendish's outspoken and often eccentric ways and her writings did not greatly diminish her social position; she was a much sought after member of the court of Charles II and of the nobility. There are accounts of people waiting in court for literally days, hoping that she would make an appearance, including Samuel Pepys; however Pepys also described her, in his diary entry of March 18, 1668, as "a mad, conceited, ridiculous woman", indicating that there was a certain ambivalence in

²⁶This should not be confused with the anonymous work of 1696 - Cavendish's play, though never performed, pre-dates the satirical work by some thirty years.

²⁷Todd, 29.

²⁸Douglas Grant, Margaret the First: A Biography of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle 1623-1673, London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1957, 15.

attitudes towards the Duchess, just as there was towards women's increasingly public roles in society²⁹. Part of the difficulties which Restoration society had with Cavendish no doubt also arose from her decision to write and speak on traditional very male topics; not only did she usurp the male prerogative in her decision to write, but she also wrote quite extensively on scientific matters, and was in fact the first woman to do so. Both this audacious work and her visit in May of 1667 Cavendish to the Royal Society - as in her scientific writing, the first woman to pay such a visit - where she conversed with the learned men of the Society, contributed to the hostility and ridicule she often incited in writers and commentators of the time.

There is a certain irony in this attitude, as the Duchess, in common with most female writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, prefaces much of her work with, and often includes with the body of the text, an apology for "her own audacity in writing at all, being a woman". Cavendish, in common with most early female writers, was evidently quite aware of the controversy her writings were causing and took some pains to attempt to allay this controversy; however, given the continuing debate surrounding her public behaviour and her writings, these apologies were perhaps taking on the attributes of a formality, as opposed to a sincere defence of the woman's right to express herself³⁰.

²⁹Grant, 184.

³⁰I first raised this issue of the link between the Duchess of Newcastle and Lacy's shrew in a December 1995 Notes and Queries article.

Like the Duchess of Newcastle, Lacy's Margaret realises that her voice is the greatest power - and weapon - which a woman can possess; however, Lacy's Margaret uses her power unwisely and for malicious purposes, rather than in the constructive manner of Davenant's Beatrice, who uses her voice to correct what she perceives as injustice in her society. It could be argued, therefore, that Margaret, who like the Duchess of Newcastle speaks unabashedly on male subjects and defies the dictates of her society in her behaviour, is in fact Lacy's portrayal of an extreme version of one of the most famous, or indeed infamous, women of the time; in this light, Margaret can be viewed as something of a warning about what women could become if they continue in their folly of speaking out and following Margaret's outspoken ways.

From the very beginning of Sauny the Scot, Lacy has sought to make Margaret a suitably unattractive and, and perhaps more importantly, unsympathetic protagonist; she could even be termed an antagonist. In a departure from The Taming of the Shrew, Margaret is introduced to the audience in a flurry of abuse; she is described by Woodall at length in disparaging terms,

That is to say, we shall have leave to have our Heads broken...to her, you are Young, and may clap Trammel's on her, and strike her to a Pace in time³¹

as compared to Gremio's initial comments upon Katherina, "To cart her rather. She's too rough for me."³² By having his characters

³¹ John Lacy, Sauny the Scot, London: Cornmarket P Ltd., 1969, 2.

³² William Shakespeare, The Taming of the Shrew, Routledge: London, 1981, I.i.55.

constantly dwelling on Margaret's reputed negative attributes, Lacy prejudices the audience against his shrew before she even opens her mouth. This negativity is reinforced in Margaret's response to her sister's suitors' offensive remarks; though both Margaret and Katherina have similar initial responses to this opening abuse, Margaret goes on to brutally and violently revile her detractors,

Take heed I don't bestow the Breaking of your Calves
Head for you; You Mate, Marry come up; go, get you a
Sempstress, and run in score with her for Muckinders
to dry your Nose with, and marry her at last to pay
the Debt: And you there, Goodman Turnep-eater, with
you Neats-Leather Phisnomy, I'll send you Kitchen-
wench to Liquor it this Wet-weather: Whose old Bootes
was it cut out of? (Lacy, 2.)

This prolonged and rather coarse tirade compares with Katherina's own response,

...doubt not her care should be
To comb your noddle with a three-legg'd stool,
And paint your face, and use you like a fool.
(Shakespeare, I.i.63-5.)

which is a direct reply to Hortensio's admonition, "No mates for you/Unless you were of gentler, milder mould" (Shakespeare, I.i.60.) and not the abusive and curiously pointless diatribe delivered by Margaret. Whereas Katherina's reply does indicate a certain amount of wit and ability to play with language, Margaret speech seems to be merely ranting, and this diminishes her as a character in the eyes of the audience.

This unsympathetic portrayal of Margaret continues with her treatment of Biancha, who is made, in turn, a much more sympathetic character than Shakespeare's Bianca. This alteration serves to increase Margaret's isolation as the sole source of

disruption and strife; now, when Margaret makes her next appearance, it is by pushing her passive and silent sister onto the stage in yet another torrent of insults and threats and contrasting to the same scene as presented in the Shakespearean original. Not only does Bianca open the scene herself with a speech in defense of her behaviour, but she also includes a touch of malice of her own, "So well I know my duty to my elders." (Shakespeare, II.i.7.), and though Kate does strike Bianca as the scene ends, it is in response to Bianca's provocation and not due to her own cruel nature. The language which Margaret employs in this scene is even more abusive than in her earlier altercation with Geraldo and Woodall, as she first grievously insults Bianca "Marry come up Proud Slut" (Lacy, 7) and then moves on to physical threats,

You Flattering Gypsie, I cou'd find in my Heart
to Slit your Dissembling Tongue; Come, tell me and
without Lying, which of your Sutor you Love best, or
I'll beat you to Clouts, and Pinch thee like a Fary.
(Lacy, 7)

This increasingly violent and malicious behaviour gives Lacy's Margaret a disturbing dimension of viciousness and cruelty which is lacking in Shakespeare's Katherina; Katherina is certainly unhappy and outspoken, but she is not deliberately malignant and also demonstrates intelligence and wit; Lacy's Margaret, however, becomes actively venomous and seems to display no redeeming qualities. Lacy seems to be mocking outspoken woman and attempting to portray her solely as a harridan who constantly disrupts both family life and society as a whole.

Moreover, Lacy seems to reinforce the idea of a woman's

primary power coming from her voice, thus giving even more incentive for this often disturbing factor to be controlled. To this end, Katherina's physical attack upon Bianca is excised from Lacy's adaptation; though Margaret does "fly" at Biancha, as Katherina does, upon the entrance of the sisters' father, she does not actually strike her. Though Margaret is undoubtedly a vicious and malicious woman, she only uses her tongue to cause misery, and does not cross the line into the realm of the physical. The omission from Lacy's play is a curious one, for it would seem to suit his purpose to portray his shrew as being as much of a monster as possible; this decision could indicate a desire to refrain from allowing direct physical violence against a play's female characters, now that the roles were truly played by women. The alteration, however, also reinforces the view that Margaret's, and by extension, all women's, true power over her peers and equals - Sauny, the prime recipient of Margaret's physical abuse, is after all merely an impudent servant - is in her verbal abilities, and is not located at all in the physical.

Lacy changes not only the perception of Margaret in the scene involving her disagreement with Biancha, but also changes the dynamics of the first encounter between the shrew and her future tamer. Petruchio allows his servant, Sauny, to remain on stage during the entire scene; the scene is no longer the battle between two equal opponents which it is in The Taming of the Shrew. By not only adding a third character, but a third character who is an active supporter of one of the combatants,

the symmetry of the scene is disrupted, and the quick pace and the wit of the Shakespearean original is lost. The match between Petruchio and Margaret now seems not to be a marriage between potential equals, but a forced marriage between an unwilling woman and a brutal bully, who actively encourages his servants to abuse his potential bride, "Take heed, Peg, Sauny's a Desperate Fellow" (Lacy, 11.) and then takes their part when they incur Margaret's anger,

Marg. Aye you, why then I'll give you a favour, and thus I'll tye it one, there's for you. [*beats him.*]...

Pet. I'll swear I'll cuff you, if you Strike agen.
(Lacy, 11.)

This is yet another departure from The Taming of the Shrew, where Petruchio indeed does threaten Katherina, but after she strikes *him*, and not an abusive servant.

This shift in intention by Lacy's Petruchio is made clear as he continues to wear Margaret down and bludgeon her resolve to be independent. Shakespeare's Petruchio effectively out-talks Katherina, thereby beating her at her own game, and in this way receiving her father's countenance to marry her; Lacy's Petruchio, however, does not equal this feat. When Margaret continues to spurn him, Petruchio uses Sauny, who has already insulted Margaret, to keep her on stage, instructing him to "Stop her Sirrah, stop her." (Lacy, 11.), though Shakespeare's Petruchio uses no physical force against Katherina whatsoever, despite being struck himself, and cleverly uses wit to keep his Katherina from leaving him too soon. Instead, Petruchio in Sauny the Scot falls back upon man's traditional answer to female defiance - brute strength.

He makes his true intentions towards his prospective bride known, as he threatens "Hold, get me a Stick there Sauny; by this hand, deny to Promise before your Father, I'll not Leave you a whole rib" (Lacy, 12.) and then escalates his threats when even this threatened beating fails to break Margaret's will, "have you I will, or no man ever shall...his throat will I Cut, before he lyes one night with thee, it may be thine too for company" (Lacy, 12.). The superior physical strength of the male has long been a traditional argument for the mental and social superiority of men over women, just as women's physical weakness has been linked to their supposed intellectual and spiritual inferiority, and Lacy apparently is not adverse to invoking this conventional argument to justify his treatment of his shrew.

This brutality to a certain extent is further justified by Margaret's own apparent complicity in her marriage to Petruchio, if not in his eventual treatment of her; Lacy inserts an admission, in an aside to the audience, that "The Devil's in this fellow, he has beat me at my own Weapon, I have a good mind to marry him to try if he can Tame me." (Lacy, 12.). This tacit acceptance of Petruchio and his bullying, threatening ways, makes her treatment at his hands more acceptable to the audience, as it makes her almost a willing collaborator in his abuse of her. This also makes Petruchio's explanation of her behaviour in publically rejecting him rather less ingenious than in Shakespeare, as she has already indicated that she will accept him; Petruchio is unknowingly telling the truth when he asserts "we have made a bargain that before Company she shall maintain

a little of her Extravagant Humour" (Lacy, 12), and not outwitting a worthy opponent. Her later assertion, "As I live I will not" (Lacy, 13), is now simply a fulfilment of Petruchio's "bargain" with her, and not the assertion of her identity as it is in The Taming of the Shrew.

Lacy, in his adaptation, in fact does the opposite of Davenant in The Law Against Lovers; Davenant gave his female characters an identity and voice in their own right. Lacy strips away all vestige of Margaret's personality and individuality, turning her into a stereotyped harridan, and not the subtle and complex creation which Shakespeare made Katherina. Bianca as well is altered, changing her from the complicated woman, who initially appears to be naive and innocent yet proves to be as independent as her older sister, into yet another stereotype, this time of the virtuous, obedient woman. By turning the female characters into little more than caricatures, Lacy takes away not only their individuality, but also their identity, and their unique voice.

This new way of viewing the female characters is emphasised by Lacy's decision to make Margaret at least partially complicit in her own humiliation; she has already lost her identity to the whims of the dominant male in the play. Everything which Margaret says and does, after this one comment, will be suspect in the eyes of the audience; she is virtually Petruchio's accomplice, and they must now wonder if she does truly wish to "see him hang'd before I'll have him, unless it be to scratch his

Eyes out" (Lacy, 16). As in The Taming of the Shrew, Petruchio's late appearance to his wedding does cause genuine emotion, as Lacy follows Shakespeare's original stage directions in calling for the shrew to leave the stage in tears at Petruchio's apparent defection. It is doubly insulting to Margaret; not only is she shamed by the fact that her prospective husband is late for his own wedding, but his behaviour must make her think again about her own secretly acknowledged decision to marry him, since he now appears to be rejecting her. Margaret's own voice is now being turned against her by Lacy, as her statements first cause her to lose the audience's sympathies, and then cause her to admit to positive feelings regarding a man who now seems to be mocking her.

She again loses the sympathy of the audience through her railing as the tension caused by Petruchio's non-appearance grows. Despite her acquiescence to the marriage and her own admission of acceptance of Petruchio, Margaret rails against Beaufoy,

you have us'd me finely, and like a Father; I must be forc'd to give my hand against my will, to a rude mad brain'd Fellow...This comes of obeying you, if I do't again, were you ten thousand Fathers hang me.
(Lacy, 15.)

as she attempts to shift the blame for her own mistake in accepting Petruchio onto someone else. Again, Margaret uses abusive and inappropriate language for a woman, or at least language which is inappropriate from the point of view of Lacy and of the other critics of Margaret Cavendish and the other vocal and published women of the Restoration. Her behaviour

throughout the early scenes of the play is at odds with the behaviour of Katherina in The Taming of the Shrew; whereas Katherina, despite the fact that she has never assented to her proposed marriage on stage, is more concerned with her own shame than with who may be responsible for her situation as she asserts "No shame but mine" (Shakespeare, III.ii.9.), Margaret is concerned with blame and revenge. It seems that all of the changes which Lacy has made to the character of the shrew are designed to diminish her in the eyes of the public and strip her of her humanity, with the result that this out-spoken and independent woman will be viewed with censure and condemnation.

The reason for this constant negativity towards the character of the shrew becomes clear once the play moves beyond the wedding of Petruchio and Margaret and into the scenes of the "taming" itself. Lacy's play, presumably under the guise of farce and broad comedy, develops its misogynistic tendencies in its attitude and its behaviour towards Margaret towards the end of act three, as she first enters Petruchio's house. As in The Taming of the Shrew, Petruchio begins to immediately curse and abuse his servants, establishing his violent nature, while Margaret hopes to regain some control over her situation, anticipating that "Sure he will run himself out of Breath, and then it will be my turn" (Lacy, 23.) and waiting for the opportunity to use her own weapons and engage in a war of wits and words with her proposed tamer.

This is, however, a forlorn hope, for unlike Shakespeare's

Petruchio, Lacy's Petruchio relies on humiliation and cruelty in order to subdue his new wife. As Margaret attempts to retire for the night, Petruchio halts her with "Where are you, you Rogues? some lights there, come Peg undress to bed, to bed." (Lacy, 24), ordering her to disrobe while all of his male servants are still present. When she refuses to comply, "Pray send your Men away, and call for some of your Maids" (Lacy, 24), Petruchio responds with an even more outrageous command, "Maids, hang Maids, I have no such vermine about my house, any of these will do as well; Here Sauny come hither Sirrah, and undress your Mistress" (Lacy, 24-5). Gary Taylor suggests that this scene, with a male actor preparing to undress an actress, may have been inserted to capitalise fully on the new use of actresses; that is, Petruchio orders his male servant to undress his wife in the full view of the audience in order to offer the public a sense of titillation which is not available in the Shakespearean original³³. However, this scene also has much darker undertones, as such an action on Petruchio's part would cause Margaret deep mortification and a terrible humiliation at being undressed by an unknown man, a male servant. Even Margaret's most reasonable requests - that she be afforded the most basic right of privacy - is penalised by Petruchio and treated with contempt.

This contempt for Margaret and her rights and concerns is emphasised as Lacy, through Petruchio, openly mocks the emerging female public speaker and writer. For just as Margaret Cavendish

³³Gary Taylor, Reinventing Shakespeare: A Cultural History from the Restoration to the Present, London: Hogarth P, 1989, 20.

assumed aspects of male dress, and occasionally male behaviour as well, daring to write and publish her thoughts about the male preserves of science and philosophy, and just as her fellow women writers intruded upon the male domain of the stage and of literature, so Margaret the shrew is forced to assume what Lacy viewed as the masculine behaviour of the outspoken woman of the Restoration. This compelled adoption of male habits is presumably intended to teach Margaret, through force if necessary, the folly of a woman trying to act as and to be equal to a man. Thus the mortification of Margaret continues as Petruchio seeks to prove the foolishness of his wife's forceful language and behaviour, of her attempts at independence with its usurpation of the male prerogative, by inviting her to participate in male behaviour and to assume the manly habits which should accompany her manly behaviour.

To this end, Petruchio insists that Margaret both drink beer and smoke tobacco with him, behaviour which a woman of the upper classes of the time would not consider appropriate, and which a man of the upper classes of the time would not think of suggesting to a woman, let alone compelling her to participate. Margaret's disdain for such behaviour is clear by her response to Petruchio's invitation "I'll keep thee waking, I warrant thee; Ho Curtis bring us a Flaggon of March Beer, and some Tobacco, and clean Pipes, we'll be merry" (Lacy, 25); she says outright, "Why what d'ye mean are you Mad?...Why you dont take me to be one of your fellow Tospots" (Lacy, 25), indicating that this is not acceptable behaviour on Petruchio's part.

Petruchio's response to Margaret's protest is to insist that "I mean to Teach thee to Drink; thou must Learn that, or thou'rt no Wife for me" (Lacy, 25); this is a revealing comment, as Petruchio in fact admits that he realises that women of social position do not truly indulge in this behaviour - if they did, he would not have to teach Margaret how to drink - and the audience may take the implication that Petruchio is seeking to humiliate Margaret through his insistence that she join him in these male habits. Petruchio does not end his persecution with his success in making Margaret join him in drinking his beer; he also attempts to "make a meer Hackney Horse" (Lacy, 25) of Margaret by preparing a pipe for her and inviting her to smoke. Despite Petruchio's assertion that "young Ladies are often troubled with the Tooth-ach, and take it in their Chambers, though they won't appear Good Fellows amongst us" (Lacy, 25), his use of the term "Good Fellows" implies that he is fully aware of the fact that this use of tobacco is an almost exclusively male habit, and this idea is in fact confirmed by Margaret's complaint "What d'offer me your nasty Tobacco for?" (Lacy, 25), which like her earlier comment regarding drinking, affirms her distaste for such behaviour and demonstrates that her spirit and resolve have not yet been broken.

The intent of the scene clearly is to force Margaret to realise that she cannot be a "good fellow", that she is not a man, can never be a man or indeed even an equal amongst men. By forcing Margaret to take part in male behaviour, Petruchio is not only taunting her with the prohibitions upon her behaviour which

have been dictated by a patriarchal society, but is also trying to force her to see the folly in her ways. He is attempting to force her to recognise that there are some activities which, like smoking and drinking, do not become women - presumably speaking out, and other forms of public expression are to be included in these prohibitions. If Petruchio cannot make Margaret recognise and acknowledge this "truth", then it seems that he will be content to at least make her admit this idea publicly, whatever she may think privately; Petruchio does not seem to truly care whether or not Margaret really believes in the dogma which he is attempting to teach her. He merely wishes to make her acquiesce to his demands, to follow his own view of what is becoming to a woman, rather than following the dictates of her own conscience; this acquiescence on the part of Margaret would, moreover, demonstrate Petruchio's control over her only tool against her oppressors, as he would be bending her voice to suit his own purposes.

It is almost certainly to this end that Lacy has inserted this scene of the public humiliation of his shrew. By using what Lacy sees as broad, physical humour, the playwright may instruct his audience in the appropriate behaviour of women, and show not only how ridiculous women may look when they try to act as men act and ape male behaviour, but also to prove that women do not have the stomach to truly act as men; that is, that they cannot stomach true masculine behaviour. Again, it is likely that Margaret Cavendish is one of Lacy's prime targets, as she was known to not only adopt male dress on occasion, but also

"instead of courtesies, made legs and bows to the ground with her hand and head", and it was to some extent her perceived eccentricities which contributed to her notoriety³⁴. Cavendish had dwelt upon the perceived changes to women's behaviour and their changing public role during the years of the Commonwealth, discussing the outspoken women who were

affecting a Masculinacy...practising the behaviour
(but not the spirits) of men...to Swagger, to Swear,
to Game, to Drink, to Revell, to make Factions³⁵

Such a direct comment upon the changes in women's actions by such a prominent woman of the time cannot have but had some effect upon Lacy's portrayal of Margaret and her humiliation in this scene.

After this humiliation, Petruchio's behaviour grows more outrageous and extreme, no doubt preparing the audience for the brutalities of the play's final act. Like Katherina, Margaret is driven by her frustration, as well as her hunger, to beat Sauny, who has once more been tormenting her, However, here Lacy makes yet another departure from the basic plot of The Taming of the Shrew, Margaret is then apparently struck herself by Sauny, as Geraldo, upon entering, exclaims "Why how now, Sirrah, Will you strike your Mistress? You Cowardly Rogue strike a Woman." (Lacy, 27); it is worth noting that it is one of Petruchio's cohorts who admonishes the servant for his violence, indicating

³⁴Grant, 184. This incident, recorded in 1665 by Sir Charles Lyttelton, was not by any means the only instance of Cavendish appropriating male dress and behaviour. In addition, she often would incorporate aspects of male and female dress in one costume, for both effect and comfort.

³⁵Fraser, 224 from Cavendish, The Worlds Olio, 74-5.

that Lacy was aware that such behaviour was not to be borne. This apparent action on the part of Sauny is not at all in keeping with the use of violence on the Restoration stage when it was directed at women; violence of course was allowed, but tended to be directed toward a female character only in the tragedies of the time, where it was used to elicit pity towards the character and a sympathetic response in the audience. The use of violence in this way in a burlesque is out of place, given the stage conventions of the time, and patently brutal.

Despite the escalating levels of cruelty and humiliation which seem to be directed towards her, Margaret continues to protest her treatment and seek assistance, using what little power is left to her. This power still resides in her voice - for all of her mistreatment by the hands of her husband and household, Margaret still retains the use of her one true woman's weapon, though she now changes her tactics somewhat in her attempt to thwart her husband. Where she once would command, she now entreats Geraldo, a man she once reviled, to help her make good her escape, "O Mr. Geraldo, never was Poor Woman so us'd. For Charity sake Convey me home to my Father" (Lacy, 27); the once proud Margaret has now descended to the point where she will beg for help, making her humiliation at the hands of Petruchio and Sauny complete. Though she does still have the resolve to attempt her release, the marriage to which she once consented, as Katherina never did, has now become a torture to be escaped even at the cost of her dignity.

However, her entreaties come to nought, as Petruchio and his servants enlist Geraldo, her one hope of release from her misery, to their cause, with the result that Margaret is now completely alone on the stage with her tormentors. Apparently not content with physically tormenting Margaret, Petruchio now attempts to control her mind and thus leave her nothing that she can call her own. As he has proved unsuccessful in his attempts to control her voice, Petruchio seeks to nullify her protests and her power by asserting that her mind in fact is unhinged; this is something of a traditional ploy on the part of an unwilling society. Margaret Cavendish was herself often referred to as being half-mad, or as the mad Duchess, as opposed to being merely eccentric, and many of the more active and vocal of the female preachers and prophets of the years of the Civil War - perhaps most notably Eleanor Douglas - were declared mad and even imprisoned in an effort to have them dismissed by the public and therefore under control; if a woman's voice could not be silenced, than the words she spoke had to be discredited.

If declared mad by her husband, that "My poor Dear Peg's Distracted" (Lacy, 27), Margaret would lose all hope of retaining any remaining power or dignity in her marriage, for though she could still use her voice, she would not be heard. Margaret is well aware of her danger, as she implores "Why Sir, Pray tell me, have you a mind to make me Mad? this is the way indeed: Howe have I injur'd you, that you use me thus inhumanely?" (Lacy, 27); again, when faced with this great threat to her voice - and to her reason - Margaret uses her most potent weapon in order to

preserve her safety and defuse the situation, demonstrating the potential power of the woman's voice, and its possible threat to patriarchal society.

Margaret demonstrates this danger when, upon hearing of the marriage of her sister - her former rival - she immediately responds "If she be Match'd as I am, Heaven help her!" (Lacy, 27); Margaret now sees marriage as a torture, and given Petruchio's earlier implied threats to her sanity and liberty, as a prison as well. Her acknowledgement that attending this wedding will bring her some relief, "But there's some Comfort in going Home; there's Meat and Sleeping-room" (Lacy, 27) seems to be tempered with dismay and a lack of comfort at her sister's destiny as a wife, as she contemplates the misery her own married life, "Let me but once see Lincolns-Inn-Fields agen, and yet thou shalt not Tame me" (Lacy, 29). Margaret, however, is still unbowed, and continues to assert her right to speak and to protest,

I know not what you mean to do with me, but methinks I might have leave to speak, and speak I will, I am no Child, no Baby; your Betters have endur'd me to speak my mind, and if you cannot you had best stop your Ear; 'Tis better set my Tongue at Liberty, then see my Heart break. (Lacy, 28)

Margaret, unlike Katherina, is not in any way tamed or taught by Petruchio's behaviour towards her, which makes her just as much of a threat to the patriarchy as before her marriage as she will speak out against her own treatment and warn other women of her fate; she plots to "be reveng'd, I'll muster up the Spight of all the Curs'd Women since Noahs Flood to do him Mischief, and add new Vigour to my Tongue" (Lacy, 39) in an act of defiance which

foreshadows the final confrontation between herself and Petruchio in the play's last act.

This final act - which is comprised of only one scene - of Sauny the Scot is entirely of Lacy's invention; there is no trace of the Shakespearean original in either the language or in the action. The scene is also quite overtly brutal and sadistic; though the encounter between Margaret and Petruchio is no doubt meant to be comic - the play is, after all, supposed to be a farce - the final act portrays in chilling detail the final humiliation and victimisation of Margaret, and through her, of all women who would dare to question their society, their husbands, and their husbands right to dominate them.

The act opens with the sisters now reconciled; as Margaret, having discovered that she cannot trust men as represented by her husband, her father and Geraldo, turns to the only other prominent woman in the play for support and comfort; Biancha can only listen in disbelief, "But is't Possible sister, he shu'd have us'd you thus?" (Lacy, 39) as Margaret launches into a vilification of all men. Petruchio and his cohorts have so destroyed her faith in men that she now sees every man as a potential tormentor, warning the incredulous Biancha,

Thou art a Fool Biancha, come Learn of me; thou art Married to a man too, thou dost not know but thou mayst need my Councel, and make good use on't; Thy Husband bares thee fair yet, but take heed of going home with him, for when once he has thee within his verge, 'tis odds he'll have his freaks too; there's no trusting these Men...thou must Learn to break him, or he'll break thy Heart (Lacy, 39)

There is a great deal of truth in this statement, for as T. Edgar

phrased it, "the prerogative of the Husband is best discerned in his dominion over all external things in which the wife by combination devesteth"; though women in the Restoration era were beginning to feel their own power in the public sphere, they were still legally under the control of their husbands and were subject to his whims both financially and socially³⁶. Margaret's impassioned speech could not have but struck a chord in the hearts of many married women in the audience, as they saw played out in front of their eyes what could be their own fate, given the tenuous legal position of women³⁷.

Margaret proceeds to launch an immediate attack upon her unkind husband, invoking "brave Anger, thou hast a Tongue, make use on't" (Lacy, 39)³⁸. A woman who is no longer afraid to use this most potent instrument of revenge proves to a formidable adversary to Petruchio, as Margaret first openly and publically abuses Petruchio "thou art a Pittiful fellow, a thing beneath me, which I scorn and Laugh at" (Lacy, 40), but then moves on to a more dangerous proposition, "I'll speak your Fame, and tell what a fine Gentleman you are; how Valliantly you, and halfe a Douzen of your men, got the better of a Single Woman" (Lacy, 41). The first of these outbursts Petruchio could ignore; the second,

³⁶Edgar, 129.

³⁷Elaine Hobby points out that in 1650 - some eighteen years after Thomas Edgar wrote his legal guide for women - a change to the Act of Subscribing the Engagement altered the word "persons" to "men", which resulted, in effect, in women being "subsumed into their husbands' identities". Hobby, 17.

³⁸It is interesting to note that one of the prominent women writers of the sixteenth century was the midwife Jane Anger - though this name may have been a pseudonym for the woman's real name - who wrote "Her Sharp Revenge" against male disparagers of women.

however, must be addressed, as a woman speaking publically against her husband could undermine the traditional place of obedience in the list of wifely duties.

Both Margaret and Petruchio are well aware of the importance of the woman's voice and its potential power in society, as was proved by the uprising of women during the years of the Commonwealth; to control a woman's voice is to control her identity. To this end, Petruchio attempts to nullify Margaret's voice, as first Sauny asserts that "Gud she Lyes" (Lacy, 41), so that the listeners may distrust her words, then Petruchio seeks to ridicule Margaret's speech, "I shou'd Laugh at that" (Lacy, 41) and keep his audience from taking her words seriously. As he escalates his campaign of usurping the power of Margaret's voice, by urging her to speak on at *his* behest, "Prithee Chide on, thou can'st not believe what Delight I take to hear thee...Prithee talk more and longer, and faster, and sharper, this is nothing" (Lacy, 42), and thereby taking both Margaret's power and her identity as his own. Margaret realises that he is now using her speech against her. With an exclamation of "I'll see you in the Indies before I'll do any thing to please you" (Lacy, 42), Margaret refuses to fight on Petruchio's terms, asserting her right to fight on her terms; she refuses to speak, realising that this, paradoxically, is the only way to regain her control over her voice and identity.

It is with this final assertion of her own control over herself that Lacy's farce reaches its most violent section. As

Petruchio is defeated by Margaret's refusal to speak, he falls back upon brute force in order to break her to his will. Under the guise of a solicitous regard for Margaret's health, Petruchio asserts that "she has the Tooth-ach" (Lacy, 42) and reaches his own conclusion about how to make Margaret speak and therefore stop her defiance of her husband's will. He essentially threatens Margaret with his taunting, "Wilt thou have it Drawn, Peg?...there is no Cure, but Drawing: what say'st thou?" (Lacy, 42), making clear his intention to have her teeth pulled if she continues to oppose his will. Even his fellow tormentor Sauny is astonished at Petruchio's ferocity, which prompts even more violence from his master, "What d'ye stand staring at? Run and fetch him immediately, or I'll cut your Legs off" (Lacy, 42). It is clear that the other characters are aware of Petruchio's ruse, with Winlove going so far as to tacitly approve, "This will make her find her tongue agen, or else for certain she has lost it" (Lacy, 42) - a sentiment which bodes ill for Biancha. Fittingly perhaps, only Biancha offers any sympathy for the besieged Margaret, "I'll be gone, I can't endure to see her put to so much Pain" (Lacy, 43), but she is herself helpless in the face an apparent conspiracy on the part of the male characters against the outspoken Margaret.

When not even the threat of pain and violence fails to dampen Margaret's resolve - she responds to Petruchio in kind, by striking out at the waiting Barber while still keeping resolutely silent - Petruchio uses the ultimate threat: if the fear of torture will not move Margaret, then surely the fear of

death will. While still feigning deep concern and some sorrow for Margaret's fate, Petruchio orders that a bier be brought and apparently resolves to bury her alive if she will not obey him; the use of burying alive - which is effectively suffocation - is particularly significant, as it strikes at a woman's voice as well as at her life³⁹. There is no other possible interpretation of this action; Petruchio plainly and venomously snarls "Speak, or by this hand I'll bury thee alive" (Lacy, 43) - he would seemingly rather see her dead than no longer upon his complete control. As the events of the scene unfold, it becomes clear that this is no idle threat,

I. Bear. Why what d'ye mean Sir? She is not Dead.

Pet. Rogues, tell me such a Lye to my face? Take her up or I'll swinge ye.

Saun. Tak her up, tak her up, we'll mak her Dead Billy, ye'st a twa Croons mear, tak her up Man.

I. Bear. Dead or alive all's one to us, let us but have our fees.

Pet. There, nay she is stiff, however on with her, Will you not Speak yet? So here take these Strings, and bind her on the Beir. (Lacy, 44)

as Petruchio suborns the entire cast to assist in his machinations.

Margaret makes one final attempt to assert herself and her rights, imploring her family to help her "Father, Sister...Will you expose me to open shame?" (Lacy, 45); to oppose Petruchio she needs the support of her family and her society. The harsh

³⁹Burying alive and strangulation have in fact been traditional ways of killing disobedient women; both are ways of stopping a woman's voice forever, as well as ending her life. In ancient times disgraced vestal virgins were buried alive for their alleged crimes, and of course in Greek tragedy Antigone was also buried alive for defying the authorities and burying her brothers body. In Shakespearean and Jacobean tragedy, Desdemona is suffocated by her husband for alleged infidelity, while the Duchess of Malfi is strangled for defying her brothers' and daring to marry.

reality is, however, that as Petruchio's wife she has no rights and not even her father can help her; with her marriage she effectively became Petruchio's property and he may do with her what he wills, for

if a man beat an out-law, a traitor, a Pagan, his villein or his wife, it is dispunishable, because by the Law Common these persons can have no action: God send Gentle-women better sport, or better companie⁴⁰

Petruchio reinforces his power, once again asserting "'tis a Demon speaks within her Body; Take her up again, we'll bury 'em together" (Lacy, 45), a statement which draws upon a long tradition of misogynistic beliefs of the susceptibility of women to the devil's blandishment. This final threat proves to be too much for even Margaret's resolve, and with no support from family or friends, she has no choice but to admit to Petruchio "you have overcome me." (Lacy, 45).

It is only the threat of being buried alive which makes Lacy's shrew change her independent ways, an ugly conclusion which implies that the best way - indeed perhaps the only way - for men to truly control women is through physical force and brutal violence. The tacit acceptance of this situation by the remaining characters on stage is particularly disturbing; no one intercedes on Margaret's behalf or takes her part against the apparent brutality of her husband, instead preferring to accept that he has all rights over her and may therefore act as he likes. Indeed, in a chilling moment on stage, at the moment of Margaret's final humiliation and her acknowledgement of her

⁴⁰Edgar, 128.

defeat, all of the characters give a rousing cheer.

The impact of the humiliation and eventual defeat of the independent-minded Margaret is initially somewhat mitigated by the changes made to the other female characters, most notably to Biancha. With virtual removal of the character of the Widow, the virtuous and obedient Biancha becomes the sole point of comparison to the shrew; the entire courtship of Biancha is retained as a romantic counterpoint to Petruchio's harsh wooing of Margaret. However, the nature of Lacy's Biancha has been subtly altered, giving her a different caste than her Shakespearean original.

As in The Taming of the Shrew, Biancha is introduced as the quiet, modest daughter who is being pursued by two gallants. Significantly, she does not speak at all during her first appearance on the stage, so that all knowledge of her character comes from the conversation of her two would-be suitors and she does not have the opportunity to establish her own identity; she is introduced to the audience by the male characters, and it is the male characters who are the ones who make the initial contrast between Biancha and her sister.

When the audience next sees Biancha on the stage, it is as the victim of her sister's abuse; in Lacy's version of this scene, instead of taking the initiative and speaking first to her enraged sister, Biancha can only react to her situation rather than taking any real action of her own. While in The Taming of

the Shrew there is more than a hint of mischief and even spite in Bianca's speech to Katherina and her comment "what you will command me will I do,/So well I know my duty to my elders." (Shakespeare, II.i.6-7), a malicious comment upon both Katherina's age and unmarried state, and the shrewishness and lack of obedience which has led to her unhappy circumstances, Lacy's Bianca believes that Margaret has "but Jested with me all this while; I know you are not Angry with me" (Lacy, 8). She is a much more innocent and naive individual, and much more straight-forward.

This innocence is borne out by her behaviour during the courting scenes with Winlove and Geraldo where, unlike in The Taming of the Shrew, Bianca does not engage in any courtship games or deception with Winlove, but speaks her feelings plainly, "I know not how to believe you. But if it be true, Noble Mr. Winlove deserves to be belov'd" (Lacy, 14), nor does she lead Geraldo to believe that she may accept him when she clearly prefers Winlove. Her only real deceit comes in her collaboration with Winlove in her agreement to be secretly married to her lover; in effect, defying her father. Even in this instance, however, she endears herself to the audience with her awareness of the enormity of her action; while Winlove overflows with romantic imagery, "Now my Bianca I am truly Happy, our Loves shall like the Spring be ever growing" (Lacy, 37), Bianca focuses upon the reality of their situation, "But how shall we Escape my Fathers Anger...Trust me Sir, I fear the Storm" (Lacy, 37). When her happiness is finally assured, Bianca then

forgives all, and generously approaches the newly arrived Margaret with the wish, "I hope we shall be friends now" (Lacy, 39).

These new aspects of the character of Bianca are calculated to make her more agreeable to the audience; by taking all ambiguity out of her, Margaret seems all the more shrewish and malicious as her younger sister becomes simply her victim, and not the possible tormentor of Shakespeare's play. However, this apparent simplification of Bianca makes her later support of Margaret in the play's final act much more interesting, as well as surprising. Her initial disbelief at Margaret's assertion regarding her own husband as well as men in general quickly changes to grief on Margaret's behalf and finally encouragement for Margaret to rebel, "Fye sister, for shame speak, Will you let him abuse you thus?" (Lacy, 44). The outspokenness of Lacy's Bianca is more shocking and unexpected than in The Taming of the Shrew, for though it is possible to see the beginnings of Bianca's eventual shrewishness in Shakespeare's play, Lacy has portrayed his Bianca in so consistently sympathetic a fashion that her final outburst is as effective in its impact as Margaret's final submission.

