A Comparative Study of Caroline & Restoration Drama

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Jane Lovell

1964
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CAROLINE AND RESTORATION DRAMA

BY

JANE LOVELL PFINGSTON

A THESIS
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OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
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Graduate Committee
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This study came about as the result of a suggestion by a former teacher, Dr. Earl A. Moore, and my own feeling that I had been mistaken in my conception of what happened in English dramatic development in the middle of the seventeenth century. Apparently research on this matter had not been extensive and a need for clarification existed.

I have relied chiefly on the sources from the Joint University Library at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, and the Western Kentucky State College Library; and I wish to thank the librarians of these two institutions for their services.

I especially want to express my appreciation to my graduate committee composed of Miss Frances Richards, Mrs. Ruth Fuller and Dr. Willson E. Wood for reading my manuscript and offering their suggestions, to Mrs. Frances Dixon for loan of materials and encouragement, and to my husband, Eddie H. Pfingston, whose patience and help have made this study possible.

A special tribute goes to my advisor, Dr. Willson E. Wood, who has guided me throughout the study. I deeply appreciate his continued interest, his patience, his criticism, and his guidance during the course of this work.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

There are three outstanding periods in English drama: The Elizabethan (1576-1642), The Restoration (1660-1707), and The Contemporary (1892- ). High school English literature textbooks, in general, leave the impression that the Restoration period was like none other in English literary history in its debauchery. In one widely used high school textbook is found the following statement:

In 1642 Parliament passed an order that all public theaters be closed. With the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660, the theaters were opened. The first plays were a far, far cry from the grandeur of the Elizabethan dramas. Generally speaking, the plays were coarse and even immoral. The pendulum had made a complete swing from the pious period of the Commonwealth, when the theater was banned, to the Restoration, when licentiousness flourished in the theater.

In another equally popular textbook, these statements are made:

With the Restoration of the Stuarts, the playhouses were alive after almost twenty years of silence. But the old Elizabethan dramas were out of style. Plays based on French models were in great demand. Fortunately, the new group of playwrights, while imitating Moliere, generally exaggerated the worse.

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elements of French comedy. Their plays were always worldly, frequently witty and usually indecent.  

Observation and comparison of the two periods are made by Priestly and Spear.

The theater came back with the Restoration, but it was very different from the Elizabethan theater. It was the theater of the court, the nobility, the men of fashion.

The Restoration era is further characterized by a later edition of one of these textbooks in the following manner:

When Charles II in 1660 set up his gay courts, ... Courtiers wrote licentious and unbridled verse. The theaters were reopened, and the glittering comedies were all the rage. Their principal subject was the battle between the sexes, lightly and cynically treated. Grace seemed more important than goodness; manners outweighed morals.

These textbooks lead one to believe that the plays written for the reopened theaters were novel in being written for dissipated audiences to enjoy. This popular misconception has been passed on to students by high school and college teachers. I thought for many years that the drama of the Restoration was unique in the kind and amount of naughtiness

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presented, and I am sure that many others got the same idea from the vague or misleading teachers and textbooks. When I suspected that I was wrong, I determined to make an accurate comparative study to find the truth. Questions which occurred to me included the following: How different are they from the dramas written in the period before the theaters closed and from those written in the period after the theaters were reopened? Did the Puritan interim greatly alter the basic concepts of the dramatist and his audience? Did the drama do a reversal—did the beautiful butterfly weave the cocoon and the lowly worm emerge eighteen years later? Or was the groundwork for the Restoration licentiousness laid by the pre-Cromwellian playwrights? Is there any indication that the late Elizabethans, Shakespeare's successors, sneered at morality? These are the questions to be answered by research.

The original plan for research was to make a comparative study of plays written in the twenty year span before the theaters closed and in the twenty year period after the theaters reopened—a comparative study of Jacobean and Restoration drama. However, the availability of play copies limited the number of plays read and the authors used. Therefore, the twenty year plan proved to be quite cumbersome, and the plays were reduced roughly to a twelve year period. The subject for research then became "A Comparative Study of Caroline and Restoration Drama."

The later Elizabethans, not only did not reach the great dramatic heights of the early Elizabethans, but their plays were immoral and
filled with indecent language. Many of the plays written from 1632 to 1672 are out of print or in guarded collections, and are not readily accessible to the reading public. Therefore, copies of plays written by the late Elizabethans, more correctly called the Caroline dramatists, are difficult to obtain today because they are not read or produced on the stage. The same is true of the Restoration plays, which fall into the confines of the designated period for research. Plays of the later Restoration are available, but with the exception of Dryden, the works of the early Restoration writers are extremely scarce. However, "it is often the lesser work which gives us the surest clues to the general tone of an age."  