Indeed, it seems, the final moments of the play, that something of a subtle role reversal has taken place between the shrewish Margaret and the docile Bianca. Margaret, now cowed and frightened by her husband's actions, becomes the dutiful, obedient woman which Bianca embodied in the play's opening

scenes; Biancha, however, apparently is infuriated by the treatment of her sister and horrified by her husband's apparent compliance with Petruchio's methods of taming, and she now takes over the role of shrew. When she is chided by Winlove for failing to win his wager for him through her failure to come obediently at his command, Biancha ominously answers, "You have not known me long enough to venture so much upon my Duty, I have been my Sister's Schollar a little" (Lacy, 47). The reproach is doubly bitter, for not only does Winlove know little about Biancha's true character, neither does Biancha truly know her husband. Her admission that she is following her sister's lead indicates that Biancha has listened to Margaret's words and now suspects that indeed, "Trust him and hang him, they'r all alike" (Lacy, 39). At the conclusion of the play, it seems that Biancha has at last, through her sister's sufferings, found her voice.

Margaret, however, has bitterly learned the cost of independence and of speaking out, and Petruchio's closing lines indicate that Margaret may yet pay the ultimate price, "I've Tam'd the Shrew, but will not be asham'd, /If next you see the very Tamer Tam'd." (Lacy, 48). This reference to the Fletcher sequel - which likely followed Lacy's adaptation on numerous occasions - implies not only that Petruchio's efforts at taming Margaret were ineffective, as Fletcher's play describes Petruchio's first wife as a life-long termagant, but that his treatment of her leads directly to her death. Given the relationship between the two plays in the Restoration era, the audience likely would be aware throughout the performance of

Margaret's final fate at the hands of her brutal husband, an awareness which would undoubtedly be heightened by brutality shown to Margaret by her husband in the play's final scene.

The overall effect of the play is one that reinforces the importance and power of the woman's voice in society, but which also asserts that this voice must - no doubt for the very reason of its potential power - be controlled; such is the power of the woman's voice that it can, as in the case of Margaret Cavendish, Eleanor Douglas and Aphra Behn, allow a woman to break free of the restraints of society and achieve their own independent identity. In The Law Against Lovers, Davenant presents three strong women from Shakespeare who are not afraid to use their voices and rewards them for their efforts to assert their own identities. Lacy also re-creates a forceful female character; however, when his dominant woman uses her eloquence, she is brutalised. The new conservative atmosphere in Restoration society, brought about by the horrors of the plague year and the rigours of re-building London after the Great Fire, preferred to see the re-institution of the patriarchy under the king, and any new ideas about the role and treatment of women would therefore tend to be treated with suspicion. Society was now concerned with re-establishing the traditional, and in its view proper, order of a conventional patriarchal society; any threat to that society and the security which it offered would be repressed as brutally as is Margaret in Sauny the Scot. There was no room, at this time in Restoration society, for outspoken women to seek to expand the constraints of their role, and Lacy's farce

reflects this lack of tolerance at a difficult time in Restoration history.

CHAPTER FOUR - MACBETH AND
THE INGRATITUDE OF A COMMON-WEALTH

"this so womanly defence"¹

Davenant's Macbeth, first performed in 1664, and Nahum Tate's The Ingratitude of a Common-Wealth, written in 1681, differ from The Law Against Lovers and Sauny the Scot in that both tragedies deal with overtly political women, and the place and voice of such women in society. Whereas Beatrice is forced into participating in the convoluted politics of Turin through the circumstances of the play, the overall tone of The Law Against Lovers is one of social, rather than political, commentary; and Margaret, of course, like Katherina before her, is an entirely a social creature. The women of Davenant's later play of 1664 and Tate's 1681 adaptation are political by their very nature, as well as by inclination. Lady Macbeth is a prime motivator of the political action of Macbeth; she is herself counterpointed by the expanded character of Lady Macduff, a woman who is also politically active in the play but who is rather more akin to Beatrice, in that her politicism arises through the force of circumstance, rather than by choice, as Lady Macduff reacts to her situation instead of attempting to help shape it as does Lady Macbeth. Volumnia, of The Ingratitude of a Common-Wealth, is similar to Lady Macbeth in her search to influence events and take a part in the political life of Rome; she is also counterpointed by a female character who is not innately

¹William Davenant, Macbeth, London: Cornmarket P, 1969, 45.

political, but who must react to circumstances in a political fashion in Virgilia, a character who is, however, a noticeably less political, social or even vocal individual than Davenant's Lady Macduff.

The emphasis in these plays upon political rather than simply social issues helps to ensure the topicality of the plays - particularly in the writing of Prologues and Epilogues for performance, as well as the Prefaces of the published editions - and to heighten audience interest; indeed, Shakespeare used political elements and commentary in a number of his plays, including both Macbeth and Coriolanus. The overt political aspects of these two adaptations, however, are not simply due to the political nature of the original plays; as in The Law Against Lovers, where Davenant somewhat diffused the more controversial social and political aspects of his play by placing the more subversive words and speeches in the mouths of his female characters, the use of strong women to deal with overt political issues offers the playwright the opportunity to present possibly dangerous political commentary with a smaller risk of censorship or even imprisonment by placing the words in the mouth of a woman². Though the words and ideas may be valid, the use of a female character and the corresponding sexually objectified actress to convey those words dilutes their impact enough to

²Laura Rosenthal establishes the on-stage tensions between more independent and assertive women in drama and the diminution of women into objects of sex on those same stages in her essay "Reading Masks: The Actress and the Spectatrix in Restoration Shakespeare", Broken Boundaries: Women and Feminism in Restoration Drama, Katherine Quinsey, ed., Lexington KY: the UP of Kentucky, 1996, 203.

allow the words to spoken at all in a dangerous political climate.

The issue of stage censorship was of vital importance to any playwright during the Restoration era, as Charles II continued the earlier Elizabethan custom of having all plays examined by the official censor, the Master of Revels. If a play was deemed to be subversive in content, then not only were all performances halted but the theatre might be closed, resulting in lost revenue, and the playwright imprisoned. During the relatively peaceful times of the Elizabethan and Jacobean era, many plays could use the useful device of placing the action of a potentially controversial play in a foreign country, and thus deflect the ire of the Master of Revels; it seems that during the early years of the Restoration, such practices continued to hold true, as Davenant successfully transplants the quite overtly political voices of Beatrice and Isabella of The Law Against Lovers to Turin with no censorship difficulties.

As the mood of the Restoration era changed, however, such transparent methods of deflecting censorship were no longer as successful, as the policing of the official censor became more and more prevalent and eventually far more draconian during the upheavals of the Popish Plot and the successive crises of the 1680's. Tate himself felt the sting of the censor's displeasure, as his adaptation of Shakespeare's Richard II, entitled The Sicilian Usurper, was quickly pulled from the stage after only two days of performances after its premiere in December of 1680;

such a catastrophe would surely have influenced his later plays and their depiction of political and social events.

The two plays, Macbeth and The Ingratitude of a Commonwealth, are separated by almost twenty years, and were produced in very different atmospheres, both socially and - most importantly - politically. In November of 1664, when Davenant produced his drama, there was still a lingering sense of euphoria in the country - it was less than three years since Charles II had consolidated his power in England and restored the monarchy, but was still before the Plague Year of 1665 and the Great Fire of London in 1666 - though the remains of the Restoration's initial enthusiasm was beginning to pass as the country returned to the mundane existence of everyday life. However, the political situation was stable enough for Davenant to be allowed some license in his portrayal of both the state of women and the role of women in the state; his Lady Macbeth is not as monstrous and threatening as the character created for the misogynist James VI and I, and is allowed to repent of her actions, while Lady Macduff is a much more outspoken woman. Tate's adaptation, in contrast, was written during a time of great political turbulence; by December of 1681, in the wake of the Popish Plot and in the midst of the Exclusion Crisis, it was necessary for a playwright to be more careful and restrained in the political overtones of both the play and its characters. Tate's Volumnia is therefore rather more stereotyped as a dominant and domineering mother, while Virgilia is more idealised as the stereotypical loyal wife, though Tate does increase Virgilia's

speeches and participation in the plot of his play in order to emphasise her new role. The on-stage portrayal of these women - those who are political by choice and by nature, as are Lady Macbeth and Volumnia, and those who become political through the necessity of circumstance, like Lady Macduff and Virgilia - in the various adaptations demonstrates how the depiction of women on the stage varies according to both the social and above all the political imperative of the time in which that play is written, just as Shakespeare's original plays reflect the necessity of tailoring character depiction to the changing influences which existed in the new court of James VI and I, during which time his original plays were written.

Any social upheaval, whether it is brought about by an advance in a society's fortunes or through a violent disaster or upheaval, involves a re-discovery of social boundaries, as society seeks to redefine itself in the wake of change; in a similar fashion, major political changes and crises also necessitate a similar re-definition of values. As popular entertainment often mirrors the workings of the society in which it is written, the depiction of women of power, such as Lady Macbeth and Volumnia, both in literature and on the stage, can serve to indicate the changing views of a society which are the result of political upheaval. The role which women could play in politics had been debated in European - and particularly English - society for some time: as royal power traditionally passed from male heir to male heir, the women of the royal line were often passed over and did not share in the power inherent

in their position and birth, as in the case of the Salic law in France which sought to ensure that no heir who was descended from the female line could inherit the French throne. During the early seventeenth century, there were many accusations of interference in English politics against the Queen Henrietta Maria, with her actions and advice to the king being cited as a major cause of the downfall of Charles I³. The increasing outspokenness of women during the years of the Interregnum and into the Restoration could only have increased the intensity of this debate, and its resonances were echoed upon the stages of the late seventeenth century.

The seventeenth century had begun with the strong, and above all stable, reign of Elizabeth I, a female monarch who was a well-educated woman, and who brought peace and prosperity to England as it was going through a difficult and tumultuous time during the mid-sixteenth century. The country had been effectively impoverished by the extravagant reign of Henry VIII and the conflict between the Protectors of Henry's young successor, Edward VI; in addition to this financial difficulty, England was still attempting to come to terms with the extensive upheaval caused by the religious turbulence during the reigns of the four monarchs immediately preceding Elizabeth - Henry VIII, Edward VI, Jane Grey and Mary Tudor - with its corresponding

³N.H. Keeble in his collection of writings on seventeenth century women, The Cultural Identity of Seventeenth Century Woman, quotes Lucy Hutchinson on the perceived role of Henrietta Maria in Charles I, as does Antonia Fraser in The Weaker Vessel; Fraser also quotes an anonymous Parliamentary source which states that "Three women ruined the Kingdom: Eve, the Queen and the Countess of Derby" (Fraser, 185).

political turmoil and creation of enemies abroad.

There had been many doubts about the ability of women to rule successfully before Elizabeth came to the throne, these doubts raised most notoriously by Elizabeth's father Henry VIII, who threw the country into religious and social turmoil in his quest for a legitimate male heir; such reservations may have seemed to have been confirmed by the difficult reign of Mary, for though Mary did enact a number of sound fiscal and domestic policies, her reign was also characterised by the religious persecution of Protestants and Dissenters, and was further damaged by an unpopular marriage to Philip of Spain. The reign of the more tolerant Elizabeth was greeted largely with delight by the populace, as the new queen seemed to dispel any doubts of the ability of a woman to rule; however, the seventeenth century began with her death in 1603, and the ascension of James VI of Scotland to the throne, a monarch who had no doubts regarding the unsuitability of women for the political arena. Though James was just one monarch, he helped to influence attitudes in England and re-open the question of the rights of women; it can be no coincidence that soon after James' accession the prolonged pamphlet debate on the nature and character of women, initiated by Swetnam, began its dominance of the public forum, as "The second half of James' reign saw an outburst of misogynistic attacks on women, who were criticized for all sorts of reasons, including aggressiveness and masculine behaviour."⁴

⁴Maurice Lee Jr., Great Britain's Solomon: James VI and I in his Three Kingdoms, Urbana, Ill.: U of Illinois P, 1990, 151-2.

James himself was a notorious misogynist whose "crude and often contemptuous behaviour towards women, did not go down well with observers", and who wasted little time in trying to displace Elizabeth in the hearts and minds of his new subjects: this attempted usurpation of the affection felt for their long-reigning queen by the populace was also a shrewd political decision, as James sought to consolidate his power and his grip upon the English throne⁵. However, it is clear from James early writings, dating from before his accession to the English throne, that his views on women were more than simple political expediency:

for your behaviour to your wife, the Scripture can best give you counsel therein. Treat her as your own flesh; command her as her lord; cherish her as your helper; rule her as your pupil; please her in all things reasonable, but teach her not to be curious in things that belongeth her not. Ye are the head, she is your body; it is your office to command and hers to obey...And to conclude, keep specially three rules with your wife: first, suffer her never to meddle with the politic government of the commonweal⁶

It seems that the Scottish king sought to establish his own opposition to women holding positions of power from an early date, making his views clear while Elizabeth was still on the English throne. There is a distinct contrast between James' view that "as that sexe [the female sex] is frailer then men is, so is it easier to be intrapped in these grosse snares of the Devill [witchcraft]" and views such as those expressed by Thomas Bentley's 1582 praising of virtuous womanhood - and in particular

⁵Graham Parry, The Seventeenth Century: The Intellectual and Cultural Context of English Literature, 1603-1700, London: Longman Group UK Limited, 1989, 25.

⁶N.H. Keeble, ed., The Cultural Identity of Seventeenth Century Woman, London: Routledge, 1994, 150: from Basilikon Doron by James IV and I, 1599.

of Elizabeth I - in his work The Monument of Matrones; indeed, Bentley begins his work thanking God "who hath thus loued England in setting your Highnesse on the throne of his maiestie to execute justice and judgement", emphasising Elizabeth's divine right of rule and the glory of her reign in the opening pages of his work⁷.

James, however, was unimpressed by such views on women, and treated the women of his own court with disdain, rather than with the reverence of Bentley; he created an "informal, masculine place" as "James had a low opinion of women"⁸. This atmosphere of disdain was continued after James' ascension to the English throne where, as the French Ambassador Beaumont relates, "He [James] piques himself on great contempt for women. They are obliged to kneel before when they are presented, he exhorts them openly to virtue, and scoffs with great levity at men who pay them honour."⁹. Many of James' anti-woman sentiments were summed up in his poem "A Satire Against Women":

Even so all wemen are of nature vaine
 Ad can not keepe no secrett unrevealed
 And where as once they do conceive disdain
 They are unable to be reconcealed...
 Ambitious all without regard or shame
 Butt anie measure given to greede of gearre
 Desyring ever for to winne a name...
 For wemen bad are lesse to blame

⁷Christina Lerner, Enemies of God: The Witch-hunt in Scotland, Oxford: Basil Blackwell Publisher Limited, 1983, 93: from Daemonologie by James VI and I; Thomas Bentley, The Monument of Matrones, London: H. Benham, 1582, "The Epistle".

⁸Lee, 142.

⁹David Harris Wilson, King James VI and I, London: Jonathan Cape, 1959, 196.

For that they followe nature everie whaire¹⁰

James makes clear his view that women are inherently flawed and cannot be trusted; they are, in his opinion, inferior in every possible way, to men.

In addition to his behaviour towards the ladies of his court, James' contempt for women included the open neglect of his queen, Anne of Denmark, "a wife with whom his relations were distant", a neglect which eventually led to a complete estrangement from the queen as James became infatuated with a succession of male favourites¹¹. Anne herself was "surrounded by a 'highly sophisticated group of blue-stockings'" and seems to have supported the apparently controversial behaviour of women of the early seventeenth century through her involvement with the increasingly subversive court masques of the time; it seems that James' court became increasingly polarised between the male and openly misogynist atmosphere surrounding the king himself and a more defiant, even subversive, atmosphere surrounding the queen and her circle¹².

James also moved quickly in his bid to supplant Elizabeth in the eyes of his subjects as the true ruler of England - James was not, after all, the legal English heir, though he was the

¹⁰Allan F. Westcott, ed., New Poems by James I of England, New York: Columbia UP, 1911.

¹¹Lee, 151.

¹²Lee, 151-2. A great many of the court masques of James' reign were staged and paid for by the courtiers themselves; Lee cites the example of the Amazons Masque, which was itself entirely paid for and acted by the ladies of the court who surrounded the queen.

final choice of Elizabeth herself; there is some indication that she viewed James as her potential successor from as early as 1583, when she wrote to him reminding him of a promise to follow her counsel. Elizabeth refers to James as "my dear Brother and Cousin", and gives him valuable advice regarding the proper behaviour of princes; "make his word of more account than other men their oaths, as meetest ensigns show the truest badges of a Prince's arms"¹³. Elizabeth herself was originally entombed under the altar of the Chapel of King Henry VII in Westminster Abbey after a splendid funeral befitting a much loved and respected ruler; she was buried with the remains of her paternal grandfather Henry VII, the conqueror and first Tudor monarch, in a chapel which also features the stalls of the Knights of Bath, thereby associating herself in her burial with military success and conquest - it is interesting to note that the military associations of this particular chapel have persisted into the twentieth century, as the chapel now houses both the Royal Air Force Chapel and the Battle of Britain memorial window¹⁴. However, in an act of "posthumous disempowerment", James had Elizabeth removed from her tomb in 1606 - only three years after her burial and his accession to the English throne - and moved to share a tomb with her half-sister Mary Tudor¹⁵. James

¹³Susan Frye, Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1993, 4. It is also worth noting that Elizabeth felt the need to remind James both of his duty as a king and also of his own promise to herself; presumably, the Scottish king did not enjoy receiving advice from a woman.

¹⁴Informational literature from Westminster Abbey, printed by Barnard & Westwood Ltd.

¹⁵Julia Walker, "Popular and court memorials to Queen Elizabeth," Centre for Seventeenth-Century Studies Sixth International Conference, 1995.

designated the site now vacated by Elizabeth as his own burial site, and was later buried in the Henry VII chapel, next to Henry VII; with this act, James fully appropriated in death both Elizabeth's place of rest, and her status as a warrior monarch.

As James was attempting to create a new myth surrounding himself and his own reign, so did he attempt to create new public view of Elizabeth and her rule in this displacement of her burial. Elizabeth's new tomb not only associates her with her unpopular half-sister, called Bloody Mary for her religious persecution of Protestants, but it also moves Elizabeth far away from the rest of the monarchs in the Abbey; Elizabeth now lies in a rather small chamber to the north of the Lady Chapel which is only accessible through a steep and rather narrow stairway¹⁶. In a similar fashion to Elizabeth's virtual segregation in the north side of the Abbey, James had a new inscription written for Elizabeth's new tomb; this new inscription has little to do with Elizabeth's long and successful reign, let alone her military achievements and her role as sovereign during the Armada year.

The new memorial - one of a number of inscriptions written upon the new joint tomb - subtly diminishes Elizabeth as a queen and as a ruler:

Daughter of Henry VIII, Grandchild to Henry VII, great
Grandchilde to King Edward IV, the Mother of this her

¹⁶Though Mary Tudor undoubtedly did execute a large number of people on religious grounds during her reign, it is likely that her persecution was not as wide-spread as is generally believed. Protestant writers such as John Foxe tended to exaggerate the numbers of the dead and to count many executions multiple times; they were enacting their own propaganda war as they fought to keep Catholicism from once again becoming the national religion of England.

country, the Nurse of Religion and Learning; For a perfect skill in very many Languages, for glorious Endowments, as well of minde as body, and for Regall Vertues beyond her Sex¹⁷

Elizabeth is now described according to her relation to her male ancestors - there is no mention of Mary Tudor, despite the fact that the two queens now share a tomb - just as women were traditionally defined according to their relation to a dominant male; in addition, the achievements of Elizabeth which are listed are ones which were deemed to be appropriate to a woman, that is excellence in languages and piety in religious matters. Further, Elizabeth is referred to as both a "Mother" - a rather inappropriate way of describing a virgin queen - and as a "Nurse", which is another traditionally female occupation; not only are Elizabeth's accomplishments limited to the exclusively female sphere, but so are terms of praise for those accomplishments¹⁸.

There are other memorials on the tomb, however only one of these inscriptions makes a reference to "Spaines Armada vanquished"; this same message also highlights "Rebellion at home extinguished" and "Traitors correction quieted", emphasising the apparent turmoil which existed in England during the reign of the queen. This diminution of Elizabeth in the tomb's memorial is emphasised by the final Latin inscription, which is also the dominant statement of the tomb: "Consorts both in throne and

¹⁷From Julia Walker's presentation at the 1995 Conference for Seventeenth Century Studies.

¹⁸For a fuller discussion of images of Elizabeth I as both virgin and "mother" and the relation of the cult of Gloriana to the cult of the Virgin, see Helen Hackett's Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen, London: Macmillan P, 1995.

grave, here sleep we two sisters, Elizabeth and Mary, in the hope of one resurrection". The most visible memorial given to the queen by her successor completely nullifies Elizabeth's reign and her achievements; she is referred to as joint "consort" rather than as a monarch in her own right, and is firmly associated with her barren and largely despised half-sister instead of with her victorious, conquering grandfather as Elizabeth originally intended.

However, these shifts in emphasis and use of association and symbol to elevate James and diminish Elizabeth were initiated entirely at James' instigation, and not by the people themselves; despite the novelty of once again having a king and a secure succession, the people themselves began to become disillusioned with James' corrupt court and with his rule, and sought to re-establish Elizabeth as their own champion in their own parish churches. This people's revival of the memory of the reign of Elizabeth began as early as 1607, and had swelled greatly by the 1620's; the parishes tended not to refer to James' new official monuments, but instead preferred to remember Elizabeth in their own ways. In the list of churches taken from the emendations and the enlargements of John Stow's original The Survey of London, those which included monuments to and epitaphs for Elizabeth do not seem to share a common geography or region; instead, there seems to have been a wide-spread, grass roots support for the memory of the dead queen¹⁹.

¹⁹Stow's The Survey of London was begun by Stow in 1598, then enlarged by Antony Munday in 1618, and finally complete by Munday, Henry Dyson, and "others" in 1633.

Of the thirty-two churches listed in the survey which included a memorial to Elizabeth within their walls, a list compiled by Walker to illustrate her original argument regarding James' displacement of Elizabeth, only eight included any part of the new official Westminster inscriptions, emphasising the sense of spontaneous, popular support for Elizabeth, rather an official and organised effort. However, fully twenty-three of the church epitaphs include the biblical passage from Timothy:

I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course,
I have kept the faith. From henceforth is laid up for
me a Crowne of Righteousnesse, which the Lord, the
righteous Judge shall give mee at the day; and not one
onely, but to them also that love his appearing. 2
Tim.4.7,8.

evidently the people of England had not forgotten Elizabeth's military successes - as symbolised by her address to the troops at Tilbury as the Armada approached the shores of England - even if James wished to diminish the importance of that element of her reign. Of the remaining nine churches, eight also deal explicitly with her victory in arms, calling Elizabeth "Spaines rod" and some likening her to Judith, as she led her people "Against Spaines Holifernes"; the final church calls her simply "A powerfull Protector (under Almighty God) of her owne Dominions". It is clear from these tributes that Elizabeth's reign was already beginning to become mythologised, and by 1633 her rule was passing into legend; some of the churches' tributes go so far as to implicitly compare Elizabeth to the legendary Arthur, stating that "Vertue liveth after death, So doth Queene

Elizabeth" and that "She is not dead, but sleepeth"²⁰. This idolisation and mythologising of Elizabeth continued into the Restoration, when she became revered as a Protestant icon and symbol of true royalty; James' attempt to supplant Elizabeth in the minds of his people as he usurped her place of burial was, in the end, largely unsuccessful²¹.

As the common people continued to re-affirm their fond remembrance of Elizabeth and her glorious reign, the controversy over the role of ordinary women in early seventeenth century society was beginning to rage. Pamphlets denigrating women began to be published soon after James' ascension to the English throne, with such "witty" pieces as the anti-feminist The Bachelor's Banquet, published in 1603, belittling women and their contribution to society; the most notorious of these works was Swetnam's The Arraignment of Lewd, idle, froward, and inconstant women printed in 1615. Swetnam's work was for the most part a repetition of many traditional arguments which sought to denigrate the character of all women, drawing primarily upon selective biblical sources and dubious anecdotal evidence; however, Swetnam's work produced a series of responses - a number of which were written by women themselves - and began a long running debate over women's character and their appropriate role in society.

²⁰Henry VII had himself attempted to conjure the memory of Arthur during his reign in order to validate his own claim to the throne through a public identification of himself and his line with the return of Arthur; his first son named Arthur in order to capitalise on popular support for the Arthurian myths and build a dynasty based upon the myth.

²¹Tim Harris, London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II, Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1987, 113.

It is worth noting that during the years of the pamphlet wars initiated by Swetnam's original work, there had been considerable discontent among members of the English establishment regarding the perceived appropriation of male dress and behaviour by women which began to gain popularity during James' reign, as

Female transvestism became faddish in London, to the point where women even went to church in masculine dress, provoking a denunciatory sermon to the court from John Williams, the future lord keeper, and royal order to the clergy to preach against this phenomenon²²

In 1620 James himself was drawn into the public debate, and spoke against this trend; he also sought the support of the church in putting an end to this usurpation of male behaviour, as John Chamberlain wrote in 1620:

The bishop of London called together all his Clergy about this town, and told them he had express commandment from the King to will them to inveigh vehemently and bitterly in their sermons against the insolency of our women, and their wearing of broad-brimmed hats, pointed doublets, their hair cut short or shorn, and some of them stilletos or poinards, and other such trinkets of like moment²³

The description of the women as insolent and the outrage at women aping men not only in their dress but also in the wearing of weapons, as well as James' appeal to the church to intervene and help stop women from dressing in such a way, indicate that there was concern that women were acting in a fashion not only inappropriate to their designated station in society but were perhaps going to far as to usurp some of the rights due to a man's station in society. This assumption of male behaviour

²²Lee, 152.

²³Lee, 152.

could lead to women no longer accepting that men truly held the "office to command" as James himself asserted in Basilikon Doron, and to their seeking to replace men as the rightful "head" of the female "body". The pamphlet wars regarding the character and role of women reflect this concern of the English establishment about proper decorum and women's behaviour, with three pamphlets appearing within one year - 1620 - all revolving around the question of dress: Hic Mulier; or, the Man-Woman, Haec Vir; or, the Womanish Man and Mulled Sack; or, the Apology of Hic Mulier to the late Declamation against her²⁴.

The pamphlet wars and the debates regarding women continued in a desultory fashion for the next twenty years, finally culminating in John Taylor's The Juniper Lecture and Divers Crabtree Lectures, both published in 1639; in these works, women "lecture" each other on their proper behaviour in society and towards their husbands, and in this way illustrate their inherent flaws and the need for men to govern them, as well as satirising the notion of women's rights to even a basic education. This pattern of "instruction" was followed by Richard Braithwaite in A Bolster Lecture in 1640. This prevalence of "lecture" pieces in the late 1630's and early 1640's, where women supposedly seek to "educate" themselves, may well indicate that women were beginning to attempt to pursue more formal training and education, just as the controversy over women's dress must have

²⁴This debate over appropriate women's dress did not end in 1620 - it re-emerged during the years of the Civil Wars and during the Restoration; Margaret Cavendish was one of the most famous examples of a woman who defied convention and dressed according to her own taste and judgement irrespective of society's dictates.

contributed to the pamphlets ridiculing women's dress and behaviour in 1620. There was one final response to this last burst of misogyny in pamphlet writing - The Woman's Sharp Revenge was published in 1640 - but as larger events in English politics and society began to throw society into a turmoil the pamphlet wars began to die out.

However, the advent of the turmoil of the English Civil Wars seems to have inspired women to move even further out of their traditional roles; now women began to take a far more political and at times militant stance in their behaviour as they sought to come to terms with the violence of the wars, no doubt encouraged by the apparent willingness of Charles I to listen to his queen, Henrietta Maria, and not dismiss her a political non-entity. Those of the Parliamentarian cause certainly believed that Henrietta Maria exerted a political influence in the government of Charles I; this view was voiced quite directly and powerfully by Lucy Hutchinson, the wife of Colonel Hutchinson of the Roundheads,

But above all these [evil counsellors], the King [Charles I] had another instigator of his own violent purpose, more powerful than all the rest, and that was the Queen [Henrietta Maria], who, grown out of her childhood, began to turn her mind from those vain extravagances she liv'd in at first to that which did less become her, and was more fatal to the kingdom, which never is any place happy where the hand that are made only for distaffs affect the management of sceptres²⁵

Hutchinson herself published both the memoirs of her husband and her own autobiographical fragments. The upheavals of the Civil

²⁵Keeble, 191.

Wars created a curious dichotomy amongst women of the time; a great many, like Hutchinson, blamed the wars and the general disarray of government and society upon women taking a more public role in society and involving themselves in political life. At the same time, more women than ever before were speaking out and making their opinions about the violence of the time known in a very public fashion; at times the very women who were disdainful of women's contribution to society and to politics were themselves writing powerful pieces of propaganda in support of one or the other of the warring factions. Women were also taking more direct political action as they approached Parliament regarding their own particular concerns; not only were there numerous petitions to Parliament by Leveller women and the women of other religious Dissenter sects, as well as the starving women of London who were hit by the economic hardships of war, but women now began preaching openly and writing prophecies which had a direct bearing upon the political situation of the country.

Lady Eleanor Douglas, a prominent women prophet of the early seventeenth century, began prophesying during the 1620's, when she was initially quite popular in court circles; not only was she herself active in the political atmosphere of the court, but she also began to speak publicly on political - and at times sensitive - subjects. She began to predict the deaths of those who had opposed her preaching, as well as those of political influence; in this way she predicted the death of both her first husband, who was struck down in punishment for destroying her

writings, and also of royal favourite, the Duke of Buckingham - both of these prophecies proved to disturbingly accurate. When in 1633 she predicted the death Charles I, she was imprisoned for her words; she underwent a series of periods of confinement during the next twenty years, though she continued to speak out and to publish her prophecies and her messages throughout the 1640's. The execution of the king in 1649 seems to have vindicated her reputation, and her volume of writing increased accordingly in 1649; Douglas combined in her writings religious polemic with political influence and prophecy, as she took the public stage to speak out on the politics of her time²⁶.

Another prominent female activist and prophet who wrote during the 1640's and 1650's was Elizabeth Poole; she also took her predictions into the public sphere when in 1649 she sought and was granted an audience with the General Council²⁷. In an overtly political act, Poole prophesied against the intended execution of Charles I; she was clearly attempting to directly influence the workings of government:

You never heard that a wife might put away her husband, as he is the head of her body, but for the Lord's sake suffereth his terror to her flesh, though she be free in the spirit of the Lord²⁸

²⁶Elaine Hobby, Virtue of Necessity: English Women's Writings 1646-1688, London: Virago P, 1988, 27-8.

²⁷Hobby, 29-30.

²⁸Hobby, 29. From Poole's A Vision, written 1648-9. Poole also wrote other works dealing with the war and the politics of the Cromwellian government at approximately the same time, including two version of An Alarum of War, one written in 1648-9 and the second in 1649, and A Prophecie Touching the Death of the King in 1649. Her writings indicate a deep and abiding interest in the politics of the situation in England during these turbulent times.

Not only does Poole seek to exert a political influence, she is also using the same conventional imagery of the wife as the "body" to the husband's "head", as was used in scripture and by James VI and I in 1599; she is using the traditional ideas of female obedience to argue with those who had helped to propagate those ideas. In addition, Poole is using the long-standing analogy of a country and its people's duty to bow to their king as a wife should bow to her husband to make her political point, using the corollary of this established idea to drive home her own view. Poole uses these ideas to give her argument more authority, as she uses the language of those who rule in order to argue her point; however, like Douglas, Poole was punished for her words, as she was expelled from the Baptists, whose leader, William Kiffin, also charged her with immorality²⁹.

Some of the impetus for Douglas, Poole and other female prophets and writers of the 1640's and 1650's, as well as Margaret Fell's later work Women's Speaking Justified, may have come from the actions of some women during the Civil Wars while defending their homes. As the men of England left their homes to fight either on behalf of Parliament or in support of the King, the women were left behind; in the cases of many noblewomen, they were often left in charge of the defence of large houses and castles. As the two opposing forces moved throughout the English countryside, they would lay these castles

²⁹This was not an uncommon ploy, which was used by authority for many centuries in order to deal with dissident women. If a woman publicly disagreed with the ruling class, her morality and virtue were often called into question, as the implication was that a woman who was so "loose" vocally was also "loose" morally.

and houses under seige; the women were forced to act as military commanders and to defend their homes and strongholds as well as their dependents.

Many of these women were then described in glowing terms by their husbands and by their followers, as well as often by their besiegers and foes as well. Sir Hugh Cholmeley wrote of his wife that

My dear wife endured much hardship...and though by nature, according to her sex, timorous, yet in greatest danger would not be daunted, but shewed a courage even above her sex³⁰

Similarly, the Countess of Portland of Carisbrooke Castle was described as having "behaved like a Roman matron" who "declared she herself would fire the first cannon" rather than surrender to the forces who laid her under seige, while the wife of the Royalist commander Sir John Winter, Lady Mary Winter of Lidney House spoke of her husband's "unalterable allegiance to his king and sovereign"; this allegiance inspired her to hold firm in her fortress, and caused the Parliamentary seiger, Colonel Massey to have his attempt to take the stronghold "disappointed by the resolution of a female"³¹.

The common theme in these tributes to the brave women from both sides of the conflict during the Civil Wars is the view that these women, like Elizabeth I, were somehow elevated by circumstance to become more than their sex allowed; Brilliana

³⁰Antonia Fraser, The Weaker Vessel: A Woman's Lot in Seventeenth Century England, London: George Weidenfeld & Nicolson Limited, 1984, 184.

³¹Fraser, 184-5; 185.

Lady Harley was described as showing "a Masculine Bravery" while Lady Mary Bankes showed "constancy and courage above her sex"³². It was implied in these commendations that these women were an example to their sex and an exception to the general rule of female behaviour; however, as the number of women showing these "unusual" characteristics of female martial courage and prowess increased with the turmoil of the times, this sort of description of women, and this argument regarding women's character were used more and more, undoubtedly helping to inspire those women who were chafing at the restrictions imposed upon their behaviour by the established patriarchal hierarchy and encouraging them to speak out.

Furthermore, the cult of Elizabeth began to be greatly revived during the early years of the Restoration, as English society - and the new king - sought to redefine the monarchy in the light of recent events, and as Charles II sought to identify himself with a well-loved and respected monarch from the recent past. Elizabeth was seen as both the epitome of royal behaviour and as a Protestant symbol of steadfast faith in difficult times, and was therefore venerated as such; the anniversary of the day of Elizabeth's ascension to the throne, 17 November, began to be commemorated by the lighting of candles or the ringing of bells in spontaneous - yet officially sanctioned - gestures of celebration performed by the people, not unlike the building of the Elizabeth memorials in the parish churches during the early

³²Fraser, 184.

decades of the seventeenth century³³. Thus on the heels of the deeds of the courageous women of the Civil Wars was a revival of the iconography of the strong political figure of a woman and queen.

It is, then, in this mood of the re-appraisal of female worth and courage, that the theatre of the Restoration began to develop female characters on the stage; this re-appraisal was made all the more necessary given the circumstances in which the original female characters were created. As James VI and I changed the atmosphere of the English court, so did he also alter the mood of the literature and drama of his time; the drama was, of course, still required to pass through the office of the official censor, the Master of Revels, and presumably this crown official would have the mood of his monarch in mind as he passed his judgement upon the plays which he perused. Shakespeare created the female characters of his tragedies Coriolanus and Macbeth after James had been on the throne for some years, in the period from 1606 to 1608³⁴. Given the atmosphere of James' court and the king's own prejudices and predilections, it is hardly surprising that the political female characters which Shakespeare created for these plays - particularly Macbeth, which was performed before James himself at court - can be interpreted as

³³Harris, 145; 31. Harris points out that this public commemoration was performed "on a less regular basis" than other public celebrations of the time, such as the collapse of the Gunpowder Plot and the accession of Charles II.

³⁴There is, of course, considerable debate regarding the date of any early modern play - these dates have been arrived at through a consensus of critical thought.

being distinctly negative - a trio of witches, a forceful, ambitious wife and a domineering mother are not particularly sympathetic or positive models for political women. However, the characters do reflect the tension between the old and new regimes which existed within James' court, for though the women are neither particularly admirable nor without serious flaws, neither are they the evil monsters, inherently twisted and crooked, bent upon the deception and downfall of men, which some of the popular literature of the time - including the works of James himself - suggested women were. Given the inherently fluid medium of the stage, there is a great deal of flexibility in the depiction of the women on the stage and ambiguity in their characterisations which can increase the more sympathetic aspects of their characters - such as Lady Macbeth's devotion to her husband - and somewhat diminish their alleged villainy.

In addition to the possibility of interpreting these female characters as negative and villainous, it is worth noting that though Lady Macbeth and Volumnia do exert a certain amount of political power they do not, as did Elizabeth I and some of her more powerful noblewomen such as Bess of Hardwicke, Arbella Stuart and Lettice Countess of Essex, they are not able to act directly in political matters, and they do not speak out publicly with regard to political action. Despite their forceful personalities and their abilities to sway other characters in their respective plays, their roles and voices remain remarkably conventional in that they remain within the traditional "women's sphere" of the domestic; they remain behind the scenes, in the

traditional roles of wife and of mother, perhaps reflecting a new emphasis, initiated by the new order created by James, for a return to the placing of women in supportive and essentially subservient roles. It is, however, Lady Macbeth's and Volumnia's "interference" in matters of state, however indirect their actions, which lead to the downfall of Macbeth and Coriolanus, the heroes of the respective tragedies; indeed, in Macbeth an entire society disintegrates as a result of a woman's machinations³⁵.

Just as Shakespeare must have tailored his own work to appeal to his audience, so did Davenant alter Shakespeare's original play to suit the taste of the Restoration; Davenant's Macbeth embraces the developing ideas of female worth in the public sphere and the possible value of the woman's voice in that most public sphere of politics and government. Though Lady Macbeth remains a largely negative example of a fierce woman meddling in politics who uses her voice to inspire her husband to treason and murder, she also is allowed to repent of her actions and use her tongue to urge Macbeth to give up his bloody crown. Lady Macduff is given a greatly expanded role, where she debates with her husband the merits of his decisions and the situation in which they find themselves; further, like the brave women of the Civil Wars, she is left by Macduff to defend his lands and castle in his absence, though in this instance with

³⁵As Macbeth was written for a performance before the king himself, it is quite possible that Shakespeare was catering to James' particular dislikes in his interpretation of the historical events which inspired his play, just as the Restoration adaptors altered the original plays to suit the tastes of their own audiences.

tragic results. With the memory of the martial women of the Wars still clear in the public's mind, it is hardly surprising that Davenant conjures them onto the stage in the persons of his two major female characters³⁶.

By 1681, however, with the crises of the latter half of Charles II reign, the memory of the strong women of the Civil Wars had somewhat faded, as it was now over a generation since the trauma of the wars, and perceptions of women were no longer so strongly coloured by those past memories. The women were involved in politics during the final years of Charles II's reign included the king's unpopular French - and Catholic - mistress, Louise de la Keroualle, the Duchess of Portsmouth; the Duchess was active in Charles' court, and was perceived by the populace as being attempting to persuade the king embrace Catholicism as well as advancing French interests³⁷. The mood of the population was closer in spirit to the crowds which condemned Henrietta Maria in the 1640's, where there were public concerns regarding the influence of a woman - significantly, a foreign woman - over the monarch; it is not surprising than that the women of Tate's The Ingratitude of a Commonwealth are somewhat different in

³⁶Davenant seems to have been one of the most sympathetic of the Restoration dramatists with reference to the portrayal of women; Lady Macbeth and Lady Macduff are in many ways akin to Beatrice, Isabella and Julietta of The Law Against Lovers in their outspokenness and their wit.

³⁷In her biography of Charles II, Antonia Fraser relates an incident where Nell Gwynn, another of Charles II's mistresses, was leaving the Palace when her carriage was attacked by an angry mob who believed that it was the Duchess of Portsmouth inside; Gwynn apparently appeased the crowd by calling out that it was "the Protestant whore, not the Catholic" inside, from King Charles II, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1979, 288-9. Gwynn is also rumoured to have advised Charles to "hang...the French bitch" in the 1670's in order to appease his Cavalier Parliament, from Ronald Hutton, Charles the Second: King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, Oxford: Clarendon P, 1989. 335.

character from the women portrayed by Davenant in his own adaptation.

Volumnia's ambitions are still bound up entirely in her son, and this role as a dominant and domineering mother is kept largely intact; she also voices much support for the martial code of the Roman military, as well as for conquest and war, but her assertions now have the effect of conjuring images of the horrors of that which she seeks to glorify - a rather unsurprising development during a time when it seemed that civil war might once again threaten the populace. Volumnia does not express the same feelings of repentance and remorse which Davenant allows his Lady Macbeth, though she is given the opportunity to enact her revenge upon one of Aufidius' villainous cohorts, Nigradius, for the wrongs suffered by Coriolanus and his family; significantly, Volumnia takes this vengeance only after she herself has gone mad, as her mind rebels against the horrors which she herself has helped to create.

As Davenant does with Lady Macduff, Tate greatly expands the role of Virgilia - a change which would not have been very difficult, given the rather small role which Shakespeare gave to the quite important character of Coriolanus' wife; however, though Virgilia's role is greatly expanded, she remains an essentially docile character who, like Lady Macduff, only reacts to circumstances instead of attempting to seize the initiative as do Volumnia and Lady Macbeth. However, whereas Lady Macduff, when forced to deal with a dangerous situation, attempts to

influence events through her debates with her husband - a husband, moreover, who acknowledges both her right to comment on the political situation in Scotland in his open and frank debate with his wife, as well as the basic soundness of her advice - Virgilia remains entirely passive in her situation; her one real action at the play's conclusion is tinged with desperation and panic rather than the result of rational thought, as she conforms with what is essentially conventional behaviour, following the classical model offered by Lucrece of the proper actions of stained female honour, by stabbing herself in order to avoid being dishonoured by Aufidius.

There was undoubtedly an overt political agenda in Tate's adaptation, unlike Davenant's work, as Tate makes clear in the Dedicatory Epistle which accompanied the 1682 text of the play, where Tate argues

Where is the harm of letting the People see what
Miseries Common-Wealths have been involv'd in, by a
blind Compliance with their popular Misleaders: Nor
may it be altogether amiss, to give these Protectors
themselves, example how wretched their dependence is
on the uncertain Crowd

In a time of political strife and civil unrest, Tate is clearly attempting in both his epistle and his play to conjure images of the horrors perpetrated during the Civil Wars, and to remind the populace of the realities of living under a "Protector" - a clear reference to the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell. Both Tate's epistle and his play seem superficially royalist in their bias, a circumstance which is not surprising considering Tate's close association with the court and his eventual position as poet laureate; however, this is more a balanced and unprejudiced

reminder of the horrors of war and the atrocities committed by both sides of the conflict during the Civil Wars, and any attempt to influence the perceptions and sympathies of the audience in favour of royalist side of the political war which was being waged at the time was more a defense of the stable status quo than a deeply felt political position³⁸. Tate uses his female characters as soldiers in this propaganda war for peace, as the women both remind the audience of the horrors of war in the person of Volumnia, and argue for peace through the character of Virgilia.

Davenant's Macbeth was first produced on 5 November 1664 at Lincoln's Inn Fields by the Duke's Company; in The London Stage, Van Lennep notes that this 1664 production was "By William Shakespeare, probably adapted by Sir William Davenant" and includes a quote from Samuel Pepys, that "With my wife to the Duke's house to a Play, "Macbeth", a pretty good play, but admirably acted"³⁹. The play was then revived in December of 1666, on the seventeenth of the month, at Court; the edited notes of Downes' Roscius Anglicanus calls the new production "a major revival, perhaps augmented with additional music", and if this

³⁸It is worth noting that Tate's play was not published until early 1682, by which time Charles' policies had been largely successful and the Whigs effectively had been defeated in their designs: Tate's rather royalist epistle and perhaps his prologue may be more of a tribute to his own shrewdness and skills at ingratiation, than to his fervent royalist sympathies.

³⁹Van Lennep, 85; though the original cast list is not known, both the 1673 quarto and the 1674 edition of the play lists both Betterton and Mrs. Betterton - both of whom were among the most prominent and talented actors of their day - as being among the actors, meaning that Macbeth was probably extremely well acted indeed. Indeed, the cast list from 1674 is simple a repetition of the 1673 version.

revival was performed for the court it is likely that the original performance may have been enhanced with more music and spectacle for the occasion⁴⁰. Downes also confirms that the play was

alter'd by Sir William Davenant; being drest in all it's Finery, as new Cloath's, new Scenes, Machines, as flying for the Witches; with all the Singing and Dancing in it: The first Compos'd by Mr. Lock, the other by Mr. Chanell and Mr. Joseph Preist; it being all Excellently perform'd...it proves still a lasting play⁴¹

There was a second performance of this particular revival of Macbeth, acted at the theatre at Lincoln's Inn Fields, which was attended by Pepys; Pepys' enthusiasm for this play now seems to have had no bounds: "To the Duke's house, and there saw "Macbeth" most excellently acted, and a most excellent play for variety"⁴², perhaps as a result of the tacit royal approval of the play after its performance at court. Davenant's Macbeth continued to be performed during the rest of the 1666-67 season and into the first part of the 1667-68 season; these performances seem to have been avidly attended by Samuel Pepys, who "saw "Macbeth", which, though I have seen it often, yet is it one of the best plays for a stage, and variety of dancing and musique, that ever I saw. So being very much pleased"⁴³. It seems clear that Davenant's adaptation was quite popular and was revived often, possibly

⁴⁰Downes, 71.

⁴¹Downes, 71-2.

⁴²Van Lennep, 99.

⁴³Van Lennep, 107. Pepys did have one negative comment in October of 1667, when "Young (who is but a bad actor at best) act Macbeth" in place of the ailing Betterton, though when he next saw the play in November, he writes that despite the continued absence of Betterton, "we still like [it] mightily".

remaining as a mainstay of the Duke's Company's repertoire until the union of the companies in 1682.

It is interesting to note, however, that the play is not mentioned by Gerard Langbaine in his An Account of the English Dramatick Poets under either the section on Davenant, though he did list Davenant's earlier adaptation The Law Against Lovers or his section on Shakespeare himself; it is possible that he felt that the play was too close in content to its Shakespearean progenitor to be truly Davenant's own work. The Restoration play is mentioned in Langbaine's section on Shakespeare, that "most eminent Poet of his time", where he simply states that the play was revived by the Duke's Company and later re-printed with "Alterations and New Songs" in 1674; Langbaine does not attribute these changes to Davenant⁴⁴.

Langbaine is more expansive on Tate's later adaptation of Coriolanus, though he still makes only a brief commentary upon the play. Much of Langbaine's comments are aimed at the playwright himself and not at his work, as he states that Tate "follows other Mens Models, and builds upon their Foundations"; his remarks on the play itself are confined to the most basic performance and publishing information, adding that the play "was dedicated to the Right Honourable Charles, Lord Herbert, Marquess of Worcester", while further noting only that "This Play is

⁴⁴Langbaine, 453. Langbaine's work does include a number of omissions, particularly amongst the Restoration adaptations of earlier works; it is possible that there was some confusion over the content of the original works, making comparisons difficult.

borrowed from Shakespear's Coriolanus"⁴⁵. The Ingratitude of a Common-Wealth is also mentioned under Langbaine's section on Shakespeare's Coriolanus, as "Part of this Play appear'd upon the Stage seven Years since, under the title of Ingratitude of a Common-Wealth". Langbaine seems to have somewhat foreshadowed the twentieth century critics who thought little of such "crude" attempts to adapt Shakespeare.

Tate's The Ingratitude of a Common-Wealth; or, The Fall of Caius Martius Coriolanus was apparently first produced in December of 1681 at Drury Lane by the King's Company; there is some doubt surrounding the actual date of the first performance, though the play was entered in the Term Catalogues in February of the 1681-2 season and was advertised in The Loyal Protestant on 7 March 1681-2 season. Van Lennep interprets this information as indicating a December 1681 premiere, though there was definitely a performance of the play on 14 January of 1682, and it is possible that this may in fact have been the first performance⁴⁶. There does not seem to be a great deal of contemporary information regarding the early performances; indeed these two performances seem to have been the only appearances of the play; the text of the play itself was published in 1682, with a Prologue written by Sir George Raynsford and an Epilogue spoken by Valeria. Though Van Lennep did find some contemporary information regarding Tate's play, Downes makes no mention of the

⁴⁵Langbaine, 500; except for his comments upon Tate as a playwright, all of the information Langbaine gives is taken directly from the 1682 text of the play.

⁴⁶Van Lennep, 303-4.

play at all, perhaps indicating that it did not stir his interest due to its unpopularity and quick exit from the stage.

The dominant women of these two plays - Lady Macbeth and Lady Macduff from Macbeth, and Volumnia and Virgilia from The Ingratitude of a Common-Wealth - can be viewed as being in two separate categories; broadly speaking, the major female characters can be viewed as either those who are political by their nature and who choose to seek to influence political events, as do Lady Macbeth and Volumnia, or those whose political involvement is brought about through the force of necessity only, who have no inclination to participate in the political sphere but who are forced into the public arena through circumstance, as in the case of Lady Macduff and Virgilia. All of the women, however, whether political through their own choice or in reaction to their situation, use their voices to persuade, cajole, or otherwise manipulate their male counterparts in order to achieve their own political objective; Lady Macbeth, Lady Macduff and Virgilia attempt to sway their husbands, and Volumnia her son. The two approaches to politics which are therefore represented in the plays help to highlight the different uses of the woman's voice, as all of the women in the plays influence those in power - whether willingly or unwillingly - exclusively through the use of their voices, as well as emphasising the potential power for positive or negative ends of those women's voices; further, since these plays deal with the political sphere, this power of the woman's voice necessarily has a more public impact, though much of the woman's power is exercised in

private.

The important characters of Lady Macbeth and Lady Macduff, of Volumnia and Virgilia, are not the only female characters in these two plays, however; other images of women are offered in these political plays. Tate includes and, as in the case of the role of Virgilia, expands the character of Valeria from Shakespeare's original Coriolanus; however, the role of Valeria is one with social implications, instead of political. Tate's Valeria, with her exaggerated manners and speech patterns, is a parody of the Restoration lady obsessed with fashion and a coquette; Tate himself describes her in his list of the characters as "An affected, talkative, fantastical Lady", and as such, she plays little part in the serious, overtly political plot of the play. Valeria, however, seems to be referred to - in spirit - in the Prologue to Tate's adaptation which was written by Sir George Raynsford; Raynsford's prologue makes a prolonged and quite intricate reference to "Fine Lady Criticks - on whose fragrant Breath, / Depends the Plays long Life" (Tate, "Prologue"). The passage which deals mockingly with these "Lady Criticks" is rather problematic, as it seems to have no bearing upon the political ideas expressed in the play and in the opening lines of the prologue itself - just as the character of Valeria herself seems to have little to do with the complex ideas of war and peace which punctuate the characterisation of the play's other major female characters.

Valeria's speeches in The Ingratitude of a Commonwealth do

not deal with the life and death issues which seem to concern Volumnia and Virgilia. Her voice is full of assertions of her own wit and importance, as she insists that she would converse not of "idle Chat of Tires and Fans, but of Secrets in Nature, and stiff Points of Philosophy" (Tate, 9); yet for all of her bold words, her actions prove herself to be less than Virgilia and Volumnia, and perhaps even a coward. In a significant departure from the original Shakespearean text, when Volumnia and Virgilia lead the Roman ladies to Coriolanus' camp in an attempt to plead for Rome to be spared the ravages of conquest by the Volscians, Valeria is excluded from their party, despite being the only other female character of note listed in "The Persons" of the play; her absence is confirmed at the beginning of act five, when she greets the returning women with "your Ladyships are most happily return'd: What misfortune had I to be indispos'd at such a season" (Tate, 52). Though Shakespeare's Valeria clearly participates in the more sombre aspects of the play's plot, and is acknowledged as "Dear Valeria!" (Shakespeare, V.iii.67) by Shakespeare's Coriolanus, it is clear that Tate's Valeria, despite her assertion that "I cou'd have urg'd the most invincible Arguments" (Tate, 52), has no place in the more weighty matters of the play, and is carefully kept separate from the political sphere which engulfs Virgilia and is embraced by Volumnia. Valeria's nonsensical comments and frivolous conversation contrast sharply with the distraction and worry of Virgilia, and the sober counsel and militaristic glorification of Volumnia, making her words seem nothing more than empty social boasting; though Valeria, like Volumnia and Virgilia is

characterised largely through her words and her voice, she is herself a social satire of the most vain and shallow women of the late Restoration society, and as such has no place in the political intrigue of the larger plot.

The same cannot be said, however, for the three witches in Davenant's Macbeth, who are the only other female characters of note in the play; a "Waiting Gentlewoman" and "Hecate" are also mentioned in the cast of characters, but the gentlewoman's role is very minor, as she is little more than a plot device designed to facilitate the revelation of Lady Macbeth's illness, while Hecate is purely a figure of spectacle created by Davenant's imagination to impress his audience, despite her inclusion in many later texts of Shakespeare's original play⁴⁷. The witches first plant the seeds of ambition in the minds of both Macbeth and his wife; they are truly the source of the political upheaval of the society represented in the play through their earliest acts of prophecy and mischief.

It is clear from their first speeches, "There we resolve to meet Macbeth" (Davenant, 1) that the witches actively seek to influence events and to change the course of men's lives, which seems to make them akin to Lady Macbeth and the later character of Volumnia; however, their influence is purposely and intentionally malignant, and even destructive "My charms shall

⁴⁷It is worth noting that it is quite possible that the witches were in fact played by men; there is a reference to the actor Sandford as playing Hecate. This in fact would make the witches' voice less authentically female than Lady Macbeth and Lady Macduff.

his repose forbid...Though his Bark cannot be lost,/Yet shall be Tempest-tost" (Davenant, 4), whereas Lady Macbeth and Volumnia do seem to wish to elevate and aid rather than destroy. In addition, the witches' motivation does not seem to be ambition or to influence political power per se, as is the case with the other women in both plays; instead, they seem to act from either sheer malevolence or else at the prompting of a higher, ineffable power. They seem to be malevolent in that it is their prophecies which first inspire Macbeth to murder Duncan and then to destroy the family of Macduff, yet they also prophesy to Banquo, and he does not immediately act upon their foretelling. It is possible that Macbeth, being inherently flawed, must be purged from Scotland before the kingdom - which is already split by internal conflict and treachery - may be healed through being united under the rule of Malcolm; the witches may simply be initiating this inevitable design.

Davenant, however, does make clear in his own dramatisation that he views the witches as inherently evil creatures, though in light of the need for catharsis within Scotland, it is possible they are a necessary evil. He inserts a scene in which the witches delight in the recent murder of Duncan and gleefully anticipate further bloodshed; all this while they dance upon a barren heath to the discomfiture of the fleeing Macduff and his wife. This scene does, however, increase the amount of spectacle in the play, as well as allowing Lady Macduff the opportunity to display her courage and unshakeable faith, so the inclusion of the scene does serve other dramatic purposes besides the

demonstration of the witches' villainy. Similarly, the scene near the conclusion of act three where Hecate berates the witches with "Why did you all Traffick with Macbeth 'Bout Riddles and affairs of Death, And call'd not me?" (Davenant, 39) was surely added to the play simply to appease audience demand for spectacle and music on the stage; it does nothing to further the plot and does not even, as does the earlier scene involving Lady Macduff, throw any light upon any of the play's principal characters.

Of perhaps more interest is the later scene in which Lady Macbeth asserts that it was "Their [the witches] breath Infected first my Breast" (Davenant, 49); she, at any rate, has no doubts regarding the witches' malevolence, and she most definitely attributes to them some measure of responsibility for the bloodshed in the play, unambiguously calling them "Messengers of Hell" (Davenant, 49). Again, however, it is equally possible that it was merely the witches' raising of the possibility of political power in Lady Macbeth's mind which first "infected" her and inspired her actions. Even the final scene involving the witches, where they prompt Macbeth's massacre of Lady Macduff and her family is somewhat ambiguous; the meeting is initiated by Macbeth's request, and the witches merely tell Macbeth the truth, without actively encouraging him to undertake any action. Thus, though the witches are indeed political in so far as their words begin the political upheavals in the already damaged Scotland of the play, they do not twist or manipulate their words in order to procure their own political advantage, as do Lady Macbeth and Volumnia, nor do they achieve any vicarious political

gratification.

The woman with the most direct political voice, then, in Davenant's adaptations of Macbeth is unquestionably Lady Macbeth, for the witches role is somewhat problematic, and Lady Macduff's own contributions - though significant - are forced by circumstance and not offered through her own natural political inclination, as well as advising patience and passivity, instead of action. Davenant introduces his two major female characters in one scene, where they enter together, in a most significant departure from Shakespeare; indeed, it is Davenant's first major alteration of plot structure from the Shakespearean original. This new scene highlights the differences between the two major female characters, not only in the conventional "good and evil" fashion which might have appealed to the Restoration taste for balance in drama, but also in establishing the women's command of language, their attitude to the power of their voices, and their possible powers of manipulation⁴⁸.

The exchange between the two women begins with an apparently genuinely solicitous query as to Lady Macduff's health from Lady Macbeth:

Madam, I have observ'd since you came hither,
You have been still disconsolate. Pray tell me,
Are you in perfect health? (Davenant, 9)

⁴⁸The Restoration audience did seem to enjoy seeing the dichotomy between good and evil presented in a straightforward way upon the stage, Davenant himself did not deal very much in straightforward extremes of characters in his adaptation; there were usually shades of grey in characterisation, rather than a simple black and white dichotomy, as well as a generous amount of irony and satire.

Davenant thus introduces this supposedly completely evil character to the audience as a dutiful hostess anxious for the well-being of her guest; this view of Lady Macbeth is reinforced in a later added scene, where Lady Macbeth takes Macduff to task for his wife's ill-health. She upbraids him using the conventions which both Macduff and his wife embrace, the neo-platonic view that husband and wife are one, with their two souls united in marriage: "her fears For you, have somewhat indispo'd her, Sir...I doubt not but you presence Will perfectly restore her health" (Davenant, 13); there is no sign of sarcasm or cynicism in either this exchange, or in her earlier initial concern for Lady Macduff. It is also a measure of Lady Macbeth's powers of speech and grasp of rhetoric that she can use the language of this rather conventional view of marriage to make a valid and moving point, despite her own derision for this traditional idea.

However, Lady Macduff's answer to her hostess' inquiry, which dwells upon Lady Macduff's own ideas of female loyalty and the complete union between the husband and wife, does initially elicit a more sardonic and at times biting response from Lady Macbeth. Lady Macbeth's reply strikes at the heart of these conventional ideas regarding men and women:

Methinks
That should not disorder you; for, no doubt
The brave Macduff left half his soul behind him,
To make up the defect of yours. (Davenant, 9)

As she twists the idea that the husband and wife are joined into one entity, that they now share their souls, Lady Macbeth also includes a pointed, rather malicious comment regarding the

content and completeness of Lady Macduff's own soul. Lady Macbeth seems to be striking against the traditional views of womanhood and marriage; she does mock the idea of the unity of souls, but the primary target of her scorn is the idea that women's souls are somehow less than men's, that women are somehow defective in this vital area. Her scorn seems to be directed more at Lady Macduff's belief in this idea than at the woman herself; it is clear from Lady Macbeth's comments that she herself has no such need for "half his soul...To make up the defect" in her own, as she is a person in her own right as well as a wife.

This impatience with Lady Macduff's traditional views increases as the scene progresses, as Lady Macduff expresses her fears regarding her husband's safety; Lady Macbeth answers rather shortly to this trepidation that "Those fears, methinks, should cease now he is safe" (Davenant, 10), displaying both her own impatience and her ability to manipulate ideas and words to make her own point. Lady Macbeth goes on to reveal a great deal of her own character, as she advises

Although his safety has not power enough to put
Your doubts to flight, yet the bright glories which
He gain'd in Battel might dispel those Clouds.
(Davenant, 10)

Though this speech is rather short, it succinctly demonstrates the fundamental difference between the two women as well as revealing Lady Macbeth's own martial aspirations and affinities. To Lady Macbeth, honour revolves around those "bright glories" which may only be gained in battle and war; Davenant makes her kinship to the martial code much more clear than does

Shakespeare, where Lady Macbeth uses such martial images as a tool of persuasion, and not something to glorify in their own right. This keen interest in the military and war also reveals that Davenant's Lady Macbeth is akin to those martial women of the Civil Wars, who demonstrated "masculine bravery" and prowess and in their defense of their homes and their dependents, as well as to the conqueror of the Armada, Elizabeth I. These martial images are made all the more powerful by their contrast to the pacifist words of Lady Macduff, as Davenant highlights perhaps the greatest single difference between the play's two most important women; this imagery also highlight the difference between the traditional view of women as peace-loving and gentle and the reality of women often embracing martial splendour during times of war, as has been demonstrated most graphically such a short time ago.

Davenant's Lady Macbeth does differ from the courageous women of the Civil War years in one important respect; as Lady Macbeth begins to read her husband's revelations regarding the tidings of the witches, her martial affinities become tied to her ambition, a trait which seems to have been largely absent from women such as Lady Bankes and the Countess of Portland⁴⁹. Lady Macbeth immediately views this information in the light of her militaristic leanings, "This perhaps may give more fule intelligence" (Davenant, 10), which not only reiterates her own

⁴⁹Evidence regarding these women is largely anecdotal, written by admiring husbands, sons and acquaintances; the only surviving accounts written by the women themselves, such as the letters of Brilliana Lady Harley, indicate that necessity and not ambition motivated the vast majority of these women.

strong, martial voice and inclination but also anticipates her own strong actions during the play as she marshals her resources and moves herself and her husband into a position of power.

As in the original play, Lady Macbeth calls upon the dark forces to "unsex me here" (Davenant, 11; Shakespeare I.v.41), implying that the course which she contemplates is unsuitable for the traditionally gentler nature of women; there is, however, an important departure from Shakespeare as Davenant's Lady Macbeth demands that the spirits also "Empty my Nature of humanity" as well as "fill it up with cruelty" (Davenant, 11). She is openly acknowledging the inhumanity of her wishes to both the audience and to herself, yet she is not deterred from her proposed action despite the apparent unnaturalness of her designs, which is in itself a form of courage. Throughout the play, Lady Macbeth's bravery and strength of character are never truly in doubt; such qualities in a woman are not, as was proved only twenty years before this play's production, negative in themselves. It is Lady Macbeth's ambition and her ignoble motives which make her strength a flaw, not that strength itself.

This shift in focus, which makes it clear that it is Lady Macbeth's ambition which is her major flaw and not simply the fact that she is a strong woman meddling in affairs in which she has no place, somewhat alters the audience's perception of her later speeches and the language which she uses to sway her husband and influence events. Her use of martial language to spur Macbeth on to greater action, as in "Can you fear to be the

same in your own act and valour" (Davenant, 14) takes on a deeper significance; in the aftermath of the Civil Wars it would not seem so unusual for a woman to be aware of and to use the language of men and of military honour. Again, it is Lady Macbeth's use of such a voice to press her husband into committing the ultimate dishonour which is to be condemned; she is using Macbeth's own voice - the voice of battle and of war - not to aid him, as did the Countess of Portland, but to manipulate him into acting upon her own ambition.

Davenant has altered the lines of this scene, so that Lady Macbeth dwells upon Macbeth's supposed cowardice in refusing to continue with their murderous plans at greater length than in the original play; her voice has become that of a soldier berating a cowardly fellow, as much as it is that of a manipulative woman:

would you enjoy
 What you repute the Ornament of Life,
 And live a Coward in your own esteem?
 You dare not venture on the thing you wish:
 But still wou'd be in tame expectance of it...
 ...how you betray
 Your Cowardize? (Davenant, 14)

Davenant increases Lady Macbeth's use of "coward", changing the emphasis of her language to increase the martial aspects of her character, elevating her to the position of a military leader on a misguided campaign, and making her less of a haranguing harridan.

However, Lady Macbeth's martial resolve seems to weaken as the play progresses; in a scene which Davenant added to the original plot structure, Lady Macbeth is overcome with remorse

over the death of Duncan and her own role in the murder, and urges Macbeth to also repent. Davenant first splits the scene where Macduff and Malcolm meet for the first time since Duncan's murder, then inserts his new scene between Lady Macbeth and Macbeth; he then gives this new scene an added poignancy by re-inserting the scene where Macduff is told of the slaughter of his family immediately after Lady Macbeth expresses her remorse. This is a scene of mutual recrimination as the formerly supportive relationship of Macbeth and Lady Macbeth breaks down under the weight of their combined guilt.

In keeping with the mental and physical disintegration of Shakespeare's key female figure, it is Lady Macbeth who has openly crumbled under the pressure of their situation; however, where Shakespeare's Lady Macbeth degenerates into near madness, making her actual repentance - as opposed to guilt - uncertain, Davenant's Lady Macbeth is allowed to explicitly express her genuine and conscious remorse for her actions. This alteration has the effect of humanising Lady Macbeth - or perhaps re-humanising her, in light of her earlier appeal to "the spirits of mortal thoughts" - and creating a sense of sympathy for this traditionally vilified character.

Davenant first establishes a link - albeit a vicarious one - between the kingdom and Lady Macbeth:

Seat. Th'Enemy is upon our borders, Scotland's in danger.
 Macb. So is my Wife, and I am doubly so.
 I am sick in her, and my Kingdom too. (Davenant, 48)

though ironically this link is made through the very conventional

ideas of unity of husband and wife which Lady Macbeth scorned in her initial scene of the play; in Davenant's play, as Lady Macbeth crumbles, so does Scotland itself. It is a measure of her dominance over her husband and her importance to Macbeth that he seemingly cannot act without her presence, "The spur of my Ambition prompts me to go/And make my Kingdom safe, but Love which softens me/To pity her in her distress, curbs my Resolves" (Davenant, 48); it was Lady Macbeth who was "the spur" of Macbeth's ambition, and now that she has lost her own fire, Macbeth has also lost his own ambition and lust for power. Macbeth now seems virtually paralysed without his wife's presence and her words; whereas in Shakespeare's play, Macbeth, despite being concerned for his wife, is still quite capable of action, Davenant's Macbeth cannot act without the power of his wife's voice.

Davenant uses Macbeth's lament over the decline of his wife to heighten audience anticipation of Lady Macbeth's entrance; Davenant contrasts the still strong and vibrant woman of his banquet, who sought to defuse the suspicions created by Macbeth's outbursts and kept control of the assembled lords and upon whom her husband still depends, with the frightened and distracted woman who now holds the stage. Her first words on entering, "Duncan is dead" (Davenant, 48) are a vivid reminder of Lady Macbeth's original transgression as well as the ambition which caused her crime; this very ambition has now caused her own downfall, as, "And yet to me he lives" (Davenant, 48) she is now

haunted by remorse as she seems to be haunted by Duncan's ghost⁵⁰. Davenant heightens the effect of this collapse of Lady Macbeth through her rallying her former vigour in order to coax Macbeth into action against her tormentor, "If you have Valour force him hence" (Davenant, 49); Lady Macbeth once again uses the language of war and honour, but now she is using her voice to plead for help, instead of to spur Macbeth onto glory - her voice is now acting in as a defence, and not as an originator of action.

As Macbeth answers his wife in amazement, "'Tis the strange error of your eyes" (Davenant, 49), Lady Macbeth turns her voice against her husband with a strident rebuttal, "But the strange error of my eyes/Proceeds from the strange actions of your Hands" (Davenant, 49); though distracted with remorse and frightened by Duncan's tormenting ghost, Davenant's Lady Macbeth retains her grip upon her intelligence and her voice even in this extremity. In what is almost a form of reparation, the voice which she earlier used to goad Macbeth into his bloody deed she now uses to attempt to persuade him to give up his "ill gain'd Crown" (Davenant, 49); Davenant creates a balance in Lady Macbeth's use of her voice, as the tool of Scotland's downfall becomes a voice which pleads for its salvation.

⁵⁰Davenant at first leaves the audience in doubt over the existence of Duncan's ghost; her line "See there" (Davenant, 49) soon after Lady Macbeth's entrance imply that she is "seeing" the ghost at that very moment, though the stage directions indicate that no ghost has made an entrance. It is only at the conclusion of the scene that the ghost enters, confirming that Lady Macbeth is being haunted, just as Macbeth was earlier tormented during the banquet scene.

Davenant's Lady Macbeth is allowed to express openly and freely her repentance and to argue for her husband to abandon his own bloody ways; her new arguments for repentance run a similar course to those she used to persuade Macbeth into his initial crime. She first blames her present condition upon "Distraction [which] does by fits possess my head, Because a Crown unjustly covers it" (Davenant, 49), a statement which begins a repetition of the theme of the "ill gained Crown" in much the same way as "Coward" was repeated during her earlier persuasion to murder. As Lady Macbeth had earlier tied together the ideas of valour and power as well as cowardice and failure, she now ties together peace - both spiritual and within warring Scotland - and the resignation of Macbeth's crown; "You may in peace resign the ill gain'd Crown./Why should you labour still to be unjust?" (Davenant, 49) followed by "with your Crown put off your guilt" (Davenant, 49). In a similar way, Lady Macbeth unites the ideas of the crown and a heavy burden, as, "your Crown sits heavy on your Head,/But heavier on my heart" (Davenant, 49) she associates the burden of guilt with the burden and the responsibilities of kingship, "There has been too much blood already spilt./Make not the Subjects Victims to your guilt." (Davenant, 49).

Davenant also links Lady Macbeth and Lady Macduff together in this scene, through use of similar imagery, as Lady Macbeth's words,

Distraction does by fits possess my head,
 Because a Crown unjustly covers it.
 I stand so high that I am giddy grown.
 A Mist does cover me, as Clouds the tops
 Of Hills. (Davenant, 49)

are an echo of Lady Macduff's earlier argument that

you by your aspiring wou'd incur
From Fortunes Pinnacle, you will too late
Look down, when you are giddy with your height
(Davenant, 31)

which she made during the debate between herself and Macduff on the justification of regicide; Lady Macbeth now understands what Lady Macduff realised much earlier in the play, that the heights of kingship are too great a responsibility for those who would take the power unjustly. This first similitude is followed by another comparable image; Lady Macbeth's concern that Macbeth "Make not the Subjects Victims to your guilt" (Davenant, 49) also mirrors Lady Macduff's argument that "Whilst you with Fortune play to win a Crown, /The Peoples Stakes are greater than your own" (Davenant, 31); both women plead for the good of the people, realising more fully than their husbands the responsibilities which come with the crown, albeit in the instance of Lady Macbeth, this has come rather late.

These similar images add to the poignancy of the scene, as the audience is aware of the death of Lady Macduff - at Macbeth's orders - and heightens the pathos of the scene which follows, as Macduff learns of his family's murder for the first time. The corresponding images also suggests a similarity between the two couples; both men are ambitious - Macduff certainly considers regicide, though he does not act upon his inclinations privately, as does Macbeth - and valiant, while both women are intelligent with strong personalities and strong voices. Both women also exert a large amount of influence over their husbands; it is only the lack of Lady Macbeth's flaw of ambition in her counterpart

which truly separates the two women.

Macbeth himself comments upon this flaw during this scene of mutual recrimination with Lady Macbeth, as he rebukes his wife with,

Can you think that a Crime, which you did once
Provoke me to commit? Had not your breath
Blown up my Ambition up into a Flame
Duncan had yet been living. (Davenant, 49)

echoing the rather conventional and traditional critical view that Lady Macbeth is entirely to blame for Macbeth's actions; it was her manipulation and her clever use of words which led to his downfall. Interestingly, Lady Macbeth's rebuttal to this accusation uses the same masculine language which she utilised in the very scene to which her husband now eludes:

You were a man,
And by the Charter of your Sex you shou'd
Have govern'd me, there was more crime in you
When you obey'd my Councils, then I contracted
By my giving it. (Davenant, 49)

Lady Macbeth uses the words of the law in her admonishment of her husband, which, like the military, was a traditionally male preserve. Her use of such language imbues her argument with considerable authority, while paradoxically arguing that she holds no real authority at all.

Lady Macbeth's final fate - that of an apparent suicide, driven mad with guilt and, in Davenant's play, remorse - demonstrates Macbeth's final lack of understanding of their last scene together. His comment "Should have Di'd hereafter,/I brought Her here, to see my Victimes, not to Die" (Davenant, 56) indicates that despite his wife's urging that he resign his

bloody and unlawful crown, he still saw her as an essentially warlike creature, who would have rejoiced in the battle which she had in fact been trying to prevent; though this is a testament to the power of Lady Macbeth and her strong voice, it is also a terrible irony - indeed, it may be her own tragedy. Lady Macbeth's power to sway seems to have deserted her just as she needed it most, and though she easily persuaded Macbeth to murder and gain power, she cannot seem now to persuade him to repentance and peace. This may be a further indication of Davenant's "redemption" of Lady Macbeth; though supremely eloquent, her earlier words to Macbeth were so successful simply because she was seeking to persuade him to an action which he truly wished to perform. Once she tried to persuade him to repent - something which he clearly does not wish to do - her voice is not enough to influence his final decision; however, her very attempt to sway Macbeth away from his path of destruction helps to redeem Lady Macbeth in the eyes of the audience and lessen the vilification of such a strong and intelligent woman.

Tate's Volumnia in The Ingratitude of a Common-Wealth seems to be the more successful 'persuader' of men; she does succeed in persuading Coriolanus to act against his own nature and attempt to appease the proletariat through political maneuvering and dissembling, just as she also manages, with Virgilia's assistance, to keep Coriolanus from destroying Rome with the Volscian army. However, though she succeeds in her objective - to influence the actions of her son - none of Volumnia's words are ultimately effective; her advice to Coriolanus comes too late

to keep her son from exile, and her achievement in swaying Coriolanus to have pity on Rome ultimately leads to both Coriolanus' death and Volumnia's own downfall.

Tate introduces Volumnia into his adaptation very quickly, cutting the scene where Aufidius is introduced and including dialogue to introduce Volumnia and her warlike nature before she is actually seen by the audience. At the end of Tate's act I scene 1, the Tribunes Scicinius and Brutus - both enemies of Coriolanus - meet and discuss Coriolanus' character; Brutus describes how

Success i'th' present Wars, will swell his Spirits,
Above his Mothers Haughtiness, which he
Retains, as she had Nurs'd him with her Blood.
(Tate, 7)

he is making the connection between Coriolanus' military prowess and success, and his pride, with Volumnia's own blood and the essence of her being. As in Shakespeare's original play, there is no mention of or reference to Coriolanus' father in this scene, and very little mention of a male in the play as a whole. However, while Shakespeare makes only a passing reference to Volumnia in his opening scene, stating that Coriolanus "did it [Coriolanus' military victory] to please his mother", Tate highlights this idea that the only parent who appears to have any influence or bearing upon the play and upon its hero is the mother Volumnia and her bloodline, establishing its significance early in the play.