Two plays by the same author were desired, but not always obtained. The final selection of eighteen plays--ten Caroline and seven Restoration--was made on availability. Six comedies, three tragedies, and one tragedy-comedy were the Caroline plays chosen for study. The Restoration list includes four comedies, two heroic-dramas, one burlesque, and one tragedy.

The final list of Caroline plays includes late comedies by Ben Jonson: *A Tale of a Tub* (1633), which concerns Tub and his efforts to

5 Because of their adherence to Charles I, the Cavalier writers are sometimes called the Caroline poets--a name derived from Carolus, the Latin form of Charles.

get married and shows Jonson's "satiric spirit," and The Magnetic Lady (1633), a "continuation and conclusion of a series of comedies of humor which began thirty-five years before." Shirley's contributions are his popular Hyde Park (1632), whose "characters and setting constitute a marvelously realistic picture of the fashionable life of Shirley's day," and which was read for the fashionable gossipy talk of the day, and The Lady of Pleasure (1635), called "the jewel in [Shirley's] charming cluster of comedies." The Ball (1632), the joint production of George Chapman and Shirley, got its name from a private entertainment for amusing ladies and gentlemen called Tho Ball. The Guardian (1642), by Abraham Cowley, which completes the list of comedies used, was "one of the last plays to be presented at the universities before the Long Parliament laid a heavy hand upon theatrical performances everywhere."

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11 Gosse, op. cit., p. xxiii.

Sir William D'Avenant, always a go-between because he was a transitional writer, wrote the tragi-comedy *The Platonik Lovers* (1635), which expounded the new theory of platonic love. Among the tragedies is John Ford's *The Broken Heart* (1633), considered by "many critics his strongest play," and full of the melancholy of unhappy love and suffering virtue. Another of his powerful but "decadent tragedies" is *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* (1633), a moving and tender play about incestuous feelings of a brother and a sister.

Here is a love of the flesh that touches the spiritual, an ardor that is unsullied by the courtly sensual wit of Suckling and Carew.

The other tragedy on the list is Phillip Massinger's *The Maid of Honour* (1632) about a true heroine who incarnates virtue, love, and honor.

John Dryden's comedy *Sir Martin Mar-all* (1667) was the first Restoration comedy selected. Sir Martin Mar-all's blunders were exhibited for thirty-three nights in the theater and four times at court.

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14 Ibid., pp. 118-119.


The Rehearsal (1671), a burlesque by George Villiers, The Duke of Buckingham, was chosen particularly because it satirized over fifteen heroic dramas with John Dryden being the main subject of satire. The three remaining comedies were written by William Wycherley and the "female Wycherley," Mrs. Aphra Behn. They are Wycherley's ribald and libertine comedy, The Country Wife (1672), called the "most bestial play in all literature," and Love in a Wood (1671), which is "grovellingly indecent," and Mrs. Behn's The Dutch Lover (1672), in which all the formulae and properties of sex are exploited.

D'Avenant's The Unfortunate Lovers (1668), named for the unfortunate lead characters, and Dryden's The Indian Queen (1664) and The Indian Emperor (1665), both of which are supposed to take place in Mexico and are concerned with Montezuma, are the three Restoration tragedies selected.

Much confusion concerns the dates of these plays. Sometimes the date given is the year in which the play was written, sometimes the publishing date, and sometimes the performance date. Usually there is no distinction as to which one of the three is given. The dates used in this

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17 David Patrick, Chambers Cyclopaedia of English Literature (Edinburgh: W. and R. Chambers Limited, 1906), 11, 68.
18 Gayley and Thaler, op. cit., IV, 261
research are the ones which were found associated with the plays the greatest number of times.

As the plays were read, notes were taken and filed on the following topics.

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This list, including several other items which have been dropped, was made up from suggestions made by teachers, by my advisor, and by some preliminary reading. The starred items proved most valuable for this study.

Various critical opinions of the two periods were read and analyzed, and critiques of the plays chosen for study were read, if available.

The consensus of the criticisms, however, had no particular bearing on the conclusions reached. The conclusions were to be my own, based on what I found in the plays.

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See appendix for list of plays studied.
CHAPTER II
CRITICAL OPINION

The seventeenth century, which embraces both the Elizabethan and Restoration periods of drama, is in many ways a most amazing epoch. Paying his respects to Shakespeare at one end and to Swift at the other, Allardyce Nicoll succinctly comments on the period:

Between Shakespeare and Swift is a deep chasm, at first sight apparently without a solitary point of connection between one bank and the other. On closer view, however, it is seen that this chasm is bridged by innumerable links in a continued chain of development. There is certainly a chronological break toward the middle of the century in the Puritan domination, which extended from 1642 to 1660. Nevertheless, even this chronological break, serious as it appears, will be found to have exercised comparatively slight influence on the development of literature. 21

Mr. Nicoll's statement is certainly contrary to a popular conception that the Restoration drama developed its lusty ways all by itself—perhaps, it had help from its neighbors the French but none, according to this conception, from its predecessors, the Elizabethans.