This proud and martial view of a haughty Volumnia is reinforced in the following scene, as Tate increases Volumnia's

importance to and prominence in the play. Tate introduces this important female character much earlier in the drama than does Shakespeare; Volumnia is now tied much more closely with the political machinations of the play and assumes more importance in their working through her close dramatic proximity to the overtly political characters. As in the instance of Davenant's Lady Macbeth, the first speeches of Tate's Volumnia deal with her respect for and affinity with martial matters and the honour of war; in his play, Tate makes the links between Volumnia and military values much stronger than in the original through a series of powerful speeches which draw upon the imagery of war and which make even more of an impact through being contrasted to Virgilia's more circumspect replies.

Tate departs from Shakespeare's text immediately in this scene, as he alters Volumnia's very first lines into a chiding rebuke to Virgilia:

Prethee Vergilia, spare those feeble Tears,
Which I must blame in any that belongs
To Caius Martius, tho his Tender Babe,
That had no other Language (Tate, 7)

By introducing Volumnia through her admonishment to Virgilia, Tate not only heightens the audience's perception of the differences between his two central female characters, but also establishes Volumnia as the more dominant woman in the relationship, a feeling which is reinforced by her use of the term "Daughter" when speaking to Virgilia; she seems to be acting as a teacher to Virgilia, instructing her on the proper behaviour of a Roman soldier's wife, while clearly viewing Virgilia as the weaker vessel for her lack of enthusiasm for Volumnia's own

warlike preoccupation. As Volumnia continues her speech,

...Learn of me
That blest the Absence, gave my Lord his Honour,
More than calm Peace, that gave me his Love
(Tate, 7)

her obsession with war and the military concept of valour leads her to the conclusion that war is more to be desired than peace, as it is war which leads to honour and to glory; a strange conclusion for any dramatic character, let alone a female one, to express in a country which appears to be on the brink of yet another punishing civil war⁵¹.

Tate intensifies the military imagery and the impact of Volumnia's martial language throughout both this first scene and the entire play, allowing his dominant female character to dwell upon images of war and battle, suggesting, as in the instance of Lady Macbeth nearly twenty years earlier, parallels between this martial woman and the women of Civil War. However, where Davenant's play reminded the audience of women's capabilities and potentials, the overall effect of Tate's use of such a stridently militaristic woman - one who is more militaristic than the earlier Lady Macbeth - is to remind the audience of the horrors of the earlier conflict, where even women were forced into battle and into participating in the conflict; indeed one of these strong women of the war years, the Countess of Portland who defended Carisbrooke Castle so valiantly was herself described

⁵¹Though Rome itself is not torn apart by civil war, David Wheeler points out in his article "To Their own Purpose: The Treatment of Coriolanus in the Restoration and Eighteenth Century" in the collection Coriolanus: Critical Essays that as Coriolanus and his family lie dying on stage, "outside the palace walls, soldiers who had followed Coriolanus battle in the streets of Corioli against those loyal to Aufidius in civil war". New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1995, 283.

as having "behaved like a Roman matron" of the sort exemplified by first Shakespeare's, and then Tate's portrayal of Volumnia. A number of the women of the Civil War years, such as Lucy Hutchinson, the wife of a Roundhead colonel and Mary Pennington, a religious dissenter, published their accounts of their lives during the conflict in the 1670's and 1680's, thus reminding the public not only of the horror of civil war but also of the role which many hundreds or even thousands of women played in its outcome; indeed, it may have been the continuing tensions of first the Popish Plot and then the Exclusion Crisis during the late 1670's and early 1680's which prompted the publication of these accounts. Tate's play, written during the height of the Exclusion Crisis in 1681-2, seems to be using the association of war and the actions of women already present in the public consciousness to highlight the trauma and bloodshed of war through the words of Volumnia.

Indeed, in Volumnia's second speech of her first scene, Tate includes a reference to Minerva, the Roman goddess of war who was often represented in full armour - helmet and mail - with a shield; this image was also one of the more potent symbols of Elizabeth during and after the Armada victory. Volumnia invokes this warrior goddess:

Now by Minerva, had the Indulgent Gods
 Blest me with Twenty Sons, as much Belov'd
 As my brave Martius; I had rather Lose them All
 In Chase of Glory, and their Country's Cause,
 Than One, i'th' Surfeit of voluptuous Peace
 (Tate, 8)

reinforcing her own devotion to warrior valour and her willingness to sacrifice her son to this ideal; Volumnia seems

to be identifying herself with Minerva, an association which is repeated later in the play. The inclusion of the qualifying phrase "In Chase of Glory", which distinguishes Tate's speech from the original "I had rather had eleven die nobly for their country" (Shakespeare, I.iii.24) as well as the exaggeration of wishing to lose "Twenty Sons" to Rome's glory rather than Shakespeare's Volumnia's more modest number emphasises Tate's Volumnia's obsession with martial honour and her disproportionate sense of valour and the glory of war; all maternal feelings and motherly love are sacrificed to Volumnia's ideals of war and honour, as she dwells upon the military achievements of "brave Martius" while paying no heed to his personal well-being, as does the concerned Virgilia. Tate's exaggeration of the more martial aspects of Shakespeare's Volumnia raises questions regarding the appropriateness of her enthusiasm and the worthiness of the values she espouses; this questioning is brought into sharper focus by the fact that Volumnia's speeches and her view put her at odds with the voices of many of the real women who lived through the wars. In August of 1643 thousands of women protested to Parliament to "cry for Peace, which was to the women a pleasing thing"; women may have been prepared to take the martial role when driven by necessity, but few seemed to relish or endorse the bloodshed of civil war⁵².

Tate continues to contract the action of the play, shortening the number of battle scenes to return immediately to the interplay between the women of the play and the returning

⁵²Higgins, 190.

hero, to touch upon the issues of politics and loyalty to the state. As Coriolanus enters in a rage over the demands of the populace upon his behaviour, Volumnia demonstrates her own political skill, as she, like Lady Macbeth, combines martial aspirations with political cunning and ambition; this cunning is highlighted by Volumnia's initial entrance in the company of the voluble but foolish Valeria. Tate alters Volumnia's first speech in this crucial scene to highlight this duality of concerns; Volumnia now paints a portrait of society itself as a battleground:

If it be Honour in Your Wars, to seem
The Thing You are not, for Your Countreys Good:
Why is it less in Peace, when the whole State
Is set at equal Hazzard? This feign'd Compliance
No more Dishonours You, than to Take in
A Town with gentle Words (Tate, 32)

using her images to reflect the turmoil which existed in England in the early 1680's as well as to sway Coriolanus and persuade him to accept her advice. Volumnia now acknowledges the danger of civil unrest and the need for peace; however, she continues to urge this peace using the language and voice of a soldier in an ironic commentary on all those both in the play and in English society who claim to be suing for peace while continuing to embrace a more martial code of behaviour. Volumnia cannot separate the life of the military and war from the demands of peace or the bloodshed of conquest from the tolerance of governance,

...This feign'd Compliance
No more Dishonours You, than to Take in
A Town with gentle Words, that sets you else
At Chance, and is at best the Price of Blood
(Tate, 32)

thus calling into question her right to advise Coriolanus, as

well as her powers of analysis.

Volumnia's judgement is further called into question by her sweeping statement,

I speak the Voice of All, and am in This,
Your Wife, Your Son, the Senators, and Nobles;
And in a Word, the Life, and Fate of Rome
(Tate, 32)

displaying the pride and arrogance which she counsels against openly demonstrating, insisting that Coriolanus follow her example and "Dissemble with my Nature, where/My Fortunes, and my Friends were both at Stake" (Tate, 32), and disguise his own true nature in order to win political power⁵³. Her contempt for not only the desires of the common people but those people themselves are fully disclosed to the audience as she urges Coriolanus to reject his own leanings and abase himself before the population:

I Pray go to'em
With mild Behaviour; for in such a Business,
Action is Eloquence; and the eyes o'th' Vulgar,
More Learned than their Eyes (Tate, 32)

Though Volumnia's advice is praised by both Menenius and later Cominius, the supporters of Coriolanus among the political hierarchy, her words are undermined by their very political soundness.

The images of the state and of loyalty to the state which dominate much of Volumnia's advice conflict with the deviousness

⁵³Ironically, Volumnia herself cannot seem to dissemble her own nature, and she responds to Coriolanus resistance to her advice with a certain spurious logic regarding her own pleading: "To beg of Thee, is more below my Honour,/Than Thou of them" (Tate, 33); it seems it is perfectly acceptable for Coriolanus to debase himself before the Roman mob, but it is inappropriate for his own mother to "beg" him to reconsider his position.

of her motives and the underlying hypocrisy of her words; she has no real concern for the possible destruction of Rome through Coriolanus' refusal to bow to the people's demands that he humiliate himself before them, but is instead angered by Coriolanus' possible loss of a prized political position. Volumnia's arrogance in her complete disregard for the wishes of the people, those whom she contemptuously dismisses as "Vulgar" though she claims to "speak the Voice of all", indicate her disregard for the welfare of the whole city, for if she cannot respect the will of the people, than she cannot respect society itself; Volumnia's voice is that of a defender of the state, but her motives are essentially narrow and selfish. Her words act as a warning to all those who would act in a similar fashion, and seek to advance their own personal goals under the guise of concern for the state.

This discrepancy between Volumnia's words in this scene and her true attitude is made clear as Coriolanus prepares to leave Rome, having failed to sway the populace and been exiled as a result. Volumnia, who was earlier seeking to preserve the city from ruin, now eloquently prophesies its downfall; indeed, she seems to almost glory in her terrifying portrait:

The spotted Pestilence strike every Street,
And purple Slaughter triumph through the Citty;
Death block up every Door, and Grave be wanting;
The noisy Trades be husht, and Traffick cease;
Assemblies be no more: Owls, Ravens, Vultures
With Nests obscene, their desolate Buildings fill,
And Beasts of prey their antient Seats regain.
(Tate, 36)

Volumnia's curse echoes her earlier "prophesy" to Coriolanus, made in a last attempt to influence his judgement and force him

into hiding his true nature to the people:

Destruction come,
and let Rome's Founder, and the groaning Spirits
Of all Her Guardians Dead,
Affright the Elements to see their Citty,
With Her own Hands let all Her Vital's Blood
(Tate, 33)

as in both passages Volumnia describes the destruction of Rome and the death of its people to great dramatic effect. One speech, however, is made to ensure Rome's life; the other is to call for its death.

With her curse, which Tate has greatly expanded from a scant two lines in the Shakespearean original, where Volumnia simply cries for "the red pestilence strike all trades in Rome,/And occupations perish" (Shakespeare, IV.i.12-3), Volumnia now speaks in the voice of the women preachers and prophets of an earlier, more violent age of civil war and turmoil; her curse strikes at the heart of the state as did the predictions of women such as Douglas and Poole. The "spotted pestilence" of Volumnia's speech would conjure images of the plague, which had decimated London only fifteen years previously in 1665 when "there was buried in St Giles' parish thirty, whereof two of the plague and eight of the spotted-fever, which was looked upon as the same thing"; her ominous prediction that "purple Slaughter triumph through the Citty" and "Death block up every Door, and Graves be wanting" seems to be a deliberate attempt by Tate to conjure up images of the plague and its devastation in the minds of his audience⁵⁴.

⁵⁴Defoe, 26. Defoe was writing several decades after the plague year of 1665, but his descriptions of the horrors of that year seem accurate and based on actual accounts; an excerpt from a weekly Bill of Mortality from 1665, reproduced in Liza Picard's Restoration London, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson,

These images would serve to remind the populace of the horrors of the aftermath of war, where death and disease have free rein; Tate is again using Volumnia to describe the horrors of what is threatened by the crisis in government and social hysteria rampant in the aftermath of the Popish Plot and the continued tension of the Exclusion Crisis. As with Tate's use of the earlier martial images of Volumnia - where her dwelling on and glorification of images of war produced a repellent effect, rather than one of admiration for her values - Volumnia's morbid description of Rome's fate is used ironically by Tate, to inspire repugnance in an audience which would be all too familiar with exactly these images; the use of such compelling and relevant images cannot be coincidental. This use of Volumnia's voice is emblematic of the ambiguity which Tate seems to demonstrate in his characterisation of his dominant female character; as she unconsciously offers some of the most telling arguments for peace while advocating martial glory; as she argues for the pre-eminence of the state while working for the glorification only of her own son; as she reminds the audience of the horrors of disease and death while vindictively wishing those horrors upon her own state; and where she ultimately exacts revenge for the wrongs done to her son, succeeding where others fail.

This dichotomy between Volumnia's words and character and their final impact continues in her attempt to persuade

1997, indicates that there were over seven thousand plague deaths that one week alone.

Coriolanus not to destroy Rome; significantly, Tate chose to greatly enlarge Virgilia's role in this scene, diminishing some of Volumnia's force and initiative in this crucial scene. Tate now makes this scene even more ironic as he cuts the scene in the Shakespearean original where the Roman Senators themselves persuade Volumnia to plead with Coriolanus - Shakespeare's Volumnia initially revels in the proposed destruction of Rome, as a fitting revenge for their treatment of her beloved son; there is now a conflict between the audience's last view of Volumnia, where she gloried in her prediction of the downfall of Rome, and their present view of her, where she is now begging her son to spare the city she earlier wished destroyed. The unnaturalness of Volumnia's new position is emphasised by her posture, as she begins her pleading to Coriolanus by taking the traditional posture of the supplicant:

I Kneel to thee, and with this new Submission,
Shew Duty as mistaken all this while,
Between the Son and Parent (Tate, 48)

The strangeness of Volumnia's new demeanour is emphasised by Coriolanus' own immediate response upon seeing Volumnia, "at your Feet/Behold a kneeling Conqueror" (Tate, 48); Tate reinforces the strength of the traditional parent-child dynamic, then immediately subverts it with Volumnia's kneeling tableau. This scene creates an uncharacteristic portrait of Volumnia as her words cleverly reinforce her former dominance over Coriolanus - with her "new" submission - and remind Coriolanus of his duty to her as his mother while apparently taking a subservient position.

Tate continues the use of unusual and contradictory imagery

in Volumnia's speeches; her plea to Coriolanus, "O Spare thy Country, /And do not Murder Nature" (Tate, 49) is again at odds with her early rant against Rome for its expulsion of her son, and her disregard for the wishes of its people. Volumnia's comment upon the natural duty owed by any citizen to their country is rendered ambiguous - as with the majority of Volumnia's speeches - by the conflicting ideas of what is natural displayed throughout the scene; even her moving speeches against Coriolanus' proposed war with Rome, which are in the main taken from Volumnia's original Shakespearean speeches, are now viewed with some distrust because of the tensions between the natural and the unnatural, and the spoken word and the motive, displayed in both this scene and the play as a whole. The outcome of the scene is ultimately successful, as Coriolanus is persuaded to abandon his planned destruction of Rome; however, given the increased prominence of Virgilia in this scene, the success of the women's pleading may be just as easily attributed to her rather than to Volumnia.

Tate continues to increase the role of Virgilia as he re-creates the final act of Shakespeare's Coriolanus, using her to increase the pathos of the situation, now that Volumnia has become a relatively unreliable character. As Volumnia and Virgilia realise that Coriolanus is in danger - as a result of their convincing him not to invade Rome - they both take action to save Coriolanus from the consequences of his actions and their interference; Volumnia responds in a fashion which is reminiscent of her earlier martial style, but is also at odds with her

pleadings of the earlier scene,

The Gods provide us then more noble Work,
To give our Virtues, yet a brighter Ray:
Come my Virgilia; with our ablest speed,
We will betake us to Corioles. (Tate, 54)

Like that other "Roman matron" of the Civil Wars, the redoubtable Countess of Portland, Volumnia is prepared to venture into battle herself. However, her speech again betrays an ambiguity in her words; the first "noble Work" which the Gods provided her was the manipulation of her son into sparing Rome, work which led to his present danger. She desires that her virtues be given "a brighter Ray", that is, that she will herself be glorified through her own military triumph; it is not just the rescue of Coriolanus which motivates Volumnia's zeal, but a desire to seek martial glory in her own right. As she issues her final call to arms, she urges Virgilia to follow her as

we delay our Enterprize too long,
And seem ingrateful to the indulgent Pow'rs,
That have decreed our Names, the immortal Glory
To save Rome first, and then Coriolanus
(Tate, 54)

It seems that her son is of secondary importance to Volumnia as she seeks her own "immortal Glory" in her own conquest.

The ambiguity of the character of Volumnia continues through this new final act until the final scene, where all of the family of Coriolanus lie either dead or dying on the stage, with the exception of a mad Volumnia. This new final scene first and perhaps foremost increases the pathos of the play's conclusion - at least from a Restoration audience's point of view - by including the on-stage death of Virgilia and a final scene where

she and Coriolanus take their leave of one another⁵⁵. Volumnia herself makes her final entrance "Distracted, with young Martius under her Arm" (Tate, 62), having been driven mad by the horrors which she has witnessed, most notably the torture of young Martius who soon dies of his wounds. Her language is now a mixture of the martial and the fantastic, as she now seeks to achieve in her madness a state of perfect martial glory; she sees herself armed as a god,

My Wings, and I'll among 'em; wreath my Head
With flaming Meteors; load my Arm with Thunder;
Which as I nimbly cut my cloudy Way,
I'll hurl on the ingrateful Earth, and laugh
To hear the Mortals yelling. (Tate, 62)

Her words, which hark to the language of the grand heroic epic tragedy, once more echo the conflicting images of Rome which characterised her earlier speeches where she first sought to persuade Coriolanus to dissemble to the masses, and then cursed Rome for its rejection of her son; she seeks in her words to destroy "the ingrateful Earth" which has destroyed her family, as she earlier used such imagery of destruction to manipulate Coriolanus and express her own outrage.

The elevation of Volumnia's language, as she now uses the language of legend and of the gods, reflects her now complete identification with the goddess she earlier invoked, for in her own mind, Volumnia is now truly "Romes Minerva" (Tate, 62), who "as I do remember,/'Twas I sav'd Rome" (Tate, 63); even

⁵⁵A similar scene was added to Otway's adaptation of Romeo and Juliet, entitled The History and Fall of Caius Marius; Juliet regains consciousness after Romeo has stabbed himself, but before he dies, thereby allowing the full pity and horror of the scene to be extracted.

Volumnia finally achieves her martial ideal and acts with the masculine, warlike bravery which she has advocated and admired throughout the play, yet only manages this feat in her final madness. The horror of the scene on the stage would conflict with the audiences' sense of satisfaction, as the play's two most aggressive and mindlessly bloody characters effectively destroy each other in perhaps the ultimate example of poetic justice; Volumnia is destroyed by the very martial values which she has glorified, while Nigridius dies as a result of his own mindless cruelty.

This bloody final scene of Tate's adaptation emphasises the horrors of war and violence, as even the one character other than Coriolanus who displays perhaps the most consistent martial inclination is unable to accept the inhumanity and injustice of war; by giving Volumnia's madness the form of her earlier martial voice, Tate again makes an ironic comment upon the nature of the desire for martial glory at the expense of all other concerns. The ambiguities and contradictions which exist in Volumnia's character also reflect the often confusing nature of any internal conflict such as a civil war, as the distinctions between the warring sides, and even between right and wrong become blurred and difficult to separate. Volumnia's voice, which seems to stridently embrace war and violence, demonstrates to the audience the danger of a such a blind obsession and belief in such an extreme mode of behaviour.

However, Volumnia's is not the only voice which Tate gives

to the women of his adaptation; Virgilia, Coriolanus' wife, is given the voice of reason and of peace, who urges reconciliation and an end to conflict - the combination of Volumnia's strident voice and ambiguous motives and Virgilia's quieter voice gives the play a strong anti-war voice of its own. In order to establish this duality of voices in The Ingratitude of a Commonwealth, Tate greatly expands the role of Virgilia from the original Shakespeare play, not a difficult task given that Virgilia is virtually a non-entity in the original text; he makes Virgilia into an adequate foil and point of reference and constancy, to counterbalance the contradictions of the character of Volumnia.

As well as establishing the increased importance and political associations of Volumnia, the removal of the intervening battle scene between the introduction of Coriolanus and the introduction of the female characters in act one also increases the importance of Virgilia; she is now clearly established as the contrast to Volumnia's martial words, making her virtually Volumnia's equal in the play. As Volumnia speaks of the glories of Coriolanus' conquest, of the "Chase of Glory", Virgilia introduces a note of reality into Volumnia's polemic; just as Davenant's Lady Macduff argues against Lady Macbeth's glorification of war, Virgilia cuts to the truth of all conflict with her stark comment "But had he Dy'd in the Adventure?" (Tate, 8).

Though her opening words echo the opening words of

Shakespeare's silent Virgilia, where Virgilia also questions the wisdom of glorifying such a bloody pastime with "But had he died in the business, madam, how then?" (Shakespeare, I.iii.19), Tate's Virgilia does not meekly accept Volumnia's words and her view; she instead openly disagrees with Volumnia and questions the validity of her obsession with martial glory, "What's this Monster-Country, / That must be Fed with my Dear Martius Blood?" (Tate, 8). She goes so far as to criticise Volumnia's staunch defence of military honour, "If this Unnatural Mother still must pre/On her own Off-spring, let her take her Rabble" (Tate, 8) and even Volumnia herself; Virgilia essentially accuses Volumnia of being that unnatural mother herself - imagery which looks ahead to Volumnia's own manipulation of images of the unnatural in her own pleadings with the vengeful Coriolanus - who is ready to sacrifice her own son to her idea of glorious martial conquest.

The traditional role of the mother is to protect her children and those she loves, as Virgilia herself - also a mother - attempts to do throughout the play, and not to offer the life of her loved one to an illusory vision of glory; Tate's expansion of Virgilia gives her and not Volumnia the voice of the true mother, seeking solely to protect her family and acting only out of necessity to defend those who are threatened. In the now spirited and outspoken Virgilia of his adaptation, Tate creates on the stage the true voices of the women of England who protested against war and sought to protect their sons and husbands at all costs; he gives them the opportunity to speak out against the growing turmoil in the increasing tensions of England

in the early 1680's.

This emphasis upon the nurturing role of Virgilia continues throughout the upheaval and confusion of Coriolanus' return and exile; as Coriolanus prepares to leave Rome, Tate gives Virgilia a substantial speech of farewell to her husband, again expanding from the virtually non-existent role of Shakespeare's Virgilia, who confines her remarks to "O heavens! O heavens!" (Shakespeare, IV.i.12) and "O the gods!" (Shakespeare, IV.i.38). While Volumnia uses her voice to curse the city which has banished her son and to prophesy its downfall, it is Virgilia who truly thinks of Coriolanus and expresses concern for his fate, demonstrating that despite Volumnia's own fine words, it is Virgilia and not Volumnia who feels "the Womans Tenderness...The Mothers Fondness, and her panting Fears" (Tate, 36); as Virgilia explicitly states,

My injur'd Lord, What Course wilt thou persue...
From her Confederate, Citties, Rome Excludes thee;
And in Rome's Service, thou hast made all others,
Thy Foes implacable (Tate, 36)

As in her earlier comment to Volumnia, Virgilia sees the reality of the situation, shorn of its polemic and fine imagery; her words cut through to the hard truth of the situation, and reveals a keen political insight as well - for all Volumnia's vaunted political cunning, she does not realise the real danger of Coriolanus' circumstance, and wastes her words on her curses.

Tate's greatest alteration, however, to the voice of Virgilia is made in the scene where the two women plead with Coriolanus to spare Rome his intended bloody revenge; in

Shakespeare's Coriolanus, it is essentially Volumnia alone who makes this plea, for though Virgilia is present, she is again almost completely silent and of no importance to the debate going on around her. Tate condenses the speeches of Volumnia, adding some imagery of his own devising, then splits the content of these speeches between Volumnia and Virgilia, placing Virgilia, again, on equal terms with the more strident Volumnia. These changes alter the dynamic of the scene; Volumnia has already proved her self to be a relatively unreliable orator, through her use of words for expediency and not for proclaiming the truth and through her frequent changes in thrust of her speech, throughout the play - first arguing for martial glory, then apparently for peaceful government and loyalty to the state, then cursing that same state because it has acted contrary to her wishes. Virgilia gives the audience a stable point of reference in the play, as her words always speak the truth - often quite bluntly - and her motivations seem to be essentially pure; her expanded role in this crucial scene give Volumnia's arguments more weight, as well as giving Virgilia herself the opportunity to sue for peace.

As Volumnia concentrates upon images of the unnatural, mixed with images of war and the state, Virgilia urges Coriolanus to consider the women's point of view - Tate now has Virgilia overtly plead on behalf of women, giving Shakespeare's words an added resonance to a Restoration audience by placing them in the mouth of a character who has espoused the woman's view in a wholly unambiguous fashion from the outset of the play:

Think with your self my once indulgent Lord,
How more unhappy than all living Women,

Are we come hither, since thy sight, that shou'd
 Make our Eyes flow with Joy, strikes Terroure through
 us (Tate, 49-50)

This plea is further emphasised by Tate's addition of a graphic vision of the horror of war:

Forcing the Mother, Wife, and Child, to see
 The Son, the Husband, and the Father, tearing
 His Countries Bowels with unnatural Rage,
 Whilst frighted Destiny disowns the Deed,
 And Hell is truck with Horrour (Tate, 50)

This addition to the original sense of the Shakespearean verse again uses the image of the unnatural to describe Coriolanus' behaviour, complementing Volumnia's earlier use of such images; Tate uses the words of the admirable Virgilia to justify the words of the now unreliable Volumnia, and elevate her in the eyes of the audience. Virgilia in Tate's adaptation has moved from being a relatively minor character in Shakespeare's Coriolanus to becoming the foundation of the portrayal of women in the later play.

The image of Virgilia as the voice of peace continues as she makes a passionate argument not just for peace, but for a complete reconciliation of the two warring sides:

...our suit
 Is but to Reconcile 'em, that the Volsces
 May say, this Mercy we have shewn the Romans;
 This we receiv'd, whilst either Party gives
 The Praise to Thee, and bless thy Memory,
 For making this dear Peace (Tate, 50)

an argument of particular import during a time of civil unrest, when "Faction is a Monster that often makes the slaughter 'twas designed for; and as often turns its fury on those that hatcht it" (Tate, Epistle). Given Tate's explicit concern regarding not only the issue of civil war but also in the inability of the

differing sides to come together, Virgilia's plea for mercy and peace seems to be of paramount import for the playwright, and he has given the explicit statement of such an importance idea to this major female character, allowing Virgilia to give voice to the concerns of both himself and, as Tate must have thought, the concerns of his audience.

The importance of Virgilia's character in Tate's play makes her end all the more tragic and poignant, increasing the pathos of the play's finale. It is Virgilia, and not Volumnia, who receives the letter which announces that

Amidst this general Joy begins our Sorrow;
This mourning we put on for rome, must now
Become the Dress of our own private sorrow.
(Tate, 54)

reflecting Virgilia's increased importance to the play and the workings of the plot. She seems to have had a "boding fear" (Tate, 53) regarding "False Nigridius...busy for Revenge" (Tate, 54), again demonstrating her more realistic view of the fortunes of war as well as her insight into the consequences of political decisions, an insight which is once more curiously absent from the traditionally dominant Volumnia.

It is, however, Volumnia who quickly urges that "We will betake us to Corioles" (Tate, 54), despite Virgilia's increased prominence in the latter section of the play; given the disastrous outcome of the women's actions, it may be that Tate did not wish to associate such a positive character with such a negative result, or rather that it is fitting that the strident Volumnia be the instigator of such a poorly conceived enterprise.

Virgilia does not embrace this mission as enthusiastically as Volumnia, as her desire to rescue her husband is tempered by her own intelligent prudence, her "Needful Suspicion, necessary Caution," and a greater understanding of the situation; however, she responds to the necessity of taking action, like the valiant women of the civil wars, and prepares to hazard the danger.

Her final action of the play - that of taking her own life rather than be ravished by Aufidius - is quite conventional within the bounds of heroic tragedy, where there is an established tradition of such behaviour; one of the original models of this type of female heroism is the Roman matron Lucrece, who preferred to kill herself after being raped rather than live with the dishonour, and was later established by many playwrights on the Restoration stage⁵⁶. This action of female suicide is, of course, an entirely genuine and legitimate form of female courage, but it is just that - inherently female, as opposed to Volumnia's more masculine action in her killing of Nigridius. Female honour has traditionally been associated with her sexuality, with her fidelity and chastity, as opposed to the male ideas of military valour and honour; Virgilia, who has persistently presented the women's view and arguments throughout the play, now dies the ultimately honourable death for a woman

⁵⁶There are many examples of this behaviour in Jacobean and Restoration drama, most particularly in the Restoration heroic tragedy. Rochester's adaptation of Fletcher's Valentinian emphasised the play's rape scene; the heroine Lucina later commits what Howe terms a "heroic suicide" (49). Edward Ravenscroft's adaptation of Titus Andronicus also emphasises the rape of Lavinia, though the heroine later allows her death at her father's hands rather than actively committing suicide. Howe hypothesises that it was the combination of sex in the act of rape or attempted rape and violent death which appealed to the rather prurient Restoration audience in particular.

of the time.

She embraces her death with the stoicism of the Roman ideal, assuring Coriolanus that "'tis a Roman Wound, /Giv'n by Virgilia's Hand" (Tate, 61), while still using her voice to good effect; Virgilia describes her attackers more strident language than she has used in past scene,

...that rather chose
To sink this Vessel in a Sea of Blood,
Than suffer its chast Treasure, to become
Th'unhallowed Pyrates Prize (Tate, 61)

as she associates those who would assault women and children, and who perpetuate the atrocities of war, with the unlawful "Pirates" who have caused her own death. It is a graphic indictment of war and violence, as the audience would see the supremely sympathetic victim of violence, as she condemns their actions; this imagery is rendered all the more powerful by its contrast to her vision of "eternal Calm" (Tate, 61), which is her final image of the play. Though the militaristic Volumnia succeeds in taking revenge upon Coriolanus' enemies and satisfy the audience's desire for justice, it is the death of Virgilia which makes the more lasting and intense impression.

Davenant also provides his audience with such a character, one who pleads for peace and calm, and who also meets a tragic end; Lady Macduff, in his adaptation of Macbeth, is very much a foil and counterpoint to Davenant's Lady Macbeth. In order to achieve this balance and accommodate this new role, her part is, like Virgilia's, greatly expanded, giving Lady Macduff many speeches which evoke the ideal of peace and question the

attraction of the martial ideal which holds such a fascination for so many other characters in the play.

Davenant establishes this duality of views early in the play, in the scene which he added specifically to introduce both of his dominant female characters; Lady Macduff is introduced to the audience as a voice of reason and moderation, at the moment when Lady Macbeth is at her most martial, as she receives the letter from her husband which starts her on the path of ambition and destruction. The first image of Lady Macduff is that of the loyal wife, as she demonstrates her loyalty to her husband and her concern for his well-being in the civil wars which afflict Scotland at the outset of the play, paralleling the concern of women during the recent conflict within England and which spread to the neighbouring countries; her response to Lady Macbeth's inquiries regarding her health show little interest in the demands of military valour: "My Lord, when Honour call'd him to the War,/Took with him half of my divided soul" (Davenant, 9).

Her use of "Honour" to describe Macduff's military duty is surely ironic, as Lady Macduff does not share her hostess' enthusiasm for this martial world, and finds little honour in its violence and the tearing apart of families which are part of its demands. Davenant's Lady Macduff sees herself as a part of her husband, just as Macduff is in her eyes also a part of herself:

The part transplanted from his breast to mine,
 (As 'twere by sympathy) still bore a share
 In all the hazards which the other half
 Incurr'd, and fill'd my bosom up with fears
 (Davenant, 9-10)

and this unity of souls and closeness between husband and wife gives Lady Macduff some insight into the world of military honour which her husband inhabits, as she shares in his travails. However, unlike Lady Macbeth who sees only "the bright glories...gain'd in Battel" (Davenant, 10), Lady Macduff understands the risks of war much more clearly than her counterpart and it is this comprehension which causes her fears; this military honour which demands her husband fight does both husband and wife dishonour, as it exposes the wife to fear and danger as she awaits his return.

In a most significant speech, Lady Macduff openly belittles and questions the morality and the validity of such military honour and glory, as she asserts that "The world mistakes the glories gain'd in war,/Thinking their Lustre true" (Davenant, 10), contradicting Lady Macbeth's words that the glories of battle "might dispel those Clouds" (Davenant, 10) of dishonour and despair which are shrouding Lady Macduff. Such honours are "Comets, Vapours!" (Davenant, 10), essentially insubstantial though with an impressive demeanour; the use of the term "Comets" also indicates a questioning of the benefits of such military conquests, for comets have traditionally been associated with ill omens and often caused hysteria and confusion when seen - by using this image, Lady Macduff is equating war with chaos. These "vapours" of battle glory are "by some men exhal'd/From others bloud" (Davenant, 10), a vivid reminder of the cost of war; for one faction to win, the other must die.

Davenant then cleverly introduces images of the stage to Lady Macduff's speech: "kindl'd in the Region/Of popular applause, in which they live/A-while; then vanish" (Davenant, 10), an apt analogy in play about conquest and bloodshed which would no doubt please an intelligent and witty audience, but which also connects military prowess with the ephemeral world of the stage. Lady Macduff is equating the honours of war with the illusions of the stage and with the transitory nature of stage fame; honour in war is only an illusion of honour, as lives are wasted in the chaos of battle. It is honour which must, just as fame on the stage which must be constantly won and won again as new spectacles attract audience attention, be constantly regained through more violence and bloodshed - the honour and glory of war simply begets more war, and more death.

In the end, this cycle of bloodshed and the very violence of the nature of war will lead to the extinction of those who seek glory only in war, as "the very breath/Which first inflam'd them, blows them out agen" (Davenant, 10); those who desire the glory of war are finally consumed by the very war in which they glory. This final image is also a slight at those who first "inflam'd" the passions of the country and began the blood-letting of the all too recent Civil Wars, as Davenant reminds an audience in the grip of the malaise which afflicted England in the years immediately following the Restoration of the horror which is unleashed in the "glorious" pursuit of violence. This speech by Lady Macduff is extremely subversive in a time when the pursuit of military glory was still a legitimate enterprise; this

play was first produced only a year before the beginning of the second Dutch war, in which naval honour was among the highest possible achievement. Lady Macduff is established early in the play as the voice of reason and of peace with these words, and though some of the subversive ideas in this role might be somewhat diluted by the feminine nature of the character, the powerful imagery and strong voice still provide telling arguments for peace at a time when such ideas were still in the populace's minds.

Lady Macduff's keen powers of observation, used to cut to the heart of the truth of military honour early in the play, come to the fore in the events following Duncan's murder. As the Scottish lords - including Macduff - remain in Macbeth's castle, Lady Macduff immediately grasps the significance of the murder of the king, as well as the implications of the death, and has gathered her children and fled; Macduff proclaims to Lennox:

...I'll to Fyfe:
My Wife and Children frightened at the Alar'm
Of this sad news, have thither led the way,
And I'll follow them (Davenant, 23)

Though Macduff seems to believe that the reason for her flight is fear, Lady Macduff soon demonstrates to the audience her courage as well as her intelligence, as she waits on the heath for Macduff to arrive.

Her musings in this scene reveal a keen political mind and understanding of their true situation:

How fondly did my Lord conceive that we
Should shun the place of danger by our flight
From Everness?...

We are in danger still (Davenant, 24)

Lady Macduff comments upon the blindness and the naivety of her husband in believing himself and his family to be safe in such dangerous times; she herself seems to realise the lengths to which the culprits of the murder may be willing to go in order to achieve their ends. Interestingly, she has also apparently divined the innocence of Malcolm and Donalbain; since Duncan's sons have fled Scotland, they cannot be the source of the danger she perceives will threaten her family. Of all the characters in the play, it seems that only the women are fully versed in the possibilities of evil, as it is first the witches, then Lady Macbeth and now Lady Macduff who realise of what Macbeth is capable; as a result, the one person in the play who seems at this point to fully understand what has taken place is a woman, and yet because she is a woman, few people - including her husband - seem inclined to listen to her words.

Davenant's introduction of the witches to this new scene between Macduff and his wife, though no doubt primarily intended to contribute to the spectacle of the production, also illustrates the strength of Lady Macduff's character as well as the extent to which Macduff relies upon her; the sound of the witches' song fills Macduff with fear, as "It was an hellish Song" (Davenant, 25) but does not seem to bother his courageous wife who comments that "This is most strange" (Davenant, 25) before rebuking her husband with "why seem you affraid?/Can you be capable of fears, who have/So often caus'd it in your Enemies" (Davenant, 25). Lady Macduff has touched upon one of the core

failings of the martial code in her rebuke; though Macduff is certainly valiant upon the battlefield dealing with human foes, he is not as well equipped as is she to deal with dangers of the spirit and the soul.

In this scene, it is Lady Macduff who understands that "None can fear ill, but those that merit it" (Davenant, 26) and sees that the pure of heart have nothing to fear from such "foul spirits" (Davenant, 26) as the witches. Macduff acknowledges that

...If any one would be
Reputed valiant, let him learn of you;
Vertue both courage is, and safety too.
(Davenant, 26)

The use of valiant in this passage is implied to be the valour of war; Macduff describes the valiant as masculine, and war was still considered to be an almost exclusively male province, despite the actions of many women during the Civil Wars. Lady Macduff's courage of virtue is the stronger form of courage when faced with the machinations of the witches, as the more war-like Macduff almost crumbles in the face of the witches' words.