A number of prominent critics have insisted that although the Restoration dramatists made general use of material derived from

Molière's drama, their work differs markedly from Molière's purpose and spirit and should be judged simply as an "independent growth springing from the impulse of English Restoration Society to view itself upon the stage." Therefore, according to Mr. Palmer, the new comedy marks "rather a revolution than a development, " and its indebtedness to early English comedy is of very slight importance.

Since there is some disagreement here, it becomes necessary to do further study. In order to see what influence, if any, the late Elizabethans, or more specifically the Caroline dramatists, had on the Restoration dramatists, it is necessary to see what actually was happening in England. No true understanding of any dramatic age is possible without some formulated conception of the spectators for whom the particular plays were written and of the historical background of the period.

In Elizabeth's time, the drama was viewed by all classes of people: the gallants on the stage, the unfortunates in the pit, and the lords and ladies in their boxes. The dramatist had to please both the humble masses and the nobility. Moore believes that drama thrives best as in the Elizabethan Age when the ruling classes are not out of touch with

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23 Ibid., p. 65.
the common people. 24

With the coming of James I, a new fashion had come in. Gradually year by year, the playhouses became the particular haunts of the king and the nobility. As the breach between Puritan and Cavalier grew, the commoners and middle class citizens steadily left the theater, and the London stage moved under the sway of the court aristocracy.

Their tastes discouraged the use of native bourgeois atmosphere. Plays appealed more to the decadent Stuart Court and less to the whole nation. 25

"Interest in love became the pre-occupation with lusts, sex, and the social code." 26 Love, particularly passionate and illicit love, had come to dominate the minds of the playwrights and apparently the thinking of the audience. Archer states that to the Elizabethan public, an ounce of sexual suggestion was worth a pound of psychological analysis or moral casuistry. 27

A comparative survey of the women of Shakespeare and Shirley or Massinger shows how rapidly the moral character of the English stage


25 Ibid., p. xx.


27 Archer, op. cit., p. 100.
changed. Massinger stooped to "low tastes of the vulgar minds whom it was his business to amuse." 28 "The younger generation demanded sexual stimulation, and this Massinger's plays provided," 29 while "Shirley proved his ready associate." 30 Ford, noted for "cold-blooded villainy and absolute lack of restraint," 31 and others sank to the most disgusting and nauseating of sexual emotions 32 with carnal images and suggestive sensuality.

"Themes became sensational or melodramatic; incest was more than once a dominating motive." 33 Ford's 'Tis Pity She's a Whore (1633) is a tragedy of incestuous love. There was an "absence of moral standards, a disregard of moral values" 34 in this period of drama before the theaters closed.

Nicoll shows that the revenge play was an exceedingly popular type,


31 Brawley, op. cit., p. 119.

32 Nicoll, British Drama, p. 163.

33 Brawley, op. cit., p. 90.

chiefly because it gave vent to bloody scenes and thrilling emotions.\(^{35}\)

In this age, new endeavors were made to find novel and shocking means to thrill the audience. Ford, a "dramatist of power and importance but of unmistakable decadence,"\(^{36}\) used revenge in "the last great romantic-tragedy of the seventeenth century,"\(^{37}\) The Broken Heart (1633). In this tragedy, Ford used a "strange device—property chair or 'engine' so constructed that one who sits on it is immediately imprisoned and made fast."\(^{38}\)

Massinger in many ways pointed toward the rhetoric of the Restoration heroic dramas.\(^{39}\) Love, passionate, chaste, and licentious, added to the usual disquisitions upon morality and virtue, fills The Maid of Honour (1632). Nicoll has pointed out that stock situations and stock characters of the Caroline tragedies are apparent in this Massinger tragedy.\(^{40}\)

Moreover, with D'Avenant's The Platonik Lovers (1635), the

\(^{35}\) Nicoll, British Drama, p. 99.


\(^{37}\) Chambers, op. cit., p. 481.

\(^{38}\) Nicoll, Readings from English Drama, p. 151.

\(^{39}\) Ibid., pp. 146-147.

\(^{40}\) Nicoll, British Drama, p. 138.
point was reached at which by Nicoll's, Osgood's and Schelling's standards, the purely romantic tragi-comedy tended to move into the world of heroic drama. "In the platonic sentiment, we come very close to the spirit of Dryden."  