Davenant gives to Lady Macduff in this scene the essential truth and moral of the play,

The Messengers of Darkness never spake
To men, but to deceive them.
...He that believes ill news from such as these,
Deserves to find it true. Their words are like
Their shape, nothing but Fiction. (Davenant, 26)

as she sees through the illusion of the witches' power and determines that, like the medieval vision of the devil, their only true power comes through deception and fear; if Lady Macbeth

had given such advice to her husband, then the bloodshed of the play would have been averted. Again, it is a woman who uncovers the truths of the play, but who is constrained by her position in society from acting upon her knowledge. In the end, it is Macduff who acts, and it is those very actions which stir the fears of Macbeth and lead him to strike against Lady Macduff.

The inherent truth of Lady Macduff's voice is given an even greater prominence in another scene which Davenant adds to his adaptation; immediately after Macbeth's instructions to his hired murderers upon the killing of Banquo and Fleance and before the death of Banquo, Davenant introduces a debate between Lady Macduff and Macduff on the nature of ambition and power, and on the role of the king. As Macduff apparently finally comes to the realisation that Macbeth was responsible for the murder of Duncan, his wife cautions him to guard against the lure of ambition, for

Ambition urg'd him to that bloody deed:
 May you be never by Ambition led:
 Forbid it Heav'n, that in revenge you shou'd
 Follow a Copy that is writ in blood
 (Davenant, 30)

The scene develops into a debate upon the nature of and justification for regicide, a subject still in the public consciousness only four years after the return of a king who inherited the title after the execution of his father; in the increasing and insidious lassitude of the mid-1660's, Davenant, an ardent royalist, may have felt a need to bring such memories to a disgruntled populace's mind.

As Macduff calls for justice in Duncan's name, his wife advises against an active motion against Macbeth, as

If the Throne
Was by Macbeth ill gain'd, Heavens may,
Without your Sword, sufficient vengeance pay.
Usurpers lives have but a short extent,
Nothing lives long in a strange Element
(Davenant, 30)

arguing that as the king is divinely appointed by God - an idea which Charles II actively encouraged - then the death of a king should be avenged by God Himself, and not by lesser mortals; to do otherwise would be a lack of faith in divine providence and interfere in divine matters. The outcome of this interference in the divine scheme of things could be truly disastrous, as Lady Macduff begins to sense some ambiguity in her husband's motives:

I am afraid you have some other end,
Than meerly Scotland's freedom to defend.
You'd raise your self, whilst you wou'd him dethrone;
And shake his Greatness to confirm your own
(Davenant, 30)

The fatal difficulty with seeking to depose a tyrant, if that tyrant is a king, is that the deposer his or herself becomes that which they seek to destroy; a caution which Lady Macduff aims not only at her husband, but also at any who might seek to invert the natural order of the universe and oppose the king.

Lady Macduff can see clearly this difficulty with taking revenge, and understand the political and social problems inherent in any overt or violent action as her husband cannot; as Macduff queries "What if I shou'd/Assume the Scepter for my Countrey's good?" (Davenant, 30), Lady Macduff immediately answers "If the Design should prosper, the Event/May make us safe, but not you Innocent" (Davenant, 30), first throwing doubts

upon the possible success of such a venture by continually qualifying her statements and then moving to the heart of her argument, that Macduff would be tainted by his actions, however pure his motives. As in the early scene with Lady Macbeth, where her words brought the "bright glories" of Lady Macbeth's imaginings to earth, Lady Macduff sees the realities of her situation, and is not swayed by any doubtful logic and fanciful ideas; she is essentially a woman of reason and clear-sighted logic, whose arguments rely on natural philosophy and common sense rather than dubious sentiments.

Davenant lists, in this scene, all of the possible arguments in favour of "justified" regicide, then lets the woman's voice refute every one of those arguments; for every point which Macduff makes in support of his proposed action, Lady Macduff has an eloquent and logically sound answer. Indeed, many of Macduff's ideas are based upon emotion and sentiment, as opposed to his wife's reasoned replies; in this debate, it is the woman who is the more rational of the two. Her final speech in this scene unites such logical discourse with fine and persuasive imagery:

But then reflect upon the Danger, Sir,
Which you by your aspiring wou'd incur
From Fortunes Pinnacle, you will too late
Look down, when you are giddy with your height:
Whilst you with Fortune play to win a Crown,
The Peoples Stakes are greater than your own.
(Davenant, 31)

The images in this speech are similar to the images used by Lady Macbeth as she repents of her actions and attempts to convince Macbeth to resign his bloody crown. The similarities in the

imagery reinforce the links between the two women, as Lady Macduff's reason acts as a balance to Lady Macbeth's ambition; both speeches feature images of the giddy heights of kingship, coupled with an emphasis upon the need to consider the people. The scene ends abruptly soon after Lady Macduff concludes her speech, as Davenant does not bring his debate to a clear conclusion; the question of the justification of regicide is left open as the scene shifts to the discussion between Macbeth and Lady Macbeth regarding the lives of Banquo and Fleance. Immediately after this debate, then, are a number of scenes where Macbeth abuses his royal power and increases his crimes against Scotland; Davenant has no need to conclude his argument when Macbeth provides the most comprehensive argument in the play against the killing of a king.

The audience's final images of Lady Macduff return to the valiant images of her on the heath; Macduff flees to England and leaves his wife alone in Fife. Once her husband has left, however, Lady Macduff seems to grow in her own valour,

Oh my dear Lord, I find now thou art gone,
I am more valiant when unsafe alone.
My heart feels man-hood, it does Death despise.
(Davenant, 38)

However, she still admits her own essential womanhood,

Yet I am still a Woman in my eyes.
And of my Tears thy absence is the cause,
So falls the Dew when the bright Sun withdraws
(Davenant, 38)

and her own frailty; where Lady Macbeth calls for dark forces to "unsex me here", Lady Macduff is able to be courageous as a woman. She is now truly the image of the women defenders of the

Civil Wars, who fought out of necessity yet remained quintessentially female.

Both in Davenant's adaptation of Macbeth, and in Tate's The Ingratitude of a Common-Wealth, two strong women greatly influence their husbands and affect events in their society through their voices, thereby reminding audiences of how powerful the woman's voice is capable of being. This reminder is a timely one , for though both of these plays are separated by almost twenty years, both playwrights seem to be seeking to make a political point regarding the nature of war and conflict - with particular reference to civil war - and the consequences of such violent upheaval. Volumnia and Lady Macbeth, who embrace the political world and its correlating martial sphere, both conjure negative images of the horrors of war through their constant harping upon martial imagery and their overt manipulation of those about them to achieve their own selfish ends; these two prominent and important women in the play give a timely warning to any Restoration audience, whether that audience is suffering from discontent with a newly restored king or is facing the possibility of more bloodshed during the constant and continual political tensions of the late 1670's and early 1680's.

The two counterparts to Lady Macbeth and Volumnia, who create a sense of balance in the play, both argue for peace and reconciliation, providing the audience with an alternative to the militaristic views offered elsewhere in the play. This vision of peace is vital to the full impact of both plays, as both

playwrights present their audience with the horrors of war dramatically contrasted with the pleadings of peace of Lady Macduff and Virgilia. Without the vision of peace offered by these two gentle yet resolute female characters, the militaristic words of the plays' more martial women would not seem so repugnant, just as the terrifying words of Lady Macbeth and Volumnia make the words of Virgilia and Lady Macduff more appealing and more desirable. Both Tate and Davenant use to maximum effect the voices of all of these women to make their own particular political point and to further their own propaganda campaign against internal strife and war.

CHAPTER V - TITUS ANDRONICUS

"What secret Charms there are
in well-tun'd words"¹

As in Davenant's Macbeth and Tate's Coriolanus, Edward Ravenscroft's adaptation of Titus Andronicus has a political agenda which relates to the events which were occurring in Restoration society at the time of the play's writing and its first performance. However, Ravenscroft's political agenda is decidedly less overt than the previous two plays, and does not involve his female characters to the same extent, as Davenant's debating Lady MacDuff and Tate's overtly aggressive Volumnia; this despite the fact that one of Ravenscroft's most important and vivid characters is initially the Queen of the Goths, and later Empress of Rome.

There is some doubt surrounding the dating of Ravenscroft's adaptation; Van Lennep in The London Stage gives two entries for the play. The first entry is listed under the 1678-9 season, stating that "This play was acted at Drury Lane by the King's Company, but that the time of the first production is not known. It was not licensed until 21. Dec. 1686, and not printed until 1687"². This entry goes on to point out that according Ravenscroft's epistle which appears at the beginning of the 1687 edition, as well as the prologues which were included in the same

¹Edward Ravenscroft, Titus Andronicus, London: Cornmarket P, 1969, 42.

²Van Lennep, 273.

publication, "the play may have appeared in the autumn of 1678"³. The second entry for Titus Andronicus appears in the introduction to the listings for the 1686-7 season; the entry records that "the new Prologues and Epilogue suggest a revival during 1685-6 or 1686-7"⁴.

However, Michael Dobson states in The Making of the National Poet that Ravenscroft's play appeared in 1678, during the tense build up to Titus Oates' allegations which began the hysteria of the "Popish Plot", as he lists the play as one "Of the nine adaptations produced [between October 1678 and June 1682] Edward Ravenscroft's Titus Andronicus, or, The Rape of Lavinia (1678)"; he goes on to call the play's original prologues as "professedly political", as the original Shakespearean play provides Ravenscroft with "both a vehicle for topical comment and a useful cover-story"⁵. This view is shared by Hazelton Spencer, as he states that "it [Ravenscroft's Titus Andronicus] was called into being by the political troubles"; Spencer also cites Gerard Langbaine, quoting from that original prologue,

Today the Poet does not fear you Rage,
Shakespeare by him reviv'd now treads the stage:
Under his sacred lawrels he sits down,
Safe, from the blast of any Criticks Frown.

Langbaine also states clearly that Titus Andronicus "Twas about this time/of the Popish-plot revived and altered by Mr./Ravenscroft"; indeed, the very nature of the play and its

³Van Lennep, 273.

⁴Van Lennep, 352.

⁵Dobson, 62-3; 72-3.

subject matter mean that any adaptation which follows even the barest of outlines of the original plot will have political overtones and therefore be topical at a time of political turmoil. It is not possible to write about a revolution against a corrupt Emperor, however justified the rebellion may seem to be, without inviting some comment and a great deal of controversy. Therefore, though there is no direct evidence from existing theatrical records, the evidence of the 1687 published edition, stating that Ravenscroft's Titus Andronicus first appeared in 1678 during the opening days of the Popish Plot tensions, can be taken as read.

By 1686-87, however, Ravenscroft felt secure enough in the political situation in England to openly profess his apparently pro-royalist sympathies; for this reason the original, rather non-controversial prologue, which calls upon Shakespeare's Laurels rather than dealing explicitly with political topicality, is omitted by Ravenscroft from the published edition and instead the playwright adds a Royalist dedication coupled with a very pointedly political Epistle. In this introductory epistle, which is addressed to Lord Arundel "One of the Lords of his Majesties most Honourable Privy-Council", Ravenscroft likens himself to "the Athenians and Romans" as he

chose[s] to expose this to the Publick under your Name, because in every degree fitted for a Maecenas, and my self of a Temper not to idolize and make a Heroe where the Essentials of a man are wanting⁶

By dedicating the revival of the play and the subsequent

⁶Edward Ravenscroft, Titus Andronicus, or the Rape of Lavinia, London: Cornmarket P, 1969, "Epistle Dedicatory".

publication of the text to a noble firmly of the King's party - this done in the years immediately prior to the "glorious revolution" of 1688 which saw the deposition of James II in favour of his Protestant daughter Mary and her husband William of Orange - Ravenscroft makes an overt political statement in the adaptation's revival. Ravenscroft further states that "this peice [sic] was calculated to that Season, when Villany, Treachery and Perjury Triumphed over Truth, Innocence and Loyalty" (Ravenscroft, Epistle Dedicatory), in a clear reference to the statements of the discredited Oates and the suffering caused by his false accusations.

Ravenscroft goes even further in his statement of his intentions in his epistle "To The Reader"; he states that

The Success [of Ravenscroft's alterations] answer'd
the labour, tho' it first appear'd upon the Stage, at
the beginning of the pretended Popish Plot, when
neither Wit nor Honesty had Encouragement
(Ravenscroft, To The Reader)

a comment which not only defends his play and its changes but also reminds the reader of the dangers of hysteria and rumour. The remark regarding Ravenscroft's changes is particularly significant as the author also describes his creation as being "confirm'd a Stock-Play" (Ravenscroft, To The Reader), that is that it was of enduring popularity; this statement is in fact confirmed by Dobson, who lists it as one of the nine adaptations of the years from 1678 to 1682 which "would remain in the repertory for over forty years"⁷. There is also additional direct evidence of the play's endurance from The London Stage,

⁷Dobson, 63.

as it records a series of revivals of Ravenscroft's Titus Andronicus from 1704 when it "had not been acted for Six Years" until 1717 when it was "much requested"⁸.

However, for all of Ravenscroft's avowed political intent, there is little sign of any overt - and just as little evidence of covert - contemporary political ideology or commentary in the play. Further, it is possible that the original 1678-9 version of the play had no political overtones whatsoever, and that following the revival of the play in calmer times, Ravenscroft was inspired to take a political stance in his epistle in the 1687 published edition which he had felt unable to take during the more turbulent years of the Popish Plot hysteria. Indeed, Ravenscroft would have had a difficult time of making the play less controversial; Titus Andronicus is political in its very nature, with its themes of tyranny and revolution making it potentially explosive in nature even without any additional contemporary references and alterations. It is possible that Ravenscroft considered the presentation of such a play a political act in itself, and thus felt no need to make any more obvious statement regarding the controversies of 1678-9 than that inherent in the subject matter of the play.

The most significant "political" change which Ravenscroft makes, that is a change which has a bearing on the internal political life of the world of the play itself, is to the

⁸Emmet L. Avery, The London Stage, Vol. II, Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois UP, 1965, 73; Avery, 459.

characters of Saturninus and Tamora, the two key characters who hold the power in Rome; the character of Aaron the Moor, Tamora's paramour and confidant is also altered, a change which reflects upon Tamora. Saturninus is made a significantly weaker character - he is no longer active in his evil as he was in Shakespeare's original play, but instead is merely foolish and doting; he is essentially a cuckolded husband, an alteration which makes the Emperor more akin to the victims of the Restoration comedy rakes, than a villainous figure in a high tragedy. Tamora becomes an entirely treacherous woman who manipulates her husband and the state, and is virtually the sole cause of the revolution which destroys them all; she is aided in her malice by the changed character of Aron, who also becomes more actively malevolent and cruel in his dealings with the Andronici. In particular, the blame for the mutilation of Titus is laid wholly upon Aron, and not upon the Emperor as in Shakespeare's Titus Andronicus; the overall effect of these changes, while not making the character of the ruler more sympathetic, does make him less evil and merely easily led, a shift which perhaps makes the play slightly less politically dangerous.

Many significant and necessary alterations, then, had to be made to Shakespeare's original drama in order to make it more acceptable to the Restoration dramatic tastes and political climate; however, many of Ravenscroft's changes owe as much to the playwright's concerns with maintaining the neo-classical unities as with pacifying political fears. This concern with the refinement of language and poetic justice, which were in keeping

with preserving the ideas of the new "French style", was not, in fact the norm for adapters of the time; though many critics and dramatists seem to have often praised the ideas of French neo-classicism, in reality, these ideas rarely made their way in any meaningful way onto the stage. Ravenscroft states outright that Shakespeare's original play "'tis the most incorrect and indigested piece...It seems rather a heap of Rubbish than a Structure" (Ravenscroft, To The Reader). However, he asserts also that if one were to

Compare the Old Play with this, you'l finde that none in all that Authors Works ever receiv'd greater Alterations or Additions, the language not only refin'd, but many Scenes entirely New: Besides most of the principal Characters heighten'd, and the Plot much encreas'd (Ravenscroft, To The Reader)

indicating that Ravenscroft felt that it was not only the language and unities which needed to be redressed, but also the characters themselves.

It is rather ironic, that Ravenscroft's alterations and "refinements" were condemned by other dramatists and critics, some from later eras, and even some who were Ravenscroft's contemporaries. Langbaine terms Ravenscroft "One who Vulgar passes for a Writer" before going much further in his criticism, calling the erstwhile dramatist a "Leech, that lives upon the Blood of Men drawn from the Gums; and when he is rubb'd with Salt, spues it up again."⁹. In addition to presenting his own view of Ravenscroft's work to the reader, Langbaine quotes

⁹Langbaine, 417. It is worth noting that Ravenscroft, for the most part, wrote farces, and it may be these plays which have prompted Langbaine's scorn.

liberally from other authors, most notably the poet laureate Thomas Shadwell, who, when writing on plagiarism, stated that

Mr. Ravenscroft, in the Epistle to Titus, says That the Plays was not originally to Shakespeare's, but brought by a private Author to be acted, and he only gave some Master-Touches to one or two of the principal Parts or Characters...find that none in all that author's Works ever receiv'd greater Alteration, or Additions¹⁰

It seems clear, that whatever the possible political implications of Ravenscroft's play, the consensus of a large number of his fellow critics and dramatists seems to be that his version of the play was perhaps ill-conceived, and his changes were not well written.

It is, however, Ravenscroft's changes to the play's principal characters which are of utmost importance and effect the portrayal of women in the tragedy. Significant alterations are made not only to the female characters, but also to certain of the male characters as well; besides the change made to the character of Saturninus, which intensified the malice of Tamora while lessening the Emperor's own complicity, the most noticeable change is made to the character of the Moor. Aron, like the women of the play, is essentially a marginalised character; that is, he exists on the fringes of conventional society, exerting little power within that society and being forced to find alternative ways to make an impact on the world around him. He also is linked quite closely with the character of Tamora; in fact in Ravenscroft's play this link is made even closer and seems stronger. In this way, Aron becomes in some senses an

¹⁰Langbaine, 464-5.

extension of Tamora, as well as a character in his own right.

The most striking, and prominent change made to the play, of course, is the change to the title; Ravenscroft's play is no longer simply the tragedy of only Titus Andronicus, but is also the tragedy of his daughter Lavinia. The title of the play changes accordingly, from Shakespeare's original The Most Lamentable Roman Tragedy of Titus Andronicus to Titus Andronicus, or the Rape of Lavinia. This change in title places Lavinia virtually on equal footing with Titus as a character of importance in the tragedy, making her violation and mutilation as important to the play and to the audience as Titus' loss of family and honour through the machinations of the Queen of the Goths; the play is now as much the tragedy of Lavinia as the tragedy of Titus Andronicus.

This change of title highlights the potential tragedy of Lavinia, and through her, of all women - rape is traditionally a female vulnerability, not a male issue, as sexual violence directed against women held a particular horror for women, worse perhaps than any other violation, as it involved the ultimate and complete loss of what was perceived as being a woman's honour. Women such as Lucrece were considered the ideal in this situation: if she was violated, than a woman had to die in order to reclaim her lost honour. However, though the tragedy of Lavinia is highlighted, the change of title also raises the level of titillation in the audience, as it promises both sex and violence - with the accompaniment of some naked female flesh from

the actress in the role.

This preoccupation with titillation on the stage undoubtedly influenced not only Ravenscroft's choice of play but also his presentation of his characters, as he, like other playwrights of the time, sought to appease the audience's appetite for lurid scenes upon the stage; Tate, in The Ingratitude of a Commonwealth felt the need to add the attempted rape of Virgilia to his plot in order to appeal to his audience, while Dryden, in his 1673 play Amboyna, features discovery of his ravished but virtuous heroine as Ysabinda is found by her lover tied to a tree, with her breasts exposed¹¹. This use of rape in the Restoration theatre allowed the playwright to give supposed virginal and chaste women a sexual dimension, which would otherwise be absent. Ravenscroft is merely keeping with Restoration theatre trends and tastes by fully and graphically exploiting both the decadence of Tamora and the violation of Lavinia to their fullest extent in his adaptation; this sort of fascination with sexual violence was a the norm in the tragic drama of the time, though it is interesting to note that this violation was never seen actually on the stage. Apparently the Restoration audience wanted to be titillated, but not disgusted.

This shift of focus in the play's title also serves to take

¹¹In fact, in accompanying illustrations to many Restoration plays, the discovery of these unfortunate women were fully depicted, leaving nothing to the imagination; thus Ysabinda is featured on the frontispiece of the 1735 edition of Amboyna, while a 1709 edition of Rowe's Works of Shakespeare uses the display of the virginal Desdemona sprawled upon her bed with her breasts exposed being menaced by the murderous Othello as its frontispiece. See Howe, 37-49 on the actress and the depiction of sexual violence on the Restoration stage.

the focus of the play away from any political dimensions, as was the case with Nahum Tate's adaptation of King Lear¹². The audience would presumably focus more closely upon the tragedy of Lavinia and not concentrate upon the political machinations of Tamora and the questionable rule of Saturninus. This focus upon Lavinia is made all the more interesting given the nature of her full tragedy; Ravenscroft's play offers the audience the situation of presenting a heroine who loses her voice completely, in a stark contrast to the play's villainess, who uses her voice solely for manipulation and to achieve her own ends.

This contrast between Lavinia and Tamora also reflects a trend towards depicting two extremes of womanhood on the stage, "the angel and the she-devil"¹³. Just as Lady MacDuff, as the virtuous and loyal wife, operates as a counterpoint to the scheming Lady Macbeth, the much suffering Lavinia is placed in sharp contrast to the manipulative Queen of the Goths, as Ravenscroft takes the original opposition between these two female characters in the Shakespearean original, and makes the distinction between the two much more extreme. Shakespeare's Lavinia is a strong and wilful woman with a sharp tongue and fierce spirit, while Shakespeare's Tamora is considerably less malevolent and considerably more wronged; Ravenscroft highlights

¹²Tate's The History of King Lear was written in the early 1680's, as the Exclusion Crisis followed immediately upon the conclusion of the Popish Plot hysteria. After Tate's adaptation of Richard II, entitled The Sicilian Usurper, was banned, it seems that Tate decided to completely bury any political references, particularly those dealing with right rule and revolt, at a time when the King was seemingly being forced to bend to the will of Parliament and the Duke of Monmouth.

¹³Howe, 147.

the dichotomy between his central female roles by pushing their characters towards the edges of stereotypical portrayals, thus keeping more in line with prevailing Restoration stage conventions¹⁴.

This convention had its roots in earlier drama; the character of the villainess in particular can be traced back through Carolean and Jacobean drama - the characters of Evadne from The Maid's Tragedy and Vittoria from The White Devil are examples of strong but flawed women who made their mark on the Restoration stage and who enjoyed a continuing popularity - to Shakespeare's own original Tamora. These women, in their original form, and often in their Restoration incarnation in such forms as the heroic drama as well, were not in fact necessarily wholly evil or exceptionally sexually rapacious, but they were often passionate, sexually experienced and inherently flawed; they were also often as complex and intriguing as the male heroes of the Restoration tragedies and heroic epics.

By using Shakespeare's play, whose principal female characters embody both the violated but virtuous woman and the vengeful, manipulative temptress, as the basis for his own, Ravenscroft was undoubtedly seeking to trade upon the popular interest in seeing contrasting female characters on the stage,

¹⁴Howe goes into great detail on the development of this 'partnership' between female roles, citing the prominence of two actresses, Rebecca Marshall and Rebecca Boutell, both of the King's Company, during the 1670's as one source of this phenomenon, as "one [Boutell] would be chaste and gentle, the other [Marshall] wild and passionate" (Howe, 147). This partnership between the two actresses, which led to the prominence of the dual and opposing female roles in much serious drama of the time, lasted from 1670 until late 1677, until Marshall left the King's Company and later retired from the stage.

all the more so as the theatres were undergoing a difficult period during the late 1670's¹⁵. In addition, Titus Andronicus - particularly after Ravenscroft's alterations - has a general atmosphere of "horror and treachery" which would "seem topical enough to survive during an otherwise extremely thin season"; this topicality was added to Ravenscroft's increased brutality and violence directed at all of the play's characters, which would have further intrigued and titillated the audience¹⁶.

However, although the role of the "virtuous virgin" was supposed to embody the qualities of the perfect woman, she often became something of a one-dimensional character; indeed, as Lavinia loses the use of her tongue half-way through Ravenscroft's Titus Andronicus, she becomes the embodiment of the ultimate "chaste, silent, obedient" woman who was held to be the epitome of womanly virtue by the more reactionary elements of Restoration society. In the light of this possible blandness which could develop in the character of the Restoration perfectly pure heroine, the role of the Restoration villainess could offer more scope and more drama for an actress, a fact which would be of significance to the emerging and increasingly influential groups of actresses.

¹⁵There was dissatisfaction within the King's Company, as Thomas Killigrew became embroiled in difficulties with his son Charles, difficulties which ultimately led to Killigrew surrendering his theatrical rights to his son. The players of the King's Company were so unwilling to work with Charles Killigrew that in 1677 they petitioned the King for autonomy, a request which they won. These events led to a serious disruption in drama not only within the King's Company, which held the rights to Titus Andronicus and for whom Ravenscroft wrote his adaptation, but within the city of London itself. Hotson, 260-1.

¹⁶Dobson, 73.

The role of Tamora in Ravenscroft's Titus Andronicus, or the Rape of Lavinia offers the Restoration ample opportunity for exploring a multitude of emotions as she creates a memorable character, as well as indulging the audience in their taste for the macabre and the spectacular. The role of Lavinia, for all of her prominence in the title and in the action of the play, is a relatively passive and flat character, who acts more as a symbol of the virtuous woman wronged than as a multi-faceted character; in addition, due to the very nature of Lavinia's role in the play, the character would be rather limited in scope after the inevitable mutilation, and offer an actress even fewer opportunities to impress the audience with her talents. However, Ravenscroft does present his two versions of womanhood - the evil and the good - to the audience in a very effective manner.

Tamora is a very vocal and a very powerful woman; indeed, it is her voice and her powers of manipulation which give her much of her force and much of her power in the play. In the opening of the play, Tamora is a captive, and is in eclipse, while Lavinia is not only the daughter of Rome's hero and saviour but is about to be betrothed to the Emperor as well; however, Tamora's sexuality, her self-possession and above all her voice win over the Roman Emperor Saturninus and win her - albeit briefly - an empire.

Ravenscroft presents the conflict over the throne of Rome in much the same manner as Shakespeare, as both Saturninus and Bassianus argue with the people of Rome over the crown. However,

Ravenscroft quickly departs from the original text in a small but significant alteration; Ravenscroft describes the Goths as "bloody" (Ravenscroft, 1), rather than as "barbarous" (Shakespeare, I.i.28) as does Shakespeare. This may seem to be a very minor change, yet it foreshadows Ravenscroft's change in the character of Tamora. The use of the term barbarous implies that the Goths are less civilised than the Roman conquerors, and are therefore more likely to exact revenge for their wrongs; the word also conjures ideas, fresh in the mind of a Restoration audience, of the character of the "noble savage" who while certainly uncivilised and barbaric, is still courageous and worthy of respect. The character of the inherently ennobled barbarian was a staple of much Restoration heroic epic tragedy; Dryden used this idea in his heroic play The Indian Queen in the character of the barbarian queen Zempoalla, as did both Aphra Behn in her short novel Oroonoko and Thomas Southerne in his subsequent stage adaptation. Ravenscroft's decision to instead describe the Goths as bloody not only lessens the view of the Goths - and therefore their Queen - as these "noble savages", but also implies the ensuing death and murder committed by these Goths from the outset of the play, paving the way for the atrocities their Queen shall enact.

Tamora herself makes her first appearance on the stage in act I, in a scene which again shares many similarities with the Shakespearean original, though it also contains an error on the part of Ravenscroft in neglecting to indicate the presence on stage with Tamora of her son Alarbus, who is to be sacrificed to

appease Titus' anger; the villainous sons Chiron and Demetrius are mentioned, but not their ill-fated brother. This omission has the effect - albeit almost certainly unintentionally - of lessening the impact of Alarbus' death upon the audience; if the character is of so little import that he may be overlooked upon his entrance on stage, than his death, as a justification for the Goths' fury and vengeance, lessens in impact.

This overshadowing of Alarbus' death - an event which causes Tamora's actions in Shakespeare's play - is reinforced by Tamora's manner in her opening speech of the play. As Tamora pleads for her son's life to be spared, Ravenscroft significantly does not indicate that she should kneel to her captors in order to add weight to her words, despite assigning stage directions for other characters in the course of this scene. It is this refusal to be beaten and subjugated, in her refusal to kneel before her conqueror despite the threat to her own child, which both intrigues Saturninus and gives to the audience an indication of Tamora's true character. This omission immediately establishes Tamora's pride and her unbending nature; though her words are pleading, she remains upstanding and unmoved.

In addition to this upright stature, as Tamora appears to use none of the physical indications of pleading, the audience is left only with her words with which to empathise with her grief, "Behold the Tears I shed;/A Mothers Tears in Passion for her Son" (Ravenscroft, 3); the discrepancy between Tamora's language and her physical bearing, as well as the audience's

knowledge that she is the undoubted villain of the play from both their own familiarity with this play and with other tragic plays, would lead the audience to inherently mistrust the Queen's words and her character. Ravenscroft does not treat or portray Tamora and the Goths as being the traditional noble savage; unlike Zempoalla in The Indian Queen, who is first presented on stage grieving over her losses in the company of her noble general or Almahide in The Conquest of Granada who is first revealed as proud but noble and worthy, Tamora is never portrayed in a positive way on the stage. She is first seen by the audience after having been beaten in battle, she is described as bloody and is later revealed to have supervised the mob massacre of a nobly-born prisoner of war. The overall tone of the character and of the drama is less of a Restoration heroic drama and more a bloody revenge tragedy with dark Jacobean overtones, more akin to Venice Preserv'd than to The Conquest of Granada.

This first speech of the Queen, asking for mercy and her son's life, is virtually identical to the Shakespearean original, though in a revealing omission, Shakespeare's line extolling that "Sweet mercy is nobility's true badge" (Shakespeare, I.i.122) is cut from Tamora's speech. Ravenscroft's Tamora has no mercy, and is incapable of calling upon it to aid her cause. As in Shakespeare, there is a sense of honour and nobility in the speech, as Ravenscroft's Tamora also attempts to argue that as she and her sons were but defending their country, they do not deserve to be slaughtered by their conquerors; the implication is that the dishonour of the scene lies with Titus and the

Emperor for allowing the sacrifice of Alarbus, rather than with the Goths, and that the honour of the Roman victory over the Goths is tainted by the action. However, unlike Shakespeare, Ravenscroft immediately undercuts this sense of injustice by revealing Tamora's treachery in her homeland and her own cruelty towards her enemies; by allowing the audience to begin to feel sympathy for Tamora, than revealing the Queen's base behaviour, Ravenscroft further destroys her character in the eyes of his public, reinforcing the blackness of her character and the manipulative power of her tongue while establishing her duplicitous nature. Ravenscroft's audience will now view all statements uttered by Tamora with suspicion and distrust, as all traces of ambiguity in her character are removed.

Tamora's power to sway emotions in order to gain her own ends becomes clear as Titus responds to her plea. In Shakespeare's Titus Andronicus, Titus responds to Tamora's arguments by stating almost casually that Alarbus' death is necessary for Roman religious ceremonies to honour their dead warriors, "To this your son is marked, and die he must, /T'appease their groaning shadows that are gone." (Shakespeare, I.i.128-9); Alarbus' death is not easily justified using this argument, particularly in light of the fact the Rome traditionally had not allowed human sacrifice in their religious ceremonies; Shakespeare's addition of such a rite further undermines Roman society. The Romans of Shakespeare's play are becoming as barbarous as they accuse their enemies of being, blurring the differentiation between the Romans and the Goths, and making

Tamora's actions and her quest for revenge upon Titus, and through him all Romans, all the more understandable to a feeling audience, while possibly inspiring a measure of pity for the wronged queen and mother.

Ravenscroft's Titus, however, reveals that "My Son, whom Chance of War your Captive made, / Was Born in Glory too... Yet fell a Victim to Plebeian Rage." (Ravenscroft, 4); Titus and his surviving sons are responding to a sense of aggrievement and revenge and honour, as they had vowed that "If any of the Cruel Tamora's Race / Should fall into Roman hand, him I wou'd give / To their Revenging Piety" (Ravenscroft, 4). This vow serves a dual purpose as on the one hand, it reinforces the strengthening audience view of Tamora as a cruel and perhaps unnatural woman. On the other hand, the vow makes Titus' insistence upon Alarbus' sacrifice more comprehensible, as it combines apparent religious feelings with an unabashed desire for revenge:

Your Eldest Son is doom'd, and dye he must,
 Not to revenge their Bloods we now bring home,
 Or theirs who formerly were slain in Arms...
 ...This was no Cause
 But a Sons groaning Shadow to appease,
 By Priestly Butchers Murder'd on your Altars.
 (Ravenscroft, 4)

The tenor of the argument of Ravenscroft's Titus, while certainly not admirable, is entirely human in its desire for a bloody justice and revenge. The whole tenor of the argument between Titus and Tamora now has been altered: it is now Tamora who is in the wrong, who must "Learn Goths from hence, and after keep't in mind / That Cruelty is not the Worship of the Gods" (Ravenscroft, 4) and no longer Titus. Tamora's attempt to regain

control of the situation with her assertion that "Intention made it Piety in us./But in you this Act is Cruelty" (Ravenscroft, 4) has little weight; Ravenscroft has created an intense distrust of the queen's voice through her previous actions and her attempts to justify her bloody behaviour. She has been established as false by both her actions and her denial of the brutality of her actions, and will not be trusted by the audience again. The final image with which Ravenscroft's audience is left is not that of a grieving queen watching her son die as in Shakespeare's original tragedy, but of a scheming villain who uses her command of language to twist the truth to suit her own ends.

This contrast between the noble Romans, represented by Titus and his family, and the evil Goth queen is highlighted further through the comments of Tamora's minion, Aron the Moor, who makes clear to the audience Tamora's true feelings and her intention to "requite/These Bloody Wrongs and Roman Injuries" (Ravenscroft, 5). It is as Aron gives voice to Tamora's desire for revenge that Ravenscroft introduces his virtuous heroine, Lavinia, momentarily eclipsing Tamora as the scene focuses upon Titus, Lavinia and the Romans. By having Lavinia enter at the moment at which Tamora is not only proved to be treacherous but has her treachery made abundantly clear to the audience, Ravenscroft highlights the extreme difference between the portrayal of the two women, and also the differences in their power; for Tamora's power emanates primarily from her deceptive tongue, while Lavinia's power is felt most potently when she is mute. This

discrepancy is emphasised yet again as the next scene begins; as Tamora uses her voice to capture the attention of the Emperor and use the confusion of her enemies to gain political, social and personal ascendancy over the compliant Lavinia.

The moment at which the Emperor begins to indicate his interest in Tamora is presented discreetly in Shakespeare's play, as Saturninus' words are shrouded in courtesy, "A goodly lady, trust me, of the hue/That I would choose were I to choose anew" (Shakespeare, I.i.265-6), and his praise is not as open or enthusiastic as Ravenscroft's very vocal Emperor, "Of Mein Majestick, and of Features Excellent!" (Ravenscroft, 8). In Shakespeare's play, Tamora remains silent at this point, thus removing any indication that she has encouraged Saturninus' regard; Ravenscroft's Tamora, however, quickly speaks up to consolidate her position and her ascendancy over Lavinia:

Tho' here in Chains, yet I am still a Queen,
And have the noble Courage of a Goth.
If in my face you Signes of sorrow read
The Frontispeice is unworthy of my mind,
And ill befits the greatness of my Soul.
(Ravenscroft, 8)

It becomes clear that it is this proud, defiant speech which makes the deepest impression upon Saturninus:

Brave Queen - whose noble Mind in triumph leads
The glories of our Roman Victories
Ransomless here we set these Captives free,
And pay thy greatness with their Liberty.
(Ravenscroft, 8)

The effect of Tamora's speech is to imply that she not only encourages the Emperor's regard despite his very public commitment to Lavinia, but that she actively seduces him, using her voice to captivate Saturninus and ensnare him to her will.

The transition from the first act to the second act emphasises this transition of power from Lavinia and the Romans to Tamora and her Goth followers. Saturninus seems to be blinded by the beauty and more significantly by the rhetoric of Tamora and thus cannot see the true worth of Lavinia, referring to her as "that foolish toy" (Ravenscroft, 10), while elevating Tamora by calling her "Lovely Tamora Queen of Goths,/That like the Stately Thebe 'mong her Nimphs,/Out-shinst the brightest Roman Dames" (Ravenscroft, 10). Saturninus continues to show his high regard for Tamora in his proposal of marriage; significantly, he asks Tamora if she will marry him,

If thou art pleas'd with this my sudden choice,
Behold I take thee Tamora for my Bride,
And will Create thee Empress of Rome.
(Ravenscroft, 10)

instead of simply announcing his intentions as when he announced his intended marriage to Lavinia. Tamora is given the respect due to an individual, while Lavinia is treated as an object, as a prize to be won, and therefore as a lesser being; the Queen of the Goths is a worldly and knowledgable widow, as well as a ruler in her own right, while Ravenscroft's Lavinia is still only a young girl, in another departure from Shakespeare's original play, where Lavinia is much more worldly and proves herself to be a woman. This respect for Tamora's rights is further reinforced by Saturninus' impatient and anxious questioning, "Speak thou Majestick Goth, dost thou approve/my choice?" (Ravenscroft, 10), seeking Tamora's approval regarding their proposed marriage, as he did not seek Lavinia's. This questioning also reinforces the source of Tamora's power, as the Emperor asks her to "speak", to use her voice, in order to

confirm the Emperor's plan, again, as he did not give Lavinia the opportunity to exercise her own power through her speech; Tamora uses her voice to achieve what Lavinia cannot - a sense of power and of equality.

Ravenscroft alters Tamora's response to Saturninus' offer of marriage quite significantly; the original Shakespearean version of Tamora's answer is quite straightforward, as the Queen offers fealty to the Emperor,

And here in sight of heaven to Rome I swear,
If Saturnine advance the queen of Goths,
She will a handmaid be to his desires,
A loving nurse, a mother to his youth.
(Shakespeare, I.i.334-7)

while also interestingly making a pointed reference to the apparently notable age difference between Saturninus and Tamora. Ravenscroft removes the original reference to Tamora's age in his version of this speech; though the reference did highlight Tamora's greater experience and her role as a potentially powerful widow, the excision of the line makes Tamora more of a foil for the virtuous Lavinia and more a sexual threat to the stability of Rome. Ravenscroft's Tamora is no kind and loving mother, but a predator seeking to destroy all that stands in the way of her revenge.

Tamora uses this new opportunity also to advance the fortunes of the Moor Aron, her confidant and confederate:

But to my Emperor this one thing I commend
In highest care and greatest Love 'tis done,
Receive this worthy Moor to your esteem.
(Ravenscroft, 10)

which is something which Shakespeare's Tamora does not do; Ravenscroft is making, as in act one when Aron voiced Tamora's desire for revenge, a connection between Tamora's inner blackness and Aron's outer blackness. In many ways, Ravenscroft treats Aron as an extension of Tamora, as he voices thoughts which it would be impolitic for the Queen to utter, as he undertakes to perform the actions she decrees but in which she cannot actively participate. In this way, Aron's actions and speeches reflect upon the character of Tamora; he is her creature in a much more fundamental way than in the Shakespearean original, where Tamora does not so cold-bloodedly and deliberately seek to advance her lover and therefore increase his usefulness to her cause.

This link is made quite explicit in a scene which brings together the two opposing couples of Saturninus and Tamora and Bassianus and Lavinia in direct confrontation, as Ravenscroft goes on to assign a speech, which is attributed to Tamora in Shakespeare's Titus Andronicus, to Aron instead; the speech, which begins on I.i.439 and goes on at length, is now split in half, with Tamora affecting the initial placatory role and Aron assuming the role of the treacherous advisor. Tamora apparently pleads for tolerance and reconciliation within the empire, "If Tamora be gracious in your eyes/Then hear me speak indifferently for all" (Ravenscroft, 13), though her words are double-edged; she has already demonstrated that she is not at all disinterested, as she has made it known through her minion Aron that she seeks the downfall of the Andronici and of Rome. Tamora, with her eloquent speech and power over language is far

less reliable in her voice than is Lavinia, who remains silent.

It is now Aron who urges Saturninus to "Dissemble all your griefs and discontents/You are but newly stept into your Throne" (Ravenscroft, 13) in order to keep a firm hold upon his throne, and who warns that Titus may "supplant you for ingratitude,/Which Rome reposes to be a heinous Crime" (Ravenscroft, 13), in lines which, as in the earlier instance of Tamora's initial speech in this scene, keep the sense of Shakespeare's original lines intact while altering and simplifying the language to better appeal to Restoration tastes. The argument again is taken up by Tamora, as Ravenscroft re-iterates the dark partnership between the Moor and the Queen through Tamora's recitation of the remainder of the original speech, at last making her true feelings openly known to the audience:

I'le watch a day that's fitted for Revenge,
 And race their Faction and their Family.
 The Cruell Father and his Trayterous Sons
 To whom I once su'd for my dear Sons Life.
 I'le make 'em know what 'tis to let a Queen
 Kneel in the streets to beg for grace in Vain.
 (Ravenscroft, 14)

She reveals the falseness of her earlier words, confirming her close relationship to Aron by taking him into her confidence as well as declaring to the audience her clear intention to destroy Titus, despite her earlier, public words, "Trust me my Lord he's innocent." (Ravenscroft, 13). Tamora is once again using her words to manipulate Saturninus, and through him, the empire; by using the term "Trayterous" when describing Titus' sons she emphasises Saturninus' fears regarding the Andronici family, while by using "Cruell" to describe Titus himself, she reveals

her own anger and her vengeful intentions, which she has kept hidden from the Emperor and the public.

When Aron later seeks to persuade Tamora's sons to act against Bassianus and Lavinia, and through them take her revenge upon Titus, he speaks with her voice and her authority,

Now climeth Tamora Olympus top,
Safe out of Fortunes shot, and sits on high,
...Upon her Wit doth Earthly honour wait,
And Virtue stoops and trembles at her frown,
Then Aron, Arm they heart and fit thy thoughts
To mount aloft with thy Imperial Mistress.
(Ravenscroft, 15)

as he identifies himself with Tamora and her fortunes. Aron is essentially seeking to strike a blow against her enemy Titus; Lavinia's worth in the eyes of Tamora and Aron is only as an instrument of revenge and a method of injuring her father and his honour, not as a human being in her own right. Tamora and Aron verbally objectify Lavinia, as the actresses of the Restoration were often physically objectified by the prurient audiences of the time, denying Lavinia her identity and her voice.

Ravenscroft partially re-constructs the scene of Lavinia's assault and mutilation, making the scene rather less of a triumph for Tamora than in Shakespeare. Tamora's major speech of this scene, which begins "Have I not reason, think you, to look pale?" (Shakespeare, II.ii.91) and where she justifies her hatred of Lavinia and Bassianus, is considerably shortened; Ravenscroft removes a great deal of Shakespeare's original description of the "barren detested vale...Here never shines the sun, here nothing breeds/Unless the nightly owl or fatal raven." (Shakespeare, 93-

7). Though this absence does deprive Tamora of some very fine lines and of some of her power to sway her audience, it also focuses the speech - and therefore the audience - upon Tamora's villainy more narrowly¹⁷.

In addition to these cuts to her major speech of the scene, Ravenscroft also removes Tamora's attempt to stab the captive Lavinia, where she commands her sons to "Give me the poniard. You shall know, my boys, /Your mother's hand shall right your mother's wrongs." (Shakespeare, II.ii.120-1); unlike Shakespeare's Tamora, this Queen does not take an overtly active role in either Bassianus' murder or Lavinia's humiliation. Tamora's power in Ravenscroft's adaptation remains confined entirely within her voice, and though it is a potent power, nonetheless she cannot seem to move outside of its limitations at this pivotal point in the play.

However, Tamora does exercise her considerable verbal power to its full extent as the play progresses, manipulating the Emperor and the public to achieve her own ends. Tamora becomes a major political force in the play, though given her persecution of the now entirely passive Lavinia, she a force which is seen as entirely evil; ironically, Tamora reaches her moment of greatest power just as she is condemned by the audience. To

¹⁷It is also worth noting that given the advances in scenery and stage machinery during the Restoration, and the audience demand for spectacle, it is likely that the "secret and retir'd place" (Ravenscroft, 21) where Tamora and her confederates perform their horrors would have been completely and graphically re-created. Many adaptors of the Restoration did not feel the need to include prolonged place description because the scenes were so readily interpreted on the stage.

underline this power, Tamora is given a major speech in an added scene, as Ravenscroft introduces a rebellion in the midst of act five of his adaptation, where the Senators of Rome enter with accusations of treachery against the Emperor; when the people of Rome rise up against Saturninus, it is Tamora and her persuasive voice which inspire the people's loyalty and obtains their continued support.

Tamora displays a superior knowledge of the motivations of the mob and a stunning grasp of rhetoric as she plays upon the Romans' emotions. She first belittles Titus and his grievances, "pitty the poor Aged man,/Then be offended at these Injuries:/Titus offends you not, his Frenzy may" (Ravenscroft, 42) to both the Emperor and to the crowd; as it is Titus' wrongs which have inspired this uprising, "If Titus or his Sons have suffer'd wrong,/Was it the Law or Emperor did that wrong?" (Ravenscroft, 41), Tamora's clever insinuation that these wrongs are due to "Titus Madness" (Ravenscroft, 42) rather than to any action on the part of Saturninus, deprives the rebels of much of their indignation. Further, she cunningly reinforces Saturninus' and her own compassion for the suffering Titus, "In secret for their [Titus' sons Quintus and Martius] deaths my Lord does grieve" (Ravenscroft, 42) while reiterating the guilt of the Andronici "Wishing they had been Innocent of the fact" (Ravenscroft, 42) in the minds of the people.

Tamora also seeks to establish herself as both Titus' and the people's champion,

I see you burn with Zeal to do him [Titus] Service,
 But now the Emperor highly is incensed,
 And this is no fit time for intercession;
 Leave me to pleade his cause, I'le watch the hour
 That proper'st is to move in his behalf
 (Ravenscroft, 42)

identifying herself with the plebian cause and creating for herself the role of peace-maker and mediator. Tamora also makes her first overt assumption of the royal prerogative, as she promises the crowd that in time, "nothing then shall be too dear for him [Titus]/To ask, or Romes great Emperor to Grant" (Ravenscroft, 42); though Tamora has no real authority, she speaks for Saturninus and pledges his support as well as her own, indicating that she has begun the transfer of power in their marriage. Her efforts are immediately rewarded, as Ravenscroft's Romans, noble and commoner alike, all cheer Tamora's efforts "Long live our gracious Empress" (Ravenscroft, 42), a cheer which not only indicates that her words have successfully averted the threatened rebellion, but that through the use of her voice, Tamora has already consolidated her own position within the power struggles of Rome. This scene is a triumph for Tamora and the power of her voice, and it serves to seal her villainy in the larger universe of the playhouse.

This villainy is reinforced by Ravenscroft immediately, as he quickly undercuts Tamora's speech in by having his villain launch into a bitingly ironic speech on her power over the crowd;

See Emperor what flattery can do,
 What secret Charms there are in well-tun'd words?
 Unbend your brow then and dismiss your frown,
 What need of anger whilst this art prevails?
 Force oftner then a dissimulation fails.
 (Ravenscroft, 42)

a speech which is made all the more ironic by the playwright's decision to address Tamora for the first time in the play by the title "Empress" - Ravenscroft uses this title for Tamora only once more in the play. This one speech lays bare all of Tamora's political scheming and reveals the source of her power as her voice; Tamora achieves her full power through well placed "flattery" and "dissimulation" to achieve what brute force cannot. Perhaps the ultimate irony of this speech is that Tamora reveals to Saturninus, one of her victims, the method by which she has manipulated him as well as the angry Roman mob; however, he is still too blinded by her power and does not realise what she has done¹⁸. Tamora has become the dominant character of the play, whose constant manipulations and powerful, deceitful voice overwhelms the male characters of the play, either subduing them, as in the case of Saturninus, or co-opting them to her cause, as with Aron, Demetrius and Chiron; even the wronged Titus is a pale shadow of the strident general of the play's opening and is often upstaged by the wicked but nonetheless triumphant Queen.

Tamora demonstrates this increasing supremacy over Saturninus in an even more graphic manner when she imperiously over-rules the Emperor's orders to "Stop his [Titus] Mouth, take him away, and hang him" (Ravenscroft, 44), insisting instead that Saturninus "Forbear, --- Emperor leave me to deal with him" (Ravenscroft, 44). The Queen, unlike the Emperor, has seen the

¹⁸Saturninus is made such a weak character in a deliberate attempt to deflect the more controversial political implications of the play; the fault for the tyranny in Rome is, this weakness implies, more the fault of the evil Tamora than the weak Emperor.

political implications of summarily executing Titus and asserts that "I will Enchant the good Andronicus, /With words more sweet, and yet more dangerous" (Ravenscroft, 44), and chooses to use intelligence and guile in her dealings with Titus. Saturninus now appears not only weak and ineffectual but also foolish and incompetent, as he willingly endangers his throne in his pursuit of his former supporter. It is Tamora who, as when the Emperor was approached by the rebellious mob, must find a way to silence Titus discreetly, without feeding the growing murmurs of discontent within Rome:

I'll smooth the Fathers aged Cheeks with golden promises,
And he shall draw 'em both to his own house,
To treat of Friendship, and tell their grievances,
Whilst they are busied here in Long debate,
Friends we'll employ to appease the Multitude,
And pacify the Angry Souldiers.
(Ravenscroft, 44)

She proves herself to be the superior strategist and general, just as Shakespeare's Tamora proves her own intelligence and mastery of situation, "Now will I to that old Andronicus, /And temper him with all the art I have" (Shakespeare, V.i.107-8), when she plans to mock Titus with her masque of revenge, an episode which Ravenscroft largely cuts.

The ending of Ravenscroft's play is a bloody and violent affair, even more violent than the Shakespearean original; though Ravenscroft removes the on stage murders of Chiron and Demetrius which no doubt greatly shocked the Elizabethan audience, the final banquet scene of the adaptation features great cruelty and needless violence and torture. In Shakespeare, Tamora is killed relatively quickly by Titus, and her illegitimate child

is left alive, though its father Aron is condemned to death and led off for execution. Ravenscroft, however, reflects the violence of Tamora's nature and her words in his conclusion to the tragedy, and adds the on stage torture of Aron, who refuses to betray his mistress, thereby demonstrating his continuing and abiding loyalty to his co-conspirator. It is only when their child is threatened that Aron admits both his own and Tamora's guilt, despite Tamora's cold utterance "Moor, speak not a word against my honour/To save the World." (Ravenscroft, 54). The effect of these words are chilling; this is Tamora's own child who is threatened, yet her own self-interest, her concern for her honour and of course for her life, takes precedent over the life of her only remaining child, even with the mutilated bodies of his brothers displayed on the stage.

Tamora's words condemn not only her sole surviving son, but her own humanity, for she is already dying of the wound which Titus has inflicted, and whatever Aron confesses can no longer harm her. It is in the stage directions for this murder that Ravenscroft for only the second and final time, refers to Tamora as "Empress", as "Titus stabs the Empress" (Ravenscroft, 54); Ravenscroft openly acknowledges Tamora by her title of Empress first when she reaches her rhetorical height, and then as she is repaid for her treacherous acts. This first instance could be a concession to Tamora's demonstration of her greater political and persuasive powers; the second is likely an ironic comment upon Tamora's nature, that just as she is about to prove indisputably her unnatural and cruel nature, she is given her

proper title and sign of power. Like Volumnia, Tamora is given her full measure of respect only as she is being destroyed by her own inhuman nature. This inhumanity is emphasised in a dreadful fashion when Tamora, as her dying act, kills her own child simply in order to spite Aron, "that Blab-tongu'd Moor" (Ravenscroft, 55); again, as she is dying already, the action has no purpose other than to injure Aron and reinforce the audience's belief in Tamora's ultimate villainy. Tamora at last uses the force which she has spurned to use throughout the play, though she must again use her primary power in order once again to dissimulate her true feelings and to obtain her opportunity for revenge on Aron:

I have now no other Son, and shou'd
Be kind to it in Death, let it approach me then,
That I may leave with it my parting Kiss. ---
Dye thou off-spring of that Blab-tongu'd Moor.
(Ravenscroft, 55)

Ravenscroft's Tamora dies as she has lived, using her voice to manipulate and gain power over her surroundings, and take a final terrible revenge upon her enemies, in yet another departure from Shakespeare; Shakespeare's Tamora who has no final speech or closing line as she is stabbed by Titus, and dies without uttering a word. For all of her terrible actions and evil words, Ravenscroft's Tamora is allowed her final lines, though it is in keeping in Ravenscroft's characterisation of the Goth queen that her final words are a curse: "Accursed Moor./May that breath by thy last as this is mine" (Ravenscroft, 55). Tamora, despite her warped nature and her horrendous deeds, is still accorded the right to use her voice to make a final and lasting impression upon her society, a right which is denied the long-suffering Lavinia.

It is in part because Tamora is such a strong, albeit evil, character, that Lavinia becomes the archetypal virtuous heroine, passive and pure; in Shakespeare's Titus Andronicus, where Tamora is a more complex figure who is less unambiguously evil, Lavinia also is a more complicated character, who is both a more worldly and more vocal. From the moment that she first enters, at the very moment when Aron is urging Tamora to be secretive, treacherous and vengeful, Ravenscroft's Lavinia is depicted as the epitome of womanly virtue and passive perfection.

The audience's only knowledge of Lavinia until the moment of her entrance has come from Bassianus' description of her as "Romes bright Ornament" (Ravenscroft, 2), as opposed to Marcus' depiction of the Goths and their Queen as "bloody"; this portrait of Lavinia also differs slightly from the corresponding passage in Shakespeare's play, where Lavinia is called "Romes rich ornament" (Shakespeare, I.i.55). The difference is a small but distinct one, as it emphasises that in Ravenscroft's view of Lavinia's character, she is to be perceived as pure and heavenly, like a star, and thus bright is a more fitting description than rich; by making this association between Lavinia and the heavens, it makes her degradation all the more poignant and horrifying.

Lavinia now appears on the stage as a direct contrast to the evil Queen of the Goths, who has just begun to plot her revenge with her accomplice Aron; this entrance in fact has been moved from its place in the Shakespearean original, where it appears not immediately after the Goths' vengeful utterings, but after

Titus has buried his dead son, a change which serves to emphasise the contrasts between Ravenscroft's two dominant female characters. Howe's "angel and she-devil" are now next to each other on the stage, affording the audience their first clear view of the pure and dutiful daughter and the experienced but tainted Tamora.

This view is emphasised almost immediately by the use of a striking illustration of the fundamental difference between the two women; Lavinia's first speech is in substance very similar to her first speech in Shakespeare's play, including the line "And at your feet I kneel with Tears of joy,/Shed on the Earth, for your return to Rome" (Ravenscroft, 5). The implicit stage direction, that Lavinia falls to her knees at that moment in the play, presents the audience with the image of the two most important women in the play, one standing rigidly upright, full of hatred and revenge, and the other kneeling in thanks for her father's deliverance, creating a very arresting tableau. The use of a visual tableau to help establish the disparate characters is both ironic and appropriate; though Tamora is definitely a woman of strong and vocal self-expression, Lavinia's more passive nature is well revealed through such a visual display rather than through the verbal sparring which characterises the exchanges between Shakespeare's Tamora and Lavinia.

This discrepancy between the two women's characters, and the consequences of their proximity, is rendered more poignant by Titus' answer to Lavinia's prayer of thanks; though not

substantially altered, the lines "Lavinia Live, out-live thy Fathers days, / And Fames Eternal date for Virtues praise" (Ravenscroft, 5) hold a particularly tragic - and ironic - connotation. Perhaps more so than the original Elizabethan audiences, the Restoration audiences of Ravenscroft's adaptation would have been aware, from the alteration in the title which emphasises Lavinia's tragedy as much as Titus', of the fate of Lavinia's honour and virtue, and very probably of her life.

The weight of Lavinia's silence, which symbolises her lack of control over her life and can be seen to contribute to her downfall, can be felt clearly when the new Emperor offers,

And Titus, to advance
Thy Name, and Honourable Family,
Lavinia will I make my Empress,
Romes Royal Mistress, Mistress of my heart,
And in Sacred Pathan her Espouse;
Tell me Andronicus doth this motion please thee?
(Ravenscroft, 8)

Saturninus announces that he will marry Lavinia without either consulting with his intended bride before the announcement, or requesting her consent after he has made his intentions known; the only permission he seeks is of Lavinia's father, and not of the woman herself. This lack of respect for Lavinia's wishes not only reflects upon the difference in the treatment of and the attitude towards the two major female characters - Saturninus asks Tamora's permission to marry her, thus according the respect due to an individual of equal worth - but also illustrates the attitude of the major male characters of the play towards Lavinia.

From the first description of Lavinia as "Romes bright Ornament", Lavinia is primarily viewed as an object rather than as an independent being; an "Ornament" is a precious object, but it is still not a living being. Saturninus' disregard for Lavinia's feelings in the matter of her marriage indicate that she is little more than a pawn to be used in the power games of Rome; his later questioning of her father rather than herself confirms Lavinia's place as the possession of first her father, than of her husband. Saturninus goes on to reinforce this view of Ravenscroft's heroine, as he calls Lavinia "thou Trophee of the day" (Ravenscroft, 9), further dehumanising her in his words as she continues to remain completely silent. This is something of a departure from Shakespeare, for though Shakespeare's Saturninus also announces his intention to marry Lavinia without her consent, he does consult with her at a later point:

SATURNINUS

Lavinia, you are not displeased with this?

LAVINIA

Not I, my lord, sith true nobility
Warrants these words in princely courtesy.
(Shakespeare, I.i.274-6)

though it is somewhat ambiguous if Saturninus is referring exclusively to his proposed pardoning of Tamora or of his plans in general. The exchange's major significance lies in Lavinia's being given the opportunity to voice her own opinion, an opportunity which is denied Ravenscroft's silent heroine.

Lavinia, it seems, will neither speak her own desires, nor will she act upon them; instead, others interpret her silence as they wish and impose their own desires and wishes upon her

silence. When Saturninus sees that "Slowly you [Lavinia] give your Hand, and Trembling Move", he appears to view her apparent reluctance as a coquettish stance, teasing "Art thou not fond of Empire or affraid of Love?" (Ravenscroft, 9), while Titus asserts that "Virgins are allow'd their Modest Fears/They Even Changes for the Better Dread" (Ravenscroft, 9); while both men seem to sense Lavinia's fear, one attributes it to coyness and the other to maidenly bashfulness. Bassianus, however, puts a much different interpretation upon Lavinia's fear, "See Friends what Longing Eyes she casts this way,/And her sad looks upbraids my Servile tameness" (Ravenscroft, 9), and he is willing to act upon what he believes is Lavinia's true wish; though this may be truly what Lavinia wants, Ravenscroft gives the audience no indication, for his heroine remains steadfastly silent throughout her ordeal.

Thus even before Lavinia loses her tongue, she has little voice in the conventional sense; she cannot bring herself to oppose vocally the dictates of her father and of society. She seems to be using more covert methods of expression, such as tears and gestures, in order to make her true views known, making Lavinia truly a complete contrast to the confident and outspoken Tamora who has no compunctions about using her own voice to achieve her ends; and just as Lavinia's wishes are revealed second hand, so is her intrinsic worth revealed indirectly. Bassianus' interpretation of Lavinia's "sad looks", that she wishes him to rescue her from her unhappy proposed marriage, gives the audience a truer sense of Lavinia's worth; the true sense of her value comes from Bassianus' risks on Lavinia's

behalf, and his and his followers actions, and not from Lavinia's own mouth, unlike the voluble Tamora who asserts her own worth very forcefully and thus convinces Saturninus to take the Queen at her own valuation.

This idea of self-worth and defense of one's rights highlight a major difference between the presentation of Tamora and of Lavinia in Ravenscroft's adaptation. Tamora clearly has her own personal sense of honour and code of behaviour, which she single-mindedly pursues despite the strictures of Roman society. Her infidelities with Aron, her persecution of the Andronici, her treacherous behaviour against the Roman state are all perfectly acceptable to Tamora as she defiantly follows her own rules; indeed, given her malevolent attitude towards the Romans, despite becoming their Empress and gulling their Emperor, suggests that her evil actions are acceptable to Tamora because they are unacceptable to Roman society. As the Queen is in effect a captive in a hostile land, at least initially, her departure from "civilised" behaviour may be viewed as an assertion of her own individuality both as a Goth in Rome and as a woman in a patriarchal society.

Ravenscroft's Lavinia, however, in very much a part of this male society; her own sense of self-worth and of honour seems to have been completely usurped by her father's honour and worth; it is significant that the only words which Lavinia speaks in the first two acts of the play, and indeed the only words she speaks aside from her pleas to Tamora, are words of homage to her

father. Shakespeare's Lavinia, in contrast, does speak out once her future with Bassianus is assured; when she and Bassianus come across Tamora and Aron in an intimate embrace, she taunts the Queen with her infidelity:

Under your patience, gentle empress,
'Tis thought you have a goodly gift in horning,
And to be doubted that your Moor and you
Are singled forth to try experiments.
(Shakespeare, II.ii.66-9)

demonstrating that in Shakespeare's play Lavinia quickly finds her voice and uses it to establish the guilt of her adversary. This Lavinia is an intelligent, aware and knowledgeable woman, who is not afraid to speak her mind boldly when she sees such hypocrisy and deceit as is practised by Tamora. Shakespeare's strong-willed heroine is vastly different from Ravenscroft's sweet-tempered Lavinia; Shakespeare created a believable woman, whereas Ravenscroft presents his audience with a girl.

The silence of Ravenscroft's girlish Lavinia indicates an acquiescence with the actions and words of the men around her as they decide her fate; Lavinia's worth is defined by her value as a piece of property, and the predominant imagery surrounding her reflects this view. Not only does Lavinia not take any part in Bassianus' attempt to taunt and expose Tamora over her affair with Aron - her comments are reduced to simply agreeing with her new husband, and urging Bassianus to leave "Come, my Lord, she is angry, let us leave her/To enjoy her Raven-colour'd Love." (Ravenscroft, 20-1) rather than face Tamora's wrath - she also is constantly referred to in non-human terms during Aron's manipulation of Chiron and Demetrius. As Aron, Tamora's

confederate and creature, first suggests and then persuades the Queen's sons to undertake the rape of Lavinia and the murder of her husband, he terms her "a Princes right" (Ravenscroft, 16); not Bassianus' wife, or his lover, but his right, his property. Aron lessens the impact of the proposed violence directed against Lavinia by referring to her in this objectified way, talking of "fair Lavinia's Snow", and of ransacking "fair Lavinia's treasury" (Ravenscroft, 18), making Lavinia's virtues not fine character qualities but the desirable aspects of a valued prize. It is significant that Tamora is not referred to in such impersonal, inhuman terms; Lavinia is defined by her value to the men of the play, rather than by her value to herself.

Having established Lavinia's value as a worthy treasure of Rome, Ravenscroft now seeks to establish her virtue and pure nature. The alterations to Lavinia's "taunting" of Tamora, which remove any trace of worldliness or experience from Lavinia's little speech, help to establish her innocence; however, Ravenscroft's significant cut of the earlier hunting scene where the royal party - including Bassianus and Lavinia - meet Titus establish Lavinia's innocence in a more tangible way¹⁹. The omission of this scene, which also removes even more of Lavinia's lines, significantly contracts the time frame of the play; it is now possible that only a single day has elapsed between the opening scenes and the ravishment of Lavinia. This contraction

¹⁹One of the reasons for cutting Lavinia's speeches from this scene could also be the influence of the actress who played Lavinia in the original performances. If an actress specialised in playing pure, virginal heroines, she would hardly be pleased with the thought of having to declaim speeches which deal quite explicitly with cuckolding and sexual congress.

of the time line means that Ravenscroft's Lavinia, unlike Shakespeare's, is almost certainly still a virgin at the moment of her rape, a circumstance which heightens the horror of the scene and makes Lavinia truly the virginal victim of the Restoration stage; she is now of a piece with Dryden's Ysabinda, and not the faithful but still experienced wife of Shakespeare²⁰.

Ironically, the Lavinia of Ravenscroft's adaptation only seems to find her tongue just as she is about to lose it; after Bassianus' murder, Ravenscroft's Lavinia rails against her tormentors and pleads for mercy in much the same way as Shakespeare's unfortunate heroine, though her lines again often are shortened. Immediately after Bassianus is killed, Lavinia's first reaction is "Catches up his Sword and offers to kill her self" (Ravenscroft, 21), in an almost uncharacteristically active moment which is also a departure from the original text. However, it is not so strange a reaction, when compared to the more vocal Lavinia of Shakespeare; Shakespeare's heroine has established her strong use of her voice, so her immediate vocal response to her husband's murder, "Ay, come, Semiramis" (Shakespeare, II.ii.118) is entirely in keeping with her established character. In the same way, as Ravenscroft's Lavinia has not proved herself to be a woman of many words, a non-verbal response to her predicament - like her trembling hands when about to be married to Saturninus - is quite appropriate in the

²⁰The omission of this scene also allows a closer tie to the classical unities, most particularly the unity of time; a closer adherence to these unities were of great importance of the time and Ravenscroft would pay them due attention in his refinements of the play.

circumstances; in addition, as Lavinia has allowed herself to be defined so fully according to her role in the patriarchal society in which she dwells, the murder of her husband has destroyed her place in that society. Without her husband to define her position, Ravenscroft's Lavinia is adrift.

It is primarily the threat to her chastity which at last loosens Lavinia's tongue in Ravenscroft's adaptation, which again is in keeping with her character; if Lavinia is ravished, it is not only her own honour which will be lost, but her dead husband's as well, thus Lavinia is pleading as much for Bassianus' sake as for her own. However, Ravenscroft still shortens her speeches, so that his heroine does lose some her Shakespearean eloquence; she does not ask for death in the same explicit fashion as in Shakespeare's play, nor does she beg Tamora to preserve her from the "one thing more/That womanhood denies my tongue to tell" (Shakespeare, II.ii.173-4). Though Ravenscroft's Lavinia does beg "O Tamora preserve me from their Lusts" (Ravenscroft, 22), there is not the same sense of urgency and horror at her impending violation; perhaps because Shakespeare's Lavinia is more experienced she is fully aware of the dishonour and horror awaiting her, while Ravenscroft's innocent Lavinia does not realise fully the horror of her situation²¹.

²¹As one of the motivating forces behind the tradition of the ravishing of heroines in Restoration drama was the desire to give a sexual dimension to a virginal women, it is likely that Lavinia is of a kind with this tradition, and therefore is entirely innocent at this point in the play.

The horror of Lavinia's predicament is made very clear to the audience upon her re-entrance after her violation; Ravenscroft panders to the Restoration audience's interest in actresses through his stage directions guiding Lavinia's re-appearance on the stage. Shakespeare's Lavinia is brought back on to the stage with "her hands cut off and her tongue cut out, and ravished" (Shakespeare, II.iii.), which is a grisly enough depiction of the unfortunate woman; Ravenscroft's directions emphasise the violation of Lavinia, rather than her mutilation by dwelling upon the titillating details of her assault: "Lavinia her hand Cut-off, and her tongue cut out, Loose hair, and Garments disordered, as ravisht" (Ravenscroft, 26). Howe asserts that:

Rape became a way of giving the purest, most virginal heroine a sexual quality. It allowed dramatists to create women of such 'greatness' and 'perfect honour'...but at the same time exploit sexually the new female presence in the theatre.²²

and this is most certainly the case in Ravenscroft's Titus Andronicus. By removing both Lavinia's worldly voice and the consummation of Lavinia's and Bassianus' marriage, which establishes Lavinia as a fully experienced, sexual being, Ravenscroft's Lavinia is presented to the audience as the epitome of pure, chaste womanhood; the only way in which she can have a sexual dimension is through her rape. Tamora, however, has a sexual presence throughout the play, through her motherhood, her marriage and her affair, which will serve to fascinate the audience in a different but equal fashion to Lavinia's rape.

²²Howe, 43-5.

Lavinia now once again has no voice; however, while in earlier scene she often remained silent out of choice or duty - or possibly through intimidation - now she has no choice. Once more, men must speak for Lavinia, as when Bassianus read her sorrow as a plea for rescue from her marriage to Saturninus; now Titus reads her sorrow, "When I did name her Brothers, then fresh tears/Stood on her cheeks...they wou'd not do so foul a deed" (Ravenscroft, 30) and at last interprets it correctly. In order to aid this communication, Ravenscroft gives ample stage directions - certainly more than did Shakespeare - as he expands upon the non-verbal communication already established in Lavinia's earlier scenes. Now, when Lavinia is first brought before her grieving father, she "makes signs of sorrow lifting up her eyes & then hanging down her head and moving her stumps" (Ravenscroft, 30), in comparison to Shakespeare's Lavinia, who is given no explicit stage directions; now that she is unable to speak, Ravenscroft seems to be giving Lavinia a more vigorous ability to communicate, a more vigorous "voice".

This non-verbal voice of Lavinia comes into its own as Ravenscroft again contracts the action of the play, and quickly moves into the scene of Lavinia's revelation of her ravishers. Ravenscroft places this scene immediately after Titus cuts off his own hand in order to save his sons, but before it is revealed that this was in fact a trick perpetrated by Aron; Lavinia's accusation now follows almost immediately after her ravishment, unlike the days which pass between the two events in Shakespeare's play. Ravenscroft removes a great deal of

Lavinia's initiative from this scene; where in Shakespeare Lavinia pursues young Lucius for his books, in order to reveal the full extent of her tragedy by finding a story which mirrors her own experience, in Ravenscroft Titus seems to understand this fact without Lavinia's assistance, "By the disorder of thy dress, I fear/Thou wert i'th' Salvage hands of Ravishers" (Ravenscroft, 35), and only lacks the names of the culprits.

Nonetheless, Ravenscroft does allow Lavinia a last part to play in this harrowing scene; after Marcus and Lucius have returned with the heads of the dead Andronici sons, Titus proclaims that "I know the Authors of Lavinia's wrongs,/And hug my self with thoughts of dear revenge" (Ravenscroft, 36). When, however, Marcus exclaims "But who Kill'd Bassianus? that who can tell?" (Ravenscroft, 37), Lavinia "turns hastily and points to the Names on the ground" (Ravenscroft, 37), as Lavinia takes clear action in order to avenge her slain husband, though she has been more reticent on her own behalf; this action effectively incites the remaining Andronici to revenge and is the catalyst for the final scene, which is something that Shakespeare does not make as clear in his drama. It is now that the injured Lavinia finds her true voice and uses its power to inspire vengeance upon those who took her honour, and more importantly, her husband's honour.

As Titus undertakes his plan of revenge, Ravenscroft again refrains from including Lavinia fully in events in which Shakespeare's Lavinia seems to glory; most notably, Ravenscroft

moves the murder of Chiron and Demetrius off stage. Though Titus dwells gleefully upon his vengeance:

this one hand yet is left to Cut your Throats,
Whilst that Lavinia 'twixt her Stumps does hold
The Bason that receives your Guilty Blood.
(Ravenscroft, 50)

in lines added to the original Shakespearean speech, Ravenscroft's injured heroine does not take part in their execution in the same way as in Shakespeare. Despite the horrors which Ravenscroft enacts in the final scene of his play, where Aron is tortured and burnt alive in the full view of the audience, the Restoration adapter obviously felt that Shakespeare's tableau of Titus cutting the throats of Chiron and Demetrius so that their blood flows into a basin which Lavinia holds between her stumps was too grotesque for his audience's sensibilities. It is possible that Ravenscroft felt that including such a scene would lessen the audience's sympathy for Lavinia; to see the pure heroine taking an active part in murder, however apparently justified it may be, could have had an undesirable impact upon an audience who expected to see a virtuous and modest heroine essentially remain a victim in the grip of pathos.

This view of the modest and pure heroine is borne out by the final scene and the death of Lavinia. In Shakespeare's Titus Andronicus, Titus first unveils Lavinia, so that the audience, as well as Saturninus and Tamora, may view her tragic and pitiful countenance before he stabs her; Ravenscroft, however, leaves Lavinia veiled until after her death, when Titus pulls off her veil in order to reveal her identity and her tragic mutilation.

She remains hidden from the world and from her shame until after she is dead and her shame is expiated. Lavinia now is as eloquent in death as she ever was in life; her mute corpse serves as a spur for Titus' revenge and a warning to other women of the dangers of corruption. From the moment of her mutilation, Lavinia began to gain in power as her role as an emblem of wronged innocence grew stronger, while Tamora's influence began to wane as Lavinia found her true method of communication as a symbol of revenge.

Though her voice is effectively stifled from the outset, first by her society and then by her ravishers, Ravenscroft's Lavinia does find other methods of communicating her desires; however, these desires almost entirely fall in with the wishes of her father or husband. She operates within the confines of her society, and modifies her voice to work within the confines of patriarchy, instead of stridently speaking out as Tamora does. The Queen of the Goths, however, is the alien voice brought into Roman society, and her fearless speech can be viewed as an act of covert rebellion from within the strictures of a hostile culture. Despite Tamora's power and prominence in Ravenscroft's Titus Andronicus, the negative imagery which surrounds the Queen of the Goths does not make her an admirable character, while the constant objectification of Lavinia, coupled with her silence and diffidence through much of the play, makes her of more value as a symbol of womanhood than as a character in her own right. Neither female character is a truly multi-dimensional individual.

This lack of individuality, however, is not overly surprising, considering the politics of the time in which Ravenscroft first wrote his drama. The upheaval and hysteria caused by the accusations of Titus Oates and the emergence of the so-called "Popish Plot" would have caused a similar reaction in the English public as was evidenced in the years following the plague year of 1665 and the Great Fire of London; such extreme stresses upon a society tend to cause the majority of the populace to look for reassurance and stability in their lives, and in their entertainments. This search for security undoubtedly would influence the depiction of women on the stage, and it is this search for permanence which affects the portrayal of Tamora and Lavinia in Ravenscroft's adaptation.

In effect, these prominent female characters of Titus Andronicus, or the Rape of Lavinia seem to have become rather more simplified than Shakespeare's women; they are therefore made "safer", or less controversial, than the complex characters of Shakespeare's play, who may have raised questions and caused debate regarding the nature of women and of these women's tragedies. The re-creation of Tamora and Lavinia as little more than stereotypes of the "angel and the she-devil" helps to reinforce the traditional ideas of society, and of women's place in society, offering a sense of stability in this area which is lacking in Shakespeare's original play. In addition, the creation of these two very extreme and fundamentally opposite women helps to shift the focus from the more political aspects of Titus Andronicus onto the conflict between the fortunes of the

two women.

Thus Lavinia now truly becomes the symbol of virtuous but wronged womanhood, and little else; she is an object, a "Trophee" before she is a woman, and her worth is bound up in her value to the men of power of her society, not in herself. Her primary role in the play is to suffer and to be pitied by the audience, and to withstand nobly the suffering which she undergoes. Tamora necessarily becomes simply the personification of evil who mindlessly persecutes the innocent, though she is still a dominant and compelling character; she is in essence a character type who is instantly recognisable to an audience used to seeing this dichotomy of opposing female figures on the stage. She is an external corrupting influence which disrupts the fabric of society, achieving the highest station and dominating all other characters in the play; but ultimately Tamora is destroyed by the fruits of her own treachery. With the death of Tamora, any question which may be raised by her character and its depiction of a strong woman is put to rest by her downfall and punishment.

CHAPTER VI - LOVE BETRAY'D

"Spoke like the Spirit
of our Sex"¹

The political turmoil continued in England after the end of Charles II's reign; after successfully putting down the Whig rebellion of the 1681-2 Exclusion Crisis, Charles' last years had been relatively stable and peaceful. With the accession of his brother James, however, the uncertainty of the 1670's and early 1680's returned, as Protestant England struggled to come to terms with a Catholic monarch. With the birth of James' son in 1688, the situation worsened considerably as Parliament and the populace feared the establishment of a fanatical Catholic dynasty on the English throne; the birth of this child became the impetus for the so-called "Glorious Revolution" of 1688, when William of Orange was requested by the English Parliament to negotiate with James on behalf of the people of England. James, however, fled in panic to France and William was invited to take the English throne with his wife Mary, herself the eldest daughter of James II. Though William accepted the throne solely on the understanding that he would rule with Mary, Mary herself was in fact quite subservient to her husband, and it was William who truly commanded; when Mary died in 1694, William ruled alone and in his own right until his own death in 1702.

The accession of William and Mary was something of a triumph

¹William Burnaby, Love Betray'd, London: Cornmarket P, 1969, 3.

for the middle class, for with their rule came a return of some of the Puritan values of the years of the Commonwealth and a new emphasis upon the morality of the country; William himself was a staunch and devout Protestant in the Puritan mould. With the loss of Charles II in 1685 and his brother James II three years later, critics of the theatres, concerned by what they perceived as a worsening in the morals of the stage, now felt safe enough to "risk identification with the mid-century Puritan regicides that was inherent in the attack on the theatres"; William himself took little interest in drama, and the death Mary in 1694 meant the loss of "the last royal personage to take her patronage role at all seriously"². In 1698 there was an open attack upon the morals of the stage written by Jeremy Collier, entitled "A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage"; this work reproached the playwrights and actors of the time for their licentiousness and immodesty, stating that "The Stage-Poets make their Principal Persons Vitious, and reward them at the End of the Play"³. Though Collier was not himself a Puritan, it was his pamphlet which elicited, in the mind of Collier's opponents, a clear link between Puritanism and the anti-theatre sentiment. In a 1698 response to Collier's attack on the stage, Elkanah Settle states quite overtly that "A profane Comedy or Tragedy, were all Heathen and Antichristian, but Pious Regicide and

²John Loftis, Richard Southern, Marion Jones and A.H. Scouten, eds., The Revels History of Drama in English, Volume V 1660-1750, London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1976, 53; Simon Shepherd and Peter Womack, English Drama: A Cultural History, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1996, 149.

³Collier, A Short View of the Immorality and Prophaneness of the English Stage, Benjamin Hellinger, ed., New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1987, 176.

Rebellion, were Religion and Sanctity with them"⁴.

There was a great deal of debate during the final years of the seventeenth century, with the debators most often using the medium of the pamphlet, surrounding the morality of the theatres. Settle's rebuttal and others like it written by playwrights and critics of the time inspired their own response, also written by Collier, called "Defence of the Short View", and published in 1699. The public mood, however, was no doubt influenced by the increasing power of the emerging middle class, who had themselves originated from the early merchant classes which had a strong Puritan background, a belief in a strong work ethic, and anti-aristocracy and anti-royalist feelings. At least partially as a result of this influence, audience taste in the late seventeenth century was moving in favour of the more sentimental drama which would emerge during the early eighteenth century. The critic John Dennis, who had himself written in defence of the stage in response to Collier's original essay, expressed in an essay written in 1702 a rather despairing sentiment regarding the theatre audiences of the time, as

according to him [Dennis], a reign of cultivated pleasure and literary humanism had given way to a reign of business and politics, and the theatres were filling up with minor gentry, nouveaux riches and foreign tourists⁵

As a result of the political changes from 1688 to 1695, the theatres were forced to adapt to a new audience which was now

⁴Loftis, Southern, Jones and Scouten, from Elkanah Settle, A Defence of Dramatick Poetry, London, 1968, 53.

⁵Shepherd and Womack, 150.

dominated by the more puritanical bourgeoisie, and not the sophisticated aristocracy.

Not only was society itself and the theatre audience undergoing changes during the final years of the seventeenth century, but the theatres themselves were in some disarray during the 1680's and 1690's. The two theatre companies were effectively united in 1682, as the King's Company of Thomas Killigrew was dissolved in April of the year, and the Duke's Company, Davenant's company, now run by Thomas Betterton absorbed its remnants. The resulting amalgamation created the United Company, which was initially run by Betterton, though he was succeeded by various other managers during the twelve years of the new company's existence. The United Company had a somewhat troubled history, as Killigrew's heirs fought amongst themselves in the courts, and as the heirs of Davenant quickly joined in the legal fray; at the end of the protracted legal wrangling which seems to have characterised much of the United Company's business dealing, a lawyer named Christopher Rich appeared to hold the power behind the United Company, and under his control the company - which had already begun to diminish in quality during the years of dispute - deteriorated rapidly, as Rich treated the most talented and most senior actors poorly and ignored their many complaints.

When Queen Mary fell ill in 1693 and all acting was halted, presumably as a sign of respect, the leading actors of the United Company joined together and petitioned several influential

courtiers for help in their predicament and their dispute with Rich; when a settlement was not able to be reached, the actors began to petition for independence from Rich and the United Company. In March of 1694, Betterton - one of the leaders of the rebellion against Rich - and his associates hired Lisle's Tennis Courts, which had been used as a theatre since early in the Restoration period, and began necessary renovations to the building; by March of 1695 the new independent company was a reality, and King William issued a separate license through the Lord Chamberlain's office to Betterton, Mrs. Barry, Mrs. Bracegirdle, Mr. Bowman, Mr. Williams, Mr. Underhill, Mr. Doggett, Mrs. Verbruggen, Mrs. Leigh and Mr. Bright⁶.

The creation of this new theatre company ended the monopoly which had held the London stage for the previous twelve years, as the United Company split into Betterton's Company and Rich's Company; Rich's Company held two theatres and some good actors but initially lacked the leading actors of the age, while Betterton's Company had only one theatre and suffered from some poor management, but had many of the most talented actors of the time and the corresponding heightened prestige that went with such leading talents. This situation in the London theatrical world remained relatively stable until 1704, when Betterton sold his license to Captain John Vanbrugh, and then retired from the stage; the transfer of power from Betterton to Vanbrugh effectively altered the balance of power in the London theatre world, as Vanbrugh built a new theatre for his company and placed

⁶Hotson, The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage, 281-95.

the two companies on more equal footing.

During these years of change in the balance of power in the social world and upheaval in the theatrical world during the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth, Anne Stuart, the second daughter of James II by his first wife and the sister of Mary, ascended to the English throne in 1702; she was the first woman to rule alone and in her own right, as Mary had been greatly influenced by William during her own short joint reign as queen, since Elizabeth I died in 1603. Anne was a curiously divided woman; she was greatly influenced by John Churchill, the Duke of Marlborough, whose wife Sarah was one of Anne's ladies in waiting and had at one time been a close personal friend of the queen, yet during the years leading up to her reign Anne had been quite independent-minded and even stubborn when pursuing a cause in which she believed. She had quarrelled with her father because of her strong support for Protestantism, as well as disagreeing with her sister Mary and with William over her support of the Marlboroughs in 1692, and her assertion of her own rights at court to chose her own companions and servants.

Anne herself was committed to the Elizabethan ideal of the unity of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland - Wales was, by this time, essentially a province of England - and her personal policy of national unity meant that she herself distrusted the emerging system of political parties; she once lamented "keep me out of ye power of ye Mercyleless men of both

parties"⁷. During her reign, Anne was forced to wrestle with the conflicting elements of her government, which was developing into an eighteenth century state while still dealing with aspects of the medieval; though the queen on occasion would use Parliament and their more progressive views if such a view would further her own ends, she found herself increasingly forced to submit to Parliamentary ideas as her reign progressed further into the eighteenth century.

As well as the difficulties of dealing with the dichotomy between the principles of modern government which were emerging in England at this time and the legacy of the divine right of kings and similar essentially medieval views of queenship, Anne was further disadvantaged in her reign by the continuing military campaigns of the English army and navy which were begun by William and were continued by Marlborough. Anne was unable to lead her armies personally as William had done, due to both the convention of the time, which dictated that a woman could not lead a military campaign, and to her continuing ill health, which was certainly exacerbated and possibly caused by her multiple pregnancies, which none the less failed to produce a single heir to survive to adulthood. However, despite these difficulties, Anne does not seem to have wished her gender to become an issue or a disadvantage to her reign, stating that "Whoever of ye Whigs thinks I am to be Heckter'd or frighted into Compliance tho I am

⁷Edward Gregg, Queen Anne, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980, 134.

a woman, are mightey mistaken in me"⁸.

Anne's greatest disadvantage during her reign, despite her poor health and problems with her government, was probably her lack of a proper, classical education such as was provided for Elizabeth I through the influence of her final step-mother, Catherine Parr. James II wanted his daughters educated as ladies and as princesses and not as rulers, a decision which surely influenced the reigns of both Mary and Anne. However, Anne did prove herself to be reasonably adept in the necessary political machinations of government in the early eighteenth century, though her success was due less to skill and more to a reliance upon her own innate common sense. Anne also achieved a large measure of public support during her reign, often by utilising the same sort of public propaganda campaigns which Elizabeth herself used, drawing parallels between herself and the still revered great queen; indeed, when Anne appeared before Parliament for the first time, she wore a dress deliberately modelled on one in a portrait of Elizabeth I. Elizabeth's personal motto, *Semper Eadem*, was adopted by Anne before the end of her first year of her reign, the same year that she resurrected the Elizabethan idea of "victory services" after military victory, an idea which served to honour her most important military commander, Marlborough; it is likely as a result of such measures that Anne had "the most fervent and continuous public support enjoyed by

⁸Gregg, 138.

any monarch since Elizabeth"⁹.

As the English public began to adjust to the first reign of a queen in almost one hundred years, moreover a queen who had an independent mind and a determination to exercise her own will, and who seems to have been deliberately attempting to identify herself with Elizabeth I, the great educated and politically astute queen, there were developments in the writings and in the voices of women during the final decades of the seventeenth century and the first decade of the eighteenth. During the closing years of the seventeenth century, a number of women began to increase their writing and their arguments regarding the rights of women. Perhaps in response to the advent of the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis, with their inherent threats of civil war, dissenter women such as Mary Pennington, Anne Wentworth and Hannah Allen, began writing and publishing accounts of their thoughts and their lives during the 1670's and 1680's. In addition to these publications, more women were writing for the stage as Aphra Behn was joined by Mary de La Riviere and Mary Pix in supplying drama for the theatres of the time, and more women were calling for a re-evaluation of women's education, as did Bathsua Makin, and women's place in society, such as Mary Astell. Women were becoming much more visible were taking much more public roles.

Bathsua Makin was one of the most outspoken of the English advocates of female education, as well as one of the earlier

⁹Gregg, 150.

writers; well educated herself, she was a tutor to the daughters of Charles I. In 1673 she wrote An Essay to Revive the Antient Education of Gentlewomen, a work which advertised her own model school for young women and which argued for more importance to be attached to the education of women; the essay was published with two letters included with the text as a form of preface. One of these introductory letters was written by a man sympathetic to the idea of female education, while the second was composed by a man opposed to the idea; it is this second letter which Makin uses as the starting point for her arguments. The work was initially published anonymously and Makin also took a male writing persona, a decision which gave her work more authority and also a more conservative tone, somewhat 'legitimising' her content.

Makin is particularly contemptuous in her essay of the contemporary treatment of women, stating that

Meerly to teach Gentlewomen to Frisk and Dance, to paint their Faces, to curl their Hair...is not truly to adorn, but to adulterate their Bodies, yea (what is worse) to defile their Souls. This (like Circes Cup) turns them to Beasts¹⁰

She also asserts that those who opposed female education wish to keep women subservient, for

We cannot be so stupid as to imagine, that God gives Ladies great Estates, meerly that they may Eat, Drink, Sleep, and rise up to Play...Poor Women will make but a lame excuse at the last day for their vain lives; it will be something to say, that they were educated no better. But what Answer Men will make, that do industriously deny them better improvement, lest they

¹⁰J.R. Brink, "Bathsua Makin: Educator and Linguist," Female Scholars: A Tradition of Learned Women Before 1800. Jean Brink, ed., Montreal:, 1980, 93.

should be wiser than themselves, I cannot imagine¹¹ or as Makin also states, more succinctly, "[L]et silly Men let wise Women alone"¹². Makin deplored that women, for the most part, were excluded from opportunities for scholarship and learning, despite the fact that

In these late times there are several instances of women...did all things as soldiers, with prudence and valour, like men. They appeared before committee and pleaded their own causes with good success¹³

Using Elizabeth I and Jane Grey as two of her models for scholarly women, Makin argued primarily for a complete, classical education to be made available to women.

The same year that Makin's essay was first published, another work advocating women's education appeared; Hannah Woolley's work The Gentlewoman's Companion, published in 1673, also argued for the rights of women to be given a good education, though her arguments were more in favour of a practical education than for the more advanced scholarship advocated by Makin. Woolley also published The Ladies Directory and The Cooks Guide, and all of her works were more utilitarian and more practical; however, though her work was often more of a practical guide, Woolley did still encourage young women and girls to "think seriously"¹⁴. Like Makin, Woolley also felt that men often

¹¹Brink, 93.

¹²Brink, 97.

¹³Mary R. Mahl and Helen Koon, eds., The Female Spectator, Old Westbury, N.Y.: The Feminist P, 1977, 132.

¹⁴Hilda L. Smith, Reason's Disciples: Seventeenth Century English Feminists, Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1982, 107.

deliberately kept women from learning, which would "let our pregnant Wits should rival the tow'ring conceits of our insulting Lords and Masters", and Woolley also dealt with the perceived male prejudices against women's abilities as bluntly as Makin often did,

Vain man is apt to think we were meerly intended for the Worlds propagation, and to keep its humane inhabitants sweet and clean, but, by their leaves, had we the same Literature, he would find our brains as fruitful as our bodies¹⁵

Writers such as Makin and Woolley, who were themselves two of the most prominent female writers of the 1670's, argued that

an increased respect and independence for women, based on their improved education but within the patriarchal structure, was at the heart of the earlier feminist writings of the seventeenth century¹⁶

as they paved the way for the later feminists of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, and beyond.

Women such as Elizabeth Elstob went on to write such serious scholarly works as the English-Saxon Homily on the Birth-day of St. Gregory, published in 1709, while Lady Mary Chudleigh wrote The Female Advocate in 1700 and The Ladies Defence the following year, as women continued to argue for women's intellectual needs. A few male writers also argued for the intellectual rights of women, such as the Frenchman Francois de la Barre, who wrote The Woman as Good as the Man in 1677, and there were some anonymous works published on the same theme, such as An Essay In Defence

¹⁵Smith, 107; 106-7.

¹⁶Smith, 109.

of the Female Sex which appeared in 1695-6¹⁷. One of the most prominent of the female writers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, however, was undoubtedly Mary Astell, whose book A Serious Proposal to the Ladies, which was published in 1694 and underwent four editions between 1694-1701, draws attention and controversy in its argument for a woman's college or a place of "Religious Retirement", where women could temporarily retire from the world and could be taught to make more useful and significant intellectual contribution to the public aspects of English society. A Serious Proposal was Astell's first work, but other works in a similar vein followed this initial book into print during the eighteenth century.

In 1697 Astell published a second part to A Serious Proposal, which was subtitled wherein a method is off'd for the improvement of their minds; she also published the complete two part A Serious Proposal the same year. This expansion of her earlier text was followed in 1700 by another major work, entitled Some Reflections upon Marriage, Occassion'd by the Duke and Dutchess of Mazarine's Case; which is also consider'd; this new work also went through multiple editions, the fourth of which was published in 1730, though Astell's name and sex were not attached to the work until the third edition was printed in 1706. This

¹⁷Poulain de la Barre's work, which was translated into English by "AL" in 1677, is a quite revolutionary work which argues in detail that women are as intelligent and capable as men; the anonymous AL translated the work so that Englishmen might see themselves and their own liberal ideas in the Frenchman's work. The pamphlet An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex is ascribed to Mary Astell in the Wing microfilm collection, though the editors concede the possibility that Judith Drake may have written the defence; given that the defence includes a dedication written by one James Drake, and more importantly, given the quite vastly different style of writing, it is more likely that the author of this work was indeed Judith Drake.

work seems to have been inspired by the unhappy marriage of the Duchess of Mazarine, who was a close acquaintance of Astell; the repercussions of breakdown of the marriage caused a European scandal, and in the words of Astell, the case served "as an unhappy shipwreck to point out the dangers of an ill Education and unequal Marriage"¹⁸. Astell points out the dangers of marriage to women who might be

yok'd for Life to a disagreeable Person and Temper; to have Folly and Ignorance tyrannise over Wit and Sense; to be contradicted in everything one does or says, and bore down not by Reason but Authority; to be denied ones most innocent desires, for no other cause but the Will and Pleasure of an absolute Lord and Master, whose Follies a Woman with all her Prudence cannot hide, and whose Commands she cannot but despise at the same time she obeys them; is a misery none can have a just idea of, but those who have felt it¹⁹

In all of her works, Astell argues avidly against the perceived idea of the "natural" inferiority of women and superiority of men, and maintained that any lack in women was due to their lack of education, and not from any organic cause.

The debate of the role and rights of women which began in the Renaissance and grew in momentum through the years of the English Civil Wars and the Restoration, now took on an even more controversial slant; writers - both female and male - were no longer simply arguing for women's right to speak or the benefits of female education, but were now claiming that women were essentially equal to men and were entitled to be treated as such, an argument which would have had more impact during the reign of

¹⁸Bridget Hill, ed., Mary Astell: The First English Feminist, Aldershot, Hants: Gower Publishing Company Limited, 1986, 90.

¹⁹Hill, 90.

a well-loved queen, than during the reign of a king. It was in this furore caused by the more controversial aspects of Astell's writings, after Queen Anne's accession to the throne and as her popularity grew, that William Burnaby adapted Shakespeare's Twelfth Night for the stage; Burnaby took the original female characters, and the inherent subversion present in Shakespeare's original plot in the characters of Olivia and Viola and the mocking of authority of many key characters, and heightened the importance and the impact of the women in his own Love Betray'd, thus creating a play which touched more directly upon the tumultuous public mood of the early eighteenth century²⁰. A great many of the changes which Burnaby made to the play - most particularly the inclusion of Emilia and the new attitude of Villaretta, the character who corresponds most closely with Olivia - provide some of the most significant, and at times the most overt, feminist writings of virtually all of the adaptations during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries²¹.

However, Burnaby's play was also rather unusual in a much more prosaic way, in that he chose to write an adaptation; the

²⁰There has been some debate regarding Burnaby's name; Odell refers to Burnaby as "Charles", while the Cornmarket facsimile edition of Love Betray'd and later critics such as Michael Dobson refer to Burnaby as "William". The 1886 edition of The Dictionary of National Biography lists the author of Love Betray'd and Burnaby's other works as a queried "Charles", then suggests that "it seems possible that they [the listed plays] are the work of William Burnaby rather than of Charles" (379).

²¹Burnaby seems to have been particularly interested in the depiction of male-female relationships and marriage; all four of his known dramas - The Reform'd Wife, The Ladies' Visiting Day, The Modish Husband, and finally, Love Betray'd - were written about some aspect of marriage. Derek Hughes in his survey of Restoration drama, English Drama 1660-1700, Oxford: Clarendon P, 1996, states that though the heroines of Burnaby's first three plays are flawed, "they are sympathetically portrayed, and are all married to tyrannical and incorrigible dolts", 413.

art of writing original plays to suit specific audience taste was much more advanced by the close of the seventeenth century, even if royal interest was waning and the theatres themselves were in turmoil. Even during the upheaval in the theatrical world of London during the 1680's and 1690's there were relatively few new adaptations of Shakespearean plays, though a number of earlier adaptations were revived; these included Titus Andronicus, which was originally produced in 1678 and was revived in 1686; the Hamlet of the 1660's which re-appeared in 1695; Cymbeline, or The Injur'd Princess from 1682, Macbeth from the mid-1660's, Timon of Athens and Troilus and Cressida, both first performed in 1678 and revived in 1697; Tate's 1681 Coriolanus and Lacy's 1667 Sauny the Scot in 1698; Tate's King Lear from 1681 revived in 1699 and the 1667 The Tempest in 1700. Now that the post-Restoration traditions of play-writing had been firmly established, there was presumably not the same need to adapt the works of the earlier playwrights; the fact that there was only one company requiring plays at this time may also have been a contributing factor. The only new adaptations of this period were The Fairy Queen, an opera produced in May of 1692 and based upon A Midsummer Night's Dream with music by Henry Purcell and written by either Elkanah Settle or Thomas Betterton; Colley Cibber's version of Richard III produced in December of 1699; Charles Gildon's adaptation of Measure for Measure from February 1700; George Granville's The Jew of Venice presented in January of 1701 and Burnaby's February 1703 production of Love Betray'd, which was adapted from Twelfth Night, and which seems to have been the last major Shakespearean adaptation undertaken until after the end of Queen Anne's reign.

Burnaby's adaptation was probably first played in 1703, though there is no exact date for the first performance, and was published on 11 February of the same year; the editors of The London Stage place the first production of the play in February of 1703 at Lincoln Inn's Fields. The cast of the play included some of the most prominent actors, including Verbruggen, Powell, Booth, Doggett, Mrs. Barry and Mrs. Bracegirdle, all actors who had formed the new company with Betterton during the years of 1694-5. Love Betray'd was revived once in March of 1705 in a performance to "Benefit Pack and Mrs. Bradshaw", that is George Pack the actor and Mrs. Bradshaw the actress; there is also mention in The London Stage of "DANCING. By Mrs. Elford, Firbank, and others" and "SINGING. By Mrs Hodgson", indicating that the 1705 production included a final act masque which was cut from its premiere performance²².

There do not seem to have been any performances of Shakespeare's original play Twelfth Night during Queen Anne's reign; indeed there was no such production until 1729. During the early years of the Restoration theatres, the original play had been assigned to Davenant's company in December of 1660 and performed only three times during the 1660's. The reaction to the original play seems to have been mixed, with Pepys liking neither the 11 September 1661 performance or the 6 January 1663 production, which he thought to "be but a silly play"; Pepys' criticism of the final performance of Twelfth Night for many

²²Emmet L. Avery, ed., The London Stage 1660-1800: Part Two 1700-1729, Volume two of five, Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois UP, 1959, 89.

years was a disparaging "one of the weakest plays that ever I saw"²³. Downes, however, counted the January 1663 production of Twelfth Night to have "mighty Success by its well Performance"; it seems that Shakespeare's original play itself was somewhat problematic for the seventeenth and eighteenth century dramatist and his or her audience, and this difficulty with the original may have contributed to the adaptation's lack of success²⁴.

There is a general consensus among more contemporary critics that Burnaby's adaptation did not do well during the first years of the eighteenth century; during the early years of the twentieth century, George Odell mentions briefly the play's "lack of success" and seems more concerned - and disgusted - with Burnaby's decision to write the play almost entirely in prose than with the play itself, while Hazelton Spencer, in his study of adaptations of Shakespeare, describes Burnaby's play as "the dullest of all the alterations we have considered"²⁵. Fifty years later, Robert Hume describes the play as "a dismal mess" which mixes "social comedy and the romance world in a thoroughly inept way", before noting that the preface complains that the company failed to set the masque which Burnaby wrote to conclude his play to music; this omission on the part of the company was no doubt a testament to the cost-cutting which dominated

²³Van Lennep, 39-40; 60; 153.

²⁴Downes, 54.

²⁵George C.D. Odell, Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving, Vol. I, London: Scribner, 1920, 82-3; H. Spencer, 353.

Lincoln's Inn Field during this time²⁶. Much more recently, Michael Dobson calls the adaptation a "curiously dated" play which "flopped", though he does not, as do many other critics, term the play as being somehow intrinsically flawed and citing this as the reason for its poor reception²⁷. Given the general dislike of the original play, it is possible that there was a certain amount of audience prejudice against Twelfth Night itself, and Burnaby's "improvements" could not correct those perceived flaws in the original play which caused a Restoration and early eighteenth century audience to dislike it; in addition, the more out-dated aspects of Burnaby's alterations, which are more in keeping with the form of the comedy of manners than with the emerging ideas of sentimental comedy may also have contributed to the play's lack of success, though if the play were such a complete failure it does seem odd that it was then revived as a benefit performance for not just one, but for two actors.

Burnaby himself does acknowledge the play's less than enthusiastic reception in his Preface to the 1703 printed edition, asserting that "The Conduct of the Drama I broke by design, to make room for a Mask that is mention'd in the last Act", and complaining

the House neglecting to have it Set to Musick, the Play came on like a change of Government, the weight of the Calamity fell among the Poor; that is the chief Persons only were taken care of without any regard to

²⁶Robert D. Hume, The Development of English Drama in the Late Seventeenth Century, Oxford: Clarendon P, 1976, 471-2.

²⁷Dobson, 124.

those of Inferiour consideration
(Burnaby, The Preface)

This remark is not simply a pointed comment upon the lack of funding at Lincoln's Inn Field, but also reveals political and social considerations through the phrasing of Burnaby's complaint. The observation that "the weight of Calamity" falls upon the poor is an astute social commentary of the inequities of modern society and economics, and Burnaby's reference to "a change of Government", which was in itself a not uncommon analogy, takes on an additional significance during the election year which had to fall, by law, in the first year after Anne's accession. Mary Astell also uses a similar analogy in her Reflections on Marriage on numerous occasions, stating that "the mere being in Authority infallibly qualifie him for Government", as she seeks to make her own point regarding the appropriateness of the traditional relationship between men and women in marriage²⁸.

Burnaby continues to include this sort of covert social commentary in his Preface, stating that

since Infamy and Pride, Affectation and Singularity
are the proper objects of this sort of Writing, it is
very difficult to escape the being thought Particular:
The whole Herd are Alarm'd (Burnaby, The Preface)

Burnaby is not only satirising his detractors, whom he believes are criticising him for being too specific and personal in his attacks, but he also denigrates the entire circle of the affected society fop, dismissing them as a "Herd" of dandies. The entire Preface to Love Betray'd is predominantly satiric and ironic,

²⁸Hill, 116.

from Burnaby's early biting comments on the new government and on the poverty rampant in his society to his final attack against

that Insipid part of Mankind, whose merit you can't separate from their Clothes, who abominate Thinking and Foul Linnen, and only fill up a Room in the World
(Burnaby, The Preface)

Given this sardonic humour and commentary in the Preface to the play, it is possible to conjecture that Burnaby had been hoping to make a similar social impact or critique within the drama itself, and in the subsequent published text.

Some of the most important changes made to the original play are to the female characters and to the depiction of women on the stage, though a number of the changes, as was the case in other adaptations of early drama, were surely motivated by the desire simply to increase the number of female roles in the play in order to accommodate the increasing number of actresses; Lincoln's Inn Fields boasted some of the finest actresses of the day, and no doubt there would be a desire to incorporate as many talented women as was possible into any new play. Burnaby increases the number of women's roles in his adaptation from the original three women in Twelfth Night - Viola/Caesario, Olivia and Maria - to five in Love Betray'd - Viola/Caesario, Villaretta who takes the part of Olivia, Emilia and Dromia, who are essentially the two major facets of Maria, the confidante and the maid, and finally an entirely new character who acts as a confidante to Caesario and is called Laura. There is some discrepancy in the various cast lists between the published edition of Love Betray'd of 1703 and the edition of Burnaby's complete works; however, given that the original 1703 edition of

the play itself neglects to mention the important character of Emilia, it is likely that the complete works is the more accurate source for the original cast list. In this second but more complete cast list, the role of Villaretta is assigned to Mrs. Barry, and that of Caesario was taken by Mrs. Bracegirdle, both of whom were very prominent and experienced actresses of the time; the assignment of such important actresses to the leading roles in this play indicates some internal support for the play when it was first staged despite the difficulties surrounding the music of the final act²⁹.

The play now focuses largely on attitudes to marriage and love in early eighteenth century society, and much of its social satire revolves around Villaretta and her decision to marry Caesario; Villaretta now seems to supplant Caesario as the central character of the play both in importance and in the amount of influence she seems to wield, as well as in her number of lines. This change in focus of the play soon becomes apparent, for though Burnaby has his Prologue spoken by the actor Doggett "In a Lawyers Gown" as his words mock both the law and the stage in a relatively gentle fashion, Burnaby also immediately alters the order of the play's scenes, and opens the play with two of his own central female characters, Villaretta and Emilia.

²⁹Mrs. Barry began her theatrical career in 1675 playing ingenue roles; by 1703 she had progressed to wider repertoire of characters and also played wives, widows and villainesses in her various plays. Mrs. Bracegirdle, who began her own career in 1688, continued to play predominantly ingenue and "young girl" roles throughout the remainder of her career, until 1707. Howe, 178-83.

This change gives the women of the play a prominence which is lacking in the more conventionally structured Twelfth Night, which begins and ends with the words of the highest ranking character in the play, the Duke Orsino; in addition, Olivia is first introduced to the audience through Orsino's eyes and words, through his perception, and indeed Olivia does not appear in the action of the play until the final scene of act I after the other major characters - Orsino, Viola, Feste, Malvolio, Toby Belch, Andrew Aguecheek and Maria - have all been introduced and have made their own impact in their own words³⁰. In Love Betray'd, Moreno the Duke of Venice, who is the character who corresponds to Orsino, is introduced through the words and the perception of Villaretta and Emilia; instead of appearing as a grief-stricken character who rejects a worthy man in favour of mourning a dead brother as does Olivia in Twelfth Night, Villaretta is portrayed as a strong woman in command of her household and her emotions. She is a woman who knows her own mind, a mind not clouded with "sad remembrances" (Shakespeare, I.i.32), and who wittily comments on not only the Duke's but indeed all of her suitors "affections" with humour and intelligence; she is ably partnered in this witty banter by the equally sharp tongued and accurate observer of behaviour, Emilia.

This new opening scene allows Villaretta and Emilia to fully express their feeling without the encumbrance of a male presence; the result is a candid portrait of the myriad relationships

³⁰The only characters who are introduced after Olivia are Sebastian and Antonio, who are required to appear late in the play by the demands of the plot itself.

between men and women, which at times seems to owe a great deal to Astell's 1700 Reflections on Marriage. The scene opens with Villaretta and Emilia in gales of laughter over an offer of marriage made to Villaretta, making a mockery of the idea that all women desire nothing out of life but a good, that is profitable, marriage, just as Astell mocks the same idea with "But, alas! what poor Woman is ever taught that she should have a higher Design than to get her a husband?"³¹. Antonio's blunt offer of marriage, "Madam, I love you very much; as proof of my sincerity, I am worth Two hundred thousand Cechines" (Burnaby, 2), which has all the finer feeling of a business merger, typifies the sort of mercenary approach to marriage which raised Astell's ire. Emilia's own words mock not only Villaretta's would-be suitor Antonio but all lovers who put such material considerations before love and thoughts of character and mutual suitability,

I wish a Lover of mine wou'd write so - I should like
it far beyond your charming Shapes, pretty Mouths, or
all the fine Eyes in the World - such Compliments are
meer Whip-cream to this (Burnaby, 1)

making absolutely clear to the audience the scorn which Burnaby's women feel for such attitudes to marriage.

This satiric glimpse of the suitor Antonio, who never actually appears on-stage but who is representative of those men who value money above companionship and love, coupled with the meeting in person between Villaretta and Moreno, diffuses one of the implicit criticisms of Olivia which exists in Twelfth Night;

³¹Hill, 119.

after swearing to spend seven years in deep mourning for her dead brother, Shakespeare's Olivia then promptly falls in love with the first attractive "man" she meets, a situation which raises questions regarding Olivia's own sincerity and constancy, as well as by extension the constancy of all women. Burnaby's Villaretta, however, rejects a number of suitors before falling in love with Caesario, making her somewhat less of a figure of mockery than in the original play as well as being in keeping with the shift in focus and importance to Villaretta and away from Caesario. There is comedy in the situation of the play, as in Shakespeare, but it is now not as pointedly at Villaretta's expense.

Burnaby makes another important change to the character of Villaretta, as he makes the reason for her scorn of her suitors, and by extension of men in general, apparent in Emilia's comment, "I wonder you are not mov'd at it, and a Widow too!" (Burnaby, 2); this change in the nature of the character of Villaretta, from an unmarried woman who is the head of her household and in mourning for her brother to a recent widow, alters the complexion of the play. The original situation of Shakespeare's Olivia is actually the more unusual and potentially the more subversive one, for it was still highly unusual for an unmarried woman to become the head of a household in her own right and to hold such a position of authority, as a "lady of significant independent means and a disinclination to submit herself and her lands to any

'master' "³². Shakespeare introduces such an unusual character with no comment upon the significance of her position, making even his own acceptance of the possibility of such a situation and of a woman being capable of dealing effectively with such a situation part of the subversion of his original drama. By changing the status of his character to that of a widow, Burnaby is in one sense making her a less subversive character, as a widow could quite legitimately, and with little social comment, hold property in her own right, particularly if there was no issue of the marriage, as Burnaby makes the case in Love Betray'd.

However, this also means that Villaretta, unlike Olivia, has had close and intimate knowledge of men, and has experienced marriage first hand; her reluctance to re-marry takes on an added significance, as she has already experienced marriage and "He who has Sovereign Power"³³. Villaretta makes her own position very clear, asserting that "The greatest happiness of our Lives, is to have got free from the Mens Dominion very early; they are all Tyrants" (Burnaby, 2) in a statement which is very close to Mary Astell's own views of marriage:

She must be a Fool with a witness, who can believe a Man, proud and Vain as he is, will lay his boasted Authority, the Dignity and Prerogative of his Sex, one Moment at her Feet, but in prospect of taking it up again to more advantage; he may call himself her Slave a few days, but it is only in order to make her his

³²Lisa Jardine, Reading Shakespeare Historically, London: Routledge, 1996, 75.

³³Astell, 101.

all the rest of his Life³⁴

These cynical attitudes to marriage characterise much of the dialogue of Villaretta and Emilia, as Burnaby reinforces this perception of men on the part of the women of his play.

Villaretta and Emilia debate the benefits, or lack thereof, of marriage, as Villaretta expands upon her theme of the dangers of matrimony with considerable eloquence,

...all Husbands are the same; Love makes 'em our Prisoners, and Jealousy our Gaolers; so between these two, a poor Woman has no quiet...the Grave gives more People rest, than those it holds---take care you don't want that comfort (Burnaby, 2)

and with a sense of satire and wit which parallels the words of many Restoration rakes from the earlier genre of the comedy of manners. Emilia, however, provides an answer to this point, as "because you have burnt your Mouth, shan't keep me from tasting" (Burnaby, 2); this statement implies that Villaretta's marriage was not a happy one, and that her bitterness regarding men is not merely a demonstration of her fashionable wit, but is entirely genuine. The cynicism of Villaretta in this opening scene has been generated by her own personal experiences and shifts the focus of her refusals of all her suitors - though most particularly Moreno - to the treatment of wives and the behaviour of husbands; this is not the inexperienced Olivia rejecting a husband, but a knowledgeable Villaretta refusing to again submit herself to the "mastery" of a husband.

This difference between inexperience and knowledge is

³⁴Hill, 100.

emphasised through Villaretta's debate with Emilia; though Emilia is certainly intelligent and observant, she has not had the same first hand and intimate experience of marriage which Villaretta has endured, and this lack of knowledge influences her arguments in the first scene debate, as she insists that "I'll venture upon a Man, in spite of all the Terror about him" (Burnaby, 2). She is confident that *she* would be able to deal successfully with a husband,

...if he suspected my Virtue, the first thing I'd do, shou'd be to lose it---if he set a Spy of his own Sex upon me, as many Husband do, I'd find a way to bribe my Keeper, as all Wives do (Burnaby, 3)

despite Villaretta's warning that Italy is "The worst Place in the World to marry in" (Burnaby, 2) and her constant and ominous referrals to a husband as "your Tyrant" (Burnaby, 3). Though Emilia is prepared to hazard the chance and consider marriage, Villaretta herself is determined "to avoid the hazzard" (Burnaby, 3) all together.

This resolute attitude of Villaretta is something of a departure for the depiction of widows in much Restoration and eighteenth century drama; the widow traditionally is viewed as a dangerous figure, as they occupy an ambiguous place in English society. Unlike unmarried women, who had few rights under law and were considered to be under the domain of their father, and unlike wives, who seemed to have even fewer rights and were often viewed as the property of their husbands, widows could enjoy virtually all the rights of a man, particularly if there had been no children of the marriage; widows could hold property, run

businesses and manage their own affairs within the bounds of the law. In addition to this legal difference, society often viewed widows with suspicion for more prurient reasons; a widow was a woman who had enjoyed sexual relations with her husband, but who now had no husband to keep her under control. As a great many in seventeenth century society believed that women were inherently sexually rapacious beings, a widow would be desperate to re-marry and once more enjoy these fleshly delights - the fact that women themselves often had little or no desire to once again lose their liberty did not always signify in the drama of the time. Widows in Restoration comedy - particularly the comedy of manners, which Burnaby seems to be using as his model in Love Betray'd - were depicted as comic predators forever hunting for a husband, or at the very least a lover, to fulfil their base desires³⁵. They were figures who often were depicted as needing the controlling influence of a man to govern their own unruly appetites.

According to the convention of the time, then, Villaretta should, as a widow, be only too eager to agree to marry any one of her many suitors; however, Burnaby's widow seems to have nothing but contempt for men and patently has no desire to find a husband. Indeed, Villaretta seems to have little interest in sex except where it is used to gain a wife revenge for her husband's tormenting; sex is a nothing more than another weapon

³⁵The most famous instances of the rampaging widow are surely Congreve's Lady Wishfort, whose desire for a husband is used by Mirabell in an attempt to secure the hand of Millamant, and Wycherley's Widow Blackacre, who gets tangled in the legal difficulties of widowhood. In the case of the former woman, even this widow's name is an indication of her lonely desperation.

in the war between husband and wife. Burnaby's widow, instead of desiring a husband because she has been married, which was the prime reason that other stage widows sought matrimony, wishes to remain unmarried because she has had a husband; the ephemeral - and dubious - delights of the marriage bed do not compensate for the tyranny which Villaretta believes marriage to be. Now that Villaretta has "got free from the Mens Dominion" she has no desire to re-live her experiences, no matter how much she is offered by her suitors or what power they seem to hold. Emilia, though cynical and cautious, will still "venture upon a Man"; the more wise Villaretta will not.

Burnaby's preoccupation with the relations between men and women, particularly in marriage, continue as the scene progresses to the entrance of Moreno, as the women become even more subversive and satirical immediately before Moreno is announced. Moreno is first introduced to the audience as being a suitor of a piece of the crude Antonio, "Why the Duke himself don't say finer things to you" (Burnaby, 3). Burnaby then departs again from the sense of the original text and characters; Shakespeare's Olivia is quite gracious towards Orsino, and praises him even though she rejects him, "Your lord does know my mind, I cannot love him...A gracious person. but yet I cannot love him." (Shakespeare, I.v.261-266). Burnaby's Villaretta is, in comparison, derisive and even malicious towards the hapless Moreno, as she dismisses the play's major male character and the person of highest rank with, "I seldom mind what he says, and the reason I don't quite put him off, is, because it pleases me to

govern him that governs Venice" (Burnaby, 3); again, Villaretta's apparently bitter experience of marriage has left her vengeful towards all of her suitors, whereas Shakespeare's inexperienced Olivia can afford to be charitable.

Burnaby follows this initial image of Villaretta governing those who govern with a series of metaphors of government and rule for marriage, imagery which he repeats throughout the play; Emilia, it transpires, is "States-man's Daughter, and they never were concern'd in the Government, that can tell Money and be poor", though Emilia rejoins that "Husbands, I fear, reckon better than Publick" (Burnaby, 4). There are echoes of Burnaby's satirical commentary from his Preface in these images, as husbands are compared to the foolish and blind members of the public, who attempt to dictate to those in government without fully understanding their situation. This lack of communication and of empathy between men and women is at the heart of Burnaby's play, as the confusion of the main plot highlights and mirrors the fundamental breakdown of understanding which exists within society.

By placing this rather subversive discussion about marriage and the relationships between men and women in the mouths of two of his more prominent female characters, Burnaby is also highlighting the importance of this topic to women in particular; women had very little opportunities for a secure life outside the bonds of matrimony, thus the treatment of women within marriage and their rights were of paramount importance to all women,

whether married or not. However, as Villaretta baldly states, "Those that make Laws will always favour themselves" (Burnaby, 5), and women were at a disadvantage in a society which did not allow them this luxury; Burnaby's play gives this point of view a prominence which was something of a departure, and a relatively courageous decision. This quite subversive opening scene ends with an exceptionally cynical view of matrimony, with Emilia questioning "how can we get over so palpable a Law, as *Wives be true to your Husbands*"; Villaretta's answer, "by making them get over as palpable a Condition; *Husbands love your Wives*" paints an even more bleak picture of marriage, and it is with this darkly sardonic image that Moreno, Villaretta's suitor, is introduced.

Moreno is treated with the same derision with which he was earlier described, as Villaretta mocks the ruler of Venice with, "This mighty Man, Emilia, comes so often, I shall be tired with laughing at him" (Burnaby, 6) and reinforces the connections made earlier between Antonio and Moreno,

All Lovers are alike to me, Emilia, they're Men; and
when a Hypocrite is known, 'tis ridiculous to see him
practice his soft Airs, forc'd Languishments, and low
Bows (Burnaby, 6)

Burnaby then reinforces the mockery of Villaretta's words by giving the stage direction, "Enter Moreno, bowing very low", providing the audience with a physical representation of the fawning behaviour and perceived "hypocrisy" of the male lover. Moreno then proceeds to prove the validity of Villaretta's satiric comments, as he first equates his courtship of Villaretta with a military campaign:

This day has been propitious to our Race;
 My Father on it triumph'd o'er the Turks,
 And gain'd the lost Morea to the State.
 Moreno's Fortune may be great as his,
 If Heaven and Villaretta will be kind
 (Burnaby, 6)

Moreno is asking for fortune to smile upon his endeavours, but these endeavours are equated with war, indicating that marriage is not, in his eyes, a partnership of equals but instead a conquest, with a victor and a vanquished. Significantly, this initial speech by Moreno is one of the few speeches in Love Betray'd which is in blank verse, and not prose; as Moreno enters and makes his first impression upon the audience, he uses an elevated style of speaking - when compared to the other characters in the play seen up until this point - and very aggressive imagery.

Moreno then uses fulsome flattery and proclamations of devotion in his wooing of Villaretta, declaring,

...I plead no merit from my Fortune; all honour
 vanishes before the Fair; and all are mean to
 Villaretta's Eyes...I wou'd for ever quit all Glory,
 Friends, the World, if to lose those Trifles, I shou'd
 gain your Favour. (Burnaby, 6-7)

and attempting to make full use of what Astell terms the "greater outrage" of flattery³⁶. Though all of Moreno's speeches are within the bounds of the conventions of stage wooing and would not in themselves appear strange or false to an audience, Villaretta's earlier comment on lovers would render all such fine speeches and flattery suspect; this suspicion would be deepened by Villaretta's harsh reaction to Moreno's words, "but cease,

³⁶Hill, 100.

this whining Entertainment, and when we meet, let us have no Speeches with Sighs at the end of 'em" (Burnaby, 7). Immediately after the audience hears the mockery and the complaints of the two of the play's most vocal and important women, one of the play's most senior male characters seems to prove the women entirely correct in their assessment of male behaviour and motives.

Burnaby's introduction of Caesario and her confidante Laura, the other major female characters of Love Betray'd also offers a contrast to men and male behaviour; after his rejection by Villaretta, Moreno takes solace from the dubious company of Drances, the character who most closely corresponds with Sir Toby Belch, who encourages Moreno to "follow me into the Cellar" where the pair can discuss the foibles of women at their leisure. Burnaby has considerably altered Caesario's motive for taking service as a page in Moreno's court, for instead of being shipwrecked on the shores of Illyria and being forced to disguise herself as a boy in order to survive as in Twelfth Night, Burnaby's Caesario has deliberately "left my Brother, and my House, and 6 Days since, without a Servant, landed here in Venice" (Burnaby, 11-2) in order to be near Moreno, whom she "saw first in Paris, and lov'd" (Burnaby, 11). The Caesario of Love Betray'd is therefore a rather more active character than Shakespeare's Viola; she has seized the initiative and has undertaken an arduous journey in the pursuit of the man she loves, as well as demonstrating some quite considerable skills of invention and a great deal of cunning in her initiation of her

plan: "I nam'd my self Caesario, and form'd a Letter as from one his Highness knew in Paris, to recommend me for his Page" (Burnaby, 12). These changes to the character of Caesario are somewhat similar to the changes which Burnaby makes to Villaretta; Caesario now superficially conforms to the conventional pattern of Restoration drama, being of a piece with the love-lorn heroine who follows and selflessly serves the man she loves, a formula used by both Wycherley in The Plain Dealer and by Dryden in The Rival Ladies. However, Burnaby's love-lorn heroine is not quite as selfless as other heroines, as she plans to continue in her servitude only until "When I find a proper time for my purpose, a little thing will shew him what I am" (Burnaby, 12); she later finds an opportunity to urge Moreno against the pursuit of Villaretta, advising "My Lord forgot [forget] her --- She's a peevish Beauty, /that likes her self too much to see your merit" (Burnaby, 46) - Caesario may seem to be filling a role of selfless devotion, but in reality she is as concerned with her own future happiness as with Moreno's.

As Caesario reveals the truth behind her presence in Venice to Burnaby's new character of Laura, a former servant of Caesario's family, whose presence is explained by "The Duke, Madam, took me with him, to wait upon his sister, and I have liv'd here ever since" (Burnaby, 11), Laura herself reveals a degree of wit and cynicism of her own which is akin to the feelings of Emilia. Caesario, despite her evident self-interest in her pursuit of Moreno, is essentially a romantic and believes in love; Laura considers marriage as essentially a business

proposition, where a husband is suitable "if he had Money enough" (Burnaby, 10). Laura states outright that "Love is a parlous Thing...I was troubled with it once, and remember well I cou'd not sleep a Nights! but it went off in a Week, for I found he had not Money enough" (Burnaby, 10), yet supports Caesario's efforts to win Moreno as "Your Ladyship will be happy indeed; for his Highness is a sort of King here" (Burnaby, 12); Laura's primary concern for marriage is for financial security, and it is this attitude which colours her speeches and her support for Caesario. As in the earlier exchange between Villaretta and Emilia, Burnaby also introduces images of the state into this discussion of marriage; however, Laura's view of the relationship between ruler and state, and husband and wife is a much darker one. Her answer to Caesario's joking query, "how would'st thou govern thy little Nation?" (Burnaby, 12) is much sombre in tone than Villaretta and Emilia's view of the husband as a the unthinking public; in Laura's eyes, a husband behaves "As Princes (in those Parts) generally do, Madam; devour as much as I cou'd of it" (Burnaby, 13), a far different image of both government and marriage.

The differing views on marriage which are presented in the play are emphasised by Burnaby's use of contrast during the opening scenes of act two; the act opens with the idealised, romantic love of Caesario for Moreno, and then quickly shifts to the brittle humour of Villaretta and Emilia. Burnaby uses few of Shakespeare's original lines from Twelfth Night, a decision which draws attention to those Shakespearean lines which he does include, increasing their importance and heightening the impact

of those scenes which include those co-opted lines; the first time that a substantial number of original lines are used in during the opening of the second, where Caesario and Moreno discuss the nature of love, and the difference between men and women in how they love. The use of these lines, most particularly the inclusion of Viola's speech from act II, scene iv:

My father had a daughter lov'd a man,
As it might be perhaps, were I a woman,
I should your lordship...
A blank, my lord: she never told her love,
but let concealment like a worn i'th' bud
Feed on her damask cheek...
(Shakespeare, II.iv.108-13)

helps to establish Caesario as the true romantic ideal of the play, as the one person who is genuinely motivated by love alone. This scene is then given an added poignancy as Caesario for the first time selflessly agrees to court Villaretta as the agent of the man whom Caesario herself loves; the two scenes are juxtaposed, to heighten the dramatic effect.

Burnaby seems to use these Shakespearean lines when he wishes to create an atmosphere of sincerity and truthfulness, a vital necessity in a play which deals with confusion and deceit; the original lines of Twelfth Night are used only when the truth is being revealed, either intentional or otherwise. Such an instance occurs as Caesario enters to Villaretta and Emilia to plead for Moreno's love. The scene begins with another mocking discussion on the nature of marriage, culminating in the sardonic comment from Emilia that "Marriage shou'd end just when People began to hate one another" (Burnaby, 17); it is into this mocking

atmosphere that Caesario is announced, thus presenting the audience with the juxtaposition of the ideal with the cynical. As Caesario enters and begins to plead her cause, however, Villaretta's attitude begins to change, as she realises her attraction to Caesario, "I don't know what's the matter, but I can't be angry with this saucy Boy" (Burnaby, 19); Villaretta has openly and vehemently professed her disdain for all men and for all romantic relationships, and it is now that she must admit her true feelings for a "man" that Burnaby includes a number of Shakespeare's lines.

There is still an element of deception in this scene, for Villaretta's feelings are for a woman posing as a young man, though the feelings themselves are genuine; however, this emotional upheaval has been inspired not by a man but by a woman dressed as a man, or rather as a boy, who will presumably display more "feminine" characteristics than an actual man. Some of the more feminine aspects of Caesario's character may have shown through her disguise; indeed Moreno himself comments upon Caesario's more feminine qualities, stating that "Thy Manners are so soft, thy Sense so quick at every turn; thou should'st be older than thou seem'st to be" (Burnaby, 15). It is possibly these more female qualities, when compared to more typical male attributes such as Moreno would undoubtedly display, which have captured Villaretta's attention; a woman who has just recently been released from an unhappy marriage would quite understandably be attracted to a "man" who did not exhibit many of the more aggressive and potentially unpleasant characteristics of the

male.

In the two most prominent scenes where Villaretta and Caesario meet, a great deal of the imagery which Villaretta uses when describing Caesario concentrates upon her apparent youth, indicating that it is this aspect of her persona which is one of the most attractive to Villaretta. During their first meeting, Villaretta comments constantly on this one aspect of Caesario's character, first admitting that "'Tis impossible to be out of humour with this Youth--- What does the Boy look at?", then stating openly that "I'm extremely pleas'd with this Youth--!" (Burnaby, 20); it seems that one of Caesario's most important attractions for Villaretta is her youth and more importantly, the presumption of inexperience which accompanies that youth. As a boy - if Caesario were truly a boy - Caesario would be easier for Villaretta to control, making "him" less of a threat to Villaretta's hard won freedom of self-governance and independence; a man, particularly a man of power and of the state, a man who was used to ruling, would be more of a danger to Villaretta's cherished independent state. Even when Villaretta at last declares her love for Caesario, she does in a manner which emphasises this important trait of Caesario's persona: "Despise not, gentle Youth, a Victory That cost so little-- to you of all mankind, An easy Victory" (Burnaby, 29); she focuses upon her beloved's apparent youth in her admission of love, and it seems that is this one trait which wins Caesario, "of all Mankind", Villaretta's affections.

However, Villaretta still seems reluctant to love Caesario; it is clear from her language that she is attracted to "him" almost against her will. As she banters with Caesario during their first meeting, she exclaims "What am I doing!" (Burnaby, 21) in an aside to the audience as she finds herself drawn to the supposed youth before her, and begins her own courtship of the reluctant Caesario; as Villaretta contemplates relinquishing her hard won freedom, she again resorts to images of government and rule, admitting that "I feel him in my Breast dispensing Laws, And all within me pleas'd with his Commands" (Burnaby, 21). Villaretta's words, however, are somewhat deceptive; many of the words and terms which she uses are essentially conventional, and she appears to value herself according to more traditional estimations of female worth, using the same equation of monetary worth, that "Villaretta's Youth and Fortune need not fear a disappointment" (Burnaby, 21), equalling feminine charm. Villaretta, however, is still intent upon retaining control of her own fortunes and her proposed marriage, stating bluntly that "something I must do, or I may lose him" (Burnaby, 21) as she seizes the initiative in her own courtship. It is Villaretta, in her pursuit of Caesario, who is taking the traditional male role in their courtship; her comments regarding her fortune have echoes of Antonio's wooing letter where he offers his two hundred thousand cehines as the proof of his love, while her fear that she "may lose him" harks back to Moreno's comparison of Villaretta herself with the "lost Morea".

The usurping of the male role in the male-female courting

relationship by Villaretta reflects the confusion over roles and the poor communication which exists between the characters in the play, and through implication, that of society as a whole; Burnaby has inverted many of the traditional roles of his male and female characters in order to comment upon the state of marriage in his society. Thus Villaretta takes on an unusual and even unnatural role in her wooing of Caesario, but Caesario herself has taken on an unnatural role in her pursuit of Moreno; Emilia's character is closer in spirit to that of a Restoration rake, who offers biting and often ribald observations of the couplings which develop around him while remaining aloof and unattached himself; Moreno does little to advance the plot, and seems to exist primarily as a foil to the women's wit and be married off to Caesario at the play's conclusion.

This series of inverted relationships and characters is highlighted by the characters' use of imagery; as Villaretta realises that she is threatening her own independence through her pursuit of Caesario, she begins to equate her feelings for Caesario with the unnatural. Villaretta implies that she is no longer truly herself because of her love for Caesario, and complains that "I wou'd resume my self, and stifle this fond Flame; But Love forbids" (Burnaby, 28); to her love is not a grand passions but

The little Tyrant [that] baffles all our Reason;
 And none can feel the Smart, and hide the Wound!
 With a mysterious Cruelty he reigns,
 That covers still the Innocent with shame;
 The injur'd wear the Tokens of the Guilty,
 And falsely here, the Murder'd blushes,
 Not the Murderer... (Burnaby, 28)

Burnaby's use of imagery in this speech reveals not only Villaretta's own ambivalent feelings regarding her love for Caesario, but the continuing ambiguity regarding Villaretta's character. Her image of love as a "Tyrant" and of the beloved as a "Murderer" are akin to the sentiments of Petrarch; the use of such conceits in Villaretta's speech places her on a level with the traditionally male tormented lover whose love is not returned by his beloved, reinforcing her dominant role in her relationship with Caesario and her dominance in the play itself.

In a similar fashion, Emilia's unrestrained delight at Villaretta's predicament, as she mocks her with "You'll own then, that a Woman's Resolution to avoid Men lasts no longer than she can meet with one that she likes" (Burnaby, 30), is more of a piece with the brittle wit and cynicism of the earlier heroes of the Restoration comedy of manners, than with the traditional role of the female confidante - even Burnaby's own character of Laura behaves in a more traditional fashion, as she aids Caesario to discover Villaretta's true feelings, then arranges the reconciliation of Moreno and Caesario at the play's conclusion. Emilia indulges her wit at Villaretta's expense, mocking love and the behaviour of lovers,

For when a Fellow loves in earnest, he does a thousand
sottish things, out of his impertinent Care of you;
whereas, Flattery has all the good Breeding of Love,
without the Folly, then you may part too without the
Tears and Convulsions of your true Lovers
(Burnaby, 31)

despite the presence of the now besotted Villaretta. However, it is when Villaretta is moved to defend love with all the passion and eloquence with which she earlier condemned the

emotion, now asserting that "For all we know of what they do above, /Is that they Sing, and that they Love" (Burnaby, 31) that Emilia truly unleashes her tongue:

Ha! ha! ha! To be told that Villaretta talk'd thus! I shou'd as soon suspect a Priest wou'd Preach against Pluralities, a Physician against Atheism, or a Woman hate Detraction-- ! You that use to laugh at all Lovers, to become one! (Burnaby, 31)

Burnaby's Emilia is no supportive female friend, who aids Villaretta in her travail, as does Laura; she is truly a Restoration Wit, whose pursuit of wit and mockery respects neither family relationship nor fellow feeling.

The dichotomy which exists within the character of Caesario is emphasised as Burnaby forces his disguised heroine to behave in a manner which is more typical of a man as Caesario is accosted by Burnaby's Taquilet, a character who is an amalgamation of the Shakespearean characters of Malvolio and Andrew Aguecheek. Though Caesario is finally unable to continue her charade in the face of Drances' aggression, she demonstrates more awareness of the potentialities of her situation and more cunning in her attempts to end the matter in a manner which will most benefit herself; she realises, as Shakespeare's Caesario does not, that Taquilet is essentially a coward, "I have overheard 'em, and that Fellow is certainly as great a Coward as my self. I have half a mind to try" (Burnaby, 33), and has the boldness of mind to attempt to face her opponent down. Caesario combines a traditionally male sense of daring in her decision to confront Taquilet, with a more feminine readiness to admit her own limitations and try to defuse a genuinely dangerous

situation; when Drances turns upon Caesario, she sees no reason to continue with her pretence, and shamelessly falls back upon the truth, "I can't fight" (Burnaby, 34) in order to save her life. This episode both illustrates and comments upon the nature of men and of fighting and bloodshed; the men of Burnaby's play view life as a military campaign and in terms of conquest, while women do not share such martial enthusiasms. Caesario demonstrates that despite her outward appearance and at times atypical behaviour, she is still feminine enough to see nothing wrong with her behaviour in revealing her own disinclination to fight:

...One can't have to do with Breeches, I see, without mischief--If I had not been a Man of great Conduct, I had pay'd for usurping that blustering Sex.
(Burnaby, 36)

The play's conclusion is a combination of Shakespeare's original final scenes and Burnaby's own innovation; Villaretta, after mistaking Sebastian for Caesario, entices him into marriage using lines from the original play to underline the sincerity of Villaretta's emotions, "Plight me the full assurance of your Faith,/That my most jealouse and too doubtful Soul/May live at peace" (Burnaby, 50) and the uncertainty which she still feels regarding marriage, as she demands a "full assurance" of Sebastian's faithfulness. As in Shakespeare, once Villaretta reveals to Moreno her marriage to the supposed Caesario, Moreno turns upon his faithful page, and again, in such an emotionally charged scene, where the final revelations of the truth begin, Burnaby uses Shakespeare's lines to create an atmosphere of sincerity; Villaretta urges Caesario to "fear him not! 'Tis I command you./Be what thou know'st thou art, and then/Thou art as

great as he thou shrink'st from" (Burnaby, 56), emphasising her desire to maintain her control over herself despite her marriage and her natural air of command.

The resolution of Burnaby's plot, however, unlike Shakespeare's, is facilitated by one of his additional female characters, as Laura, Caesario's faithful friend and confidante, rushes to her aid; when Moreno is further inflamed by the words of Villaretta's priest, confirming the marriage between his mistress and the apparent Caesario, it is Laura who tries to protect her former mistress, "Hold my Lord, don't Kill her, let her be search'd first, and you'll be satisfy'd" (Burnaby, 57) by revealing the truth of Caesario's gender - while incidently offering the audience the same thrill of titillation offered by Sauny's attempt to undress the unhappy Margaret nearly forty years previously in Sauny the Scot. The entrance of Sebastian is needed, however, to fully reconcile Moreno to the truth, as he is too consumed with rage and injured male pride to listen to Laura's words; Moreno must be forced to see the truth before he will fully understand the true nature of all of the women of the play.

With the revelation of the true identities of both Sebastian and Caesario, however, the reconciliation of the two couples is achieved, and play ends with the traditional celebrations of marriage which mark a comedy; it is at this point that Burnaby's lost masque was to have been performed during the premiere, and presumably was performed during the play's one other performance.

Though the play does end with these reconciliations and nuptials, Burnaby does exclude a number of characters from the final happiness of the drama's conclusion; the marriage of Toby Belch and Maria, which would presumably be transformed into the marriage of Drances and Dromia is entirely absent from not only the play's ending but from the entire plot. Though both are major characters, Laura and Emilia are left out of the final pairing off in the last scene; indeed, Emilia is not even on stage during the play's final act.

The absence of these two central female characters, both of whom have been exceptionally cynical regarding marriage and men throughout the play, from any form of nuptials in the final scene excludes them in the world of the play from the prospect of any marriage, and seems to imply that these two women are content to remain unmarried, unlike in other dramas where the unmarried characters of the play's finale are often, like Congreve's Mrs. Marwood, excluded and unhappy. Thus, though Burnaby did make Villaretta a marginally more conventional character in creating her a widow and not keeping her as an unmarried woman who nonetheless held her own property, he does choose to leave two of his most important female characters in this single and subversive state at the play's end; he then adds a further touch of controversy in Moreno's words to Caesario, "You make me more your Slave, than you was mine" (Burnaby, 60), which echo, as do so many other voices in the play, Astell's controversial Reflections on Marriage, "he may call himself her Slave a few days, but it is only in order to make her his all the rest of his

Life"³⁷. The final image of the play is one of two marriages, both of which were founded upon deception, contrasted with two women whose eyes are truly open to the realities of marriage remaining unmarried, and contented in their unmarried state, at the play's conclusion.

The focus of Burnaby's play is uniquely female, dealing as it does with the female concerns of love and marriage. The central and motivating characters of the play are all women, for though Moreno rules the state of Venice, it is the women of the play who control the action of the plot and who keep the play moving towards its conclusion; the play's few other main characters are essentially non-entities, who are present only as plot devices or foils for the women's wit. There are fewer men in Burnaby's play than in the Shakespearean original, as Burnaby cuts the original fifteen male characters down to seven; he also increases the female characters from three to five. The cutting of the play's male characters by half, while almost doubling the female characters, contribute to the increase in importance and in lines given to Love Betray'd women characters; the play's most prominent voices are now entirely the voices of women. In this way, Burnaby has given his play a uniquely female voice in both its themes and its characters at a time when public debate over marriage, women's education and women's rights in society, which had never entirely vanished, was once more intensifying; a debate no doubt encouraged by the increase in volume and intensity of women's writings during the start of the eighteenth century

³⁷Hill, 100.

coupled with the accession to the throne of a queen who deliberately attempted to link herself to Elizabeth, the still revered great Tudor queen.

CHAPTER VII - CONCLUSION

"Useful and Instructive"¹

Drama, more so than other forms of literature, is often viewed as a mirror; the action upon the stage is a reflection of the society which watches it. It is therefore inevitable that changes made within a society will initiate changes within the content and style of the drama which that society produces; indeed, it can be surmised that the drama produced during a time of upheaval could also have an effect upon the attitudes of many within its society. The constant upheavals in English society throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries created similar upheavals in works produced for the stage, as dramatists such as Shakespeare and Davenant strove to keep up with shifting audience tastes and interests. The issue of women and of women's identity and voice was one of these upheavals, as questions over the rights and the role of women took on increasing importance during the latter half of the seventeenth and into the early eighteenth centuries. As women began to break out of established societal roles through the demands of civil conflict as well as through personal choice and began to express themselves more openly and with increasing vigour, they forced a re-examination of the preceding and existing systems of order within society; increasingly, women's voices challenged the traditionally patriarchal hierarchy of established English society.

¹From Killigrew's Patent, 25 April 1662. From Restoration and Georgian England 1660-1788, David Thomas, ed., Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989, 18.

The public woman, then, who spoke out and used her voice as a weapon of power and of social change, became a symbol of the movement towards women's rights in society; such a figure would most certainly be exploited by dramatist seeking to entice members of the public into the theatres. The inclusion of characters which could be related to the debate over women's behaviour and place in society would provide the plays of the Restoration with a topicality which would help to rouse audience interest; the use of such outspoken female characters to fuel the debate and to influence the argument would be a beneficial side effect of such character creation, but one which most playwrights of the time, who often held allegiances of convenience to one political party or another, would not hesitate to exploit. As the drama of the time both reflected and influenced attitudes within society, those attitudes themselves would change over the years, and necessitate a similar shift in dramatic output; thus as the stance of society changed throughout the Restoration era and into the early eighteenth century, the portrayal of women on the stage also altered, to accommodate and perhaps again influence the changing views of society.

The early portrayals of women in these adaptations of Shakespeare, himself one of the most important and influential of playwrights, particularly those of William Davenant in The Law Against Lovers and Macbeth, seem influenced by the behaviour of women during the years of the Civil Wars, when women took on essentially positive roles; the actions of women such as Lady Harley who defended their homes against opposing military forces

were considered heroic and were much admired. Even the often strident petitions of women to Parliament were not wholly condemned, as the women often fought for the release of their loved ones, for improved economic conditions, and indeed for peace itself; the motives of virtually all of the women's petitions were peaceable and reasonable, even if the women themselves would sometimes allow their frustrations to overcome their judgement.

The women of Davenant's adaptations are often courageous and active in their roles, and possess voices which often offer a service to society. Beatrice from The Law Against Lovers demonstrates the power for good which can come from the use of a woman's voice, as she personally contributes to the re-establishment of legitimate rule in Turin - albeit through rather extreme methods - while Isabella raises questions of morality and the responsibility of the individual in society through her conversations with Angelo; in a similar fashion, Lady Macduff, though essentially passive, illustrates the essential goodness of the woman's voice as she attempts to guide her husband through the moral minefield of regicide in Macbeth. Of all of the important and outspoken women of Davenant's two plays, only the witches and of course Lady Macbeth offer any negative image of the woman's voice, through their misguided and eventually catastrophic goading of Macbeth onto to the path to unlawful power; however, even these negative portrayals offer telling arguments for the potential power of the woman's voice, while Lady Macduff offers a telling argument of the potential dangers

of ignoring a woman's words.

Davenant, however, was certainly the most sympathetic of the Restoration and early eighteenth century adaptors of Shakespeare, at least in his portrayal of women; though Lady Macbeth is certainly not an admirable character, under Davenant's hands she loses much of her potential for black and unredeemed villainy. Davenant's Lady Macbeth, with her obvious remorse and late repentance, does try to make amends for her earlier dark deeds, as she uses the tool which formerly drove her husband to murder to urge him on to redemption; he deliberately creates parallels in the use of imagery between Lady Macbeth and Lady Macduff, helping to lessen the former's villainy through an association with the latter's goodness. In this way, Lady Macbeth and Lady Macduff are both more akin to the witty and vocal Beatrice, Julietta and Isabella, and to the more positive aspects of the woman's voice, than to the malevolence of the witches or the shrewishness of Lacy's Margaret. The woman's voice, Davenant seems to be asserting, need not be feared by society and those who govern society, but may be heard and may be used for the betterment of all.

John Lacy, writing under different circumstances and with a different agenda from Davenant, paints a much different portrait of the outspoken woman; his shrew Margaret is portrayed as a true harridan, a woman to be controlled at all costs, by any means necessary, up to and including physical violence. The horrors of the years which preceded the writing of Lacy's play,

as plague and fire threatened the very fabric of London society, seem to have caused the playwright to distrust the subversive power of the woman's voice and the questioning of traditional values which are inherent in its words. Lacy's Margaret is an outspoken woman with a powerful voice which does have an effect upon the society which exists within the drama; yet the message of Lacy's play, unlike either of Davenant's dramas, is that this voice is dangerous and must be silenced by the most effective and often brutal means available. Margaret's voice has, unlike Beatrice or Lady Macduff, a negative impact upon her society, as she disrupts the fabric of her society and inspires her sister to commit a similar act of rebellion; in Lacy's vision of society, there is no place for outspoken women, and such women are not to be tolerated. By first making Margaret an unpleasant and unsympathetic woman, and then making the society of the play complicit in her on stage humiliation and violent "taming", Lacy makes his theme of the need to silence such disruptive, outspoken women forcibly and bitterly apparent.

The violent hysteria of the Popish Plot influenced the portrayal of women on the stage in Edward Ravenscroft's instance; his characters of Tamora and Lavinia polarised and simplified the portrayal of women into simple representations of good and evil. Though Davenant's Macbeth also offered the audience the view the good and the evil in Lady Macduff and Lady Macbeth, the two characters themselves were far more blurred in their designations, as Lady Macduff often admonished her husband for his behaviour in a manner more reminiscent of a shrew character,

and as Lady Macbeth later attempted to return her husband to a virtuous course of action - neither woman in themselves were simply good or evil, no matter what their designation in the play.

Ravenscroft, however, responded to the crisis in society by simplifying both the play's conflict and the participants of the plot in his adaptation; Tamora is very much the "wicked queen" and Lavinia becomes "threatened virtue". The woman's voice is again a force in society which is powerful and must be controlled, rather than a source of strength and a means of attaining justice as in The Law Against Lovers; traditional values, in this time of difficulty, must be asserted. Lavinia's voice, which is never particularly strong and has little influence upon the events of the play, is still controlled in the most brutal fashion possible as she is first humiliated and assaulted through rape, and then literally has her voice ripped from her through the loss of her tongue. There is a strong measure of irony in this loss of Lavinia's voice, as it is on the orders of the play's only other prominent female character, Tamora, that this violent disempowerment is performed; through this act, Tamora ensures that hers is the only woman's voice to impact upon the society of the play. Tamora herself does possess a most powerful voice, one which has a significant political and social impact and influences the outcome of the drama; however, any questions raised by her character and her power are quickly answered by her uncompromising blackness of spirit, and her violent end - her voice, like the unfortunate Lavinia's, is now

under control.

As the terrors of the Popish Plot receded, English society came under the grip of the upheaval of the Exclusion Crisis, as England seems once again threatened by conflict and war; Nahum Tate, writing during the closing months of the crisis, uses the woman's voice to remind his audience of the price of war in his adaptation of Coriolanus. In particular, his use of Volumnia and Virgilia effectively polarises the depiction of war between the war-like and the peace-loving; Volumnia's role is to demonstrate the horrors of war through her enthusiastic descriptions of conflict, while Virgilia offers the alternative to Volumnia's military posturing with her quiet voice of reason. Again, the woman's voice proves to be a most effective tool, since Volumnia's graphic and lurid images of war and death help to repel the audience - her words are all the more effective as they are spoken not just by an advocate of war, but by a woman and a mother, the same individuals who during the Civil Wars campaigned Parliament for peace. Her words emphasise the unnaturalness of such conflict and civil strife, and prepare the audience for the words of Virgilia the peace-maker, whose voice of reason cuts through Volumnia's rhetoric and restores the balance to society. Tate uses his women characters not so much to argue for traditional values and the hierarchy, but simply to state the case for peace and stability.

With the accession of Anne Stuart to the English throne, a new interest in women and the woman's voice reached the stage,

one which was fuelled by an increasing number of pamphlets and books advocating the rights of women in education and within marriage. After Anne came to the throne in 1703, English society became more stable, as the Glorious Revolution of 1688 had successfully asserted the right of the people and of Parliament in important decisions about the nature of power; there was no longer any need to be threatened by an unsuitable monarch, as it had been established that such a ruler could be replaced simply and with relative ease. William Burnaby's Love Betray'd was very much a return to the socially orientated comedy of manners popular during the height of the Restoration theatre, dealing, like Lacy's earlier play, with the purely private and domestic spheres. Sadly, however, it was a rather poorly judged return, as audiences and theatres now largely leaned towards the more sentimental type of comedy which would increase in popularity as the eighteenth century progressed.

Burnaby's key concerns in his adaptation, in keeping with the concerns of much of his preceding drama, were marriage and the different relationships between men and women, subjects which were very close to many women's hearts. Burnaby makes full use of the woman's voice in his comedy, as he decreases the number of Shakespeare's male characters and increases the number of female roles; the most important lines are all spoken by women, and most of the commentary upon marriage comes from the female characters. There seem to be echoes from the writings of prominent women writers in many of the women's speeches, most noticeably Mary Astell and her Reflections on Marriage; not only

does Burnaby use the woman's voice to its full potential in his play, but his speeches also reverberate with the words of true women and their concerns, giving his own female characters an added legitimacy and power.

The stage was more carefully policed than other forms of writings, such as pamphlets and books; David Wheeler cites the example of Tate's The Sicilian Usurper, which was published in 1681 despite being banned from the stage in late 1680 as proof that "the same censorship was simply not applied to printed texts"². The more rigorous policing of the stage indicates that the theatre was considered to be the more influential, and potentially the more dangerous, medium of communication; the message inherent in drama could reach more people and therefore effect more people than could print alone. The Restoration stage then, with its large audience craving spectacle and excitement, does truly seem to be a reliable guide to the tastes and attitudes of its audience; the progression of women's roles through the drama of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries is then, in itself, a reliable guide to the changing attitudes within society towards women and the increasingly public and outspoken woman's voice.

There does seem to be a general positive trend in the portrayal of women on the stage; starting with the fine and essentially supportive portrayal of women in Davenant's adaptations, through Lacy and Ravenscroft's more reactionary

²Wheeler, "To Their Own Purpose", 281.

depictions, to Tate's purposeful use of the woman's voice as a powerful tool of propaganda and finally to Burnaby's exuberantly subversive view of women and marriage. The original Shakespearean plays themselves were often fundamentally positive in their portrayal of women and their possibilities and the treatment of women in the adaptations demonstrates the continuing evolution of women on the stage and in society, an evolution which becomes clear when viewing these changes through the writings of the women themselves. Though at times this movement may have been turbulent, these later playwrights, by using Shakespeare as their model and guide, continue to illustrate to their audiences the potential power of women and their voices. However, though there is progress in the depiction of women, it is slow and gradual; the women's voices are indeed "useful and instructive" as was commanded by Charles II in his original patents allowing women to take their place on the stage, yet the voices are still confined and controlled by the largely male playwrights, theatre managers and audience, rendering them, in the end, "mostly harmless".

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