The new cult of honor, that of platonic love, made its way into England with the coming of the French Queen of the English Charles I. Charles II also patronized love and honor drama and gave the tone to the whole courtly taste.

Sir William D'Avenant, often called the real link between the old and new, built up the love and honor tradition which formed the basis of the Restoration tragedy. He had written dramas in which the exalted inspiration of love and honor made itself felt; they were put on the Restoration stages and their tone chimed with that of the new theater.

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41 Ibid., p. 142.
44 Nicoll, British Drama, p. 42.
46 Nicoll, British Drama, p. 225.
47 Brawley, op. cit., p. 131.
48 Nicoll, British Drama, p. 225.
In Restoration comedy, however, love and honor became a mere play of wit. 49

It is generally agreed that Ben Jonson's influence extended into the Restoration period. His influence lived and reasserted itself as a classic force in the drama of the Restoration period. 50 Metcalf calls Jonson "the forerunner of the brilliant comedy of manners of the Restoration period." 51 Professor Schelling states that Jonson's comedy of manners dominated English comedy for nearly three centuries. 52

Most important of all Jonson added the comedy of manners or humours, as he called it, to the forms of the English drama. It was this satirically heightened picture of contemporary life handled with a restraint and finish ultimately traceable to classical examples that survived on the stage after the Restoration in the comedies of D'Avenant, Dryden, Etherege and Vanbrugh. In a word, Jonson gave to the later drama one of its two permanent types. 53

In every kind of drama, "all realistic comedy owes its influences and reminiscences of its most effective scenes and types of characters

50 Hall, op. cit., p. 70.
52 Schelling, Typical Elizabethan Playwrights, p. 281.
53 Ibid., p. xxxi.
to Jonson's comedy of humours model." 54

Jonson's "humors" are abstracts of the age; his figures symbolize this or that type of man, or this or that corruption. Comedy, in both eras, thus poured scorn on the Puritans as did Cowley's *The Guardian* (1642), hit illicit love affairs in William Wycherley's *The Country Wife* (1672), and ridiculed the conceited fops as in Shirley's *The Ball* (1632), Dryden's *Sir Martin Mar- all* (1667), and Wycherley's *Love in a Wood* (1671). Even Jonson's "failures or partial successes." 55 *The Magnetic Lady* (1632) and *A Tale of a Tub* (1633), show the same rich picture of contemporary manners and satiric spirit.

"James Shirley provides the link between Jonson and the Restoration." 56 Nicoll calls Shirley the last great poet of the "Elizabethan" era, but laments the fact that he "exhibits comedy, pathos, high poetry, wit, indelicacy, coarseness, rhetorical sentiment, and decadent happenings." 57 Apparently he passed these qualities on to the next generation of playwrights.

*Hyde Park* (1632), *The Ball* (1632), written with George Chapman, and *The Lady of Pleasure* (1635) are three of the ten comedies of manners

54 Thorndike, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

55 Ibid., p. 6.


which James Shirley, "the prophet of the Restoration," wrote.

... in *Hyde Park* (1632) and *The Lady of Pleasure* (1633) fashionable manners are described with a charm of appreciation and a freshness of enthusiasm which bring Shirley nearer than any of the other great writers of the Elizabethan school to the standards and the spirit of Restoration comedy. 59

Gayley agrees that "*Hyde Park* and *The Ball* depended for their effect on their pictures of strictly contemporary manners." "Perhaps," he also states, "had there been no direct French influence, this sort of play would have been re-created and developed in the Restoration." 60

But he does not seem to agree with Archer concerning the Elizabethan influence in the Restoration era.

The manuals are in the habit of giving us to understand that the spirit of the Restoration drama was imported by Charles I from France, and suggesting that its cynicism and grossness were of Gallic origin. The French comedy of the period was remarkably free from these vices. English comedy, on the other hand, inherited them from another age; and they seem all the more offensive because society had in the meantime put on an air of outward polish. The grossness of the early seventeenth century was naif, primitive, racy; the grossness of the late seventeenth century was deliberate, cynical, corrupt. 61


60 Gayley, *op. cit.*, III, 545.

Metcalf, however, supports Archer in his opinion that the realistic prose of Hyde Park and The Lady of Pleasure, reflects "the fashionable talk of London society, and resembles that of the later brilliant but corrupt Restoration Comedy of Manners."  

Moody believes that it would take "only a slight change here and there in Hyde Park to convince us that we are among the gallants and dames of Charles II or even Queen Anne."  

In the more popular The Lady of Pleasure, Nicoll finds Celestina with her Caroline heroine features, an interesting study of a woman typical of the later comedies.  

Legouis and Cazamian state that Lady Bornwell is the prototype of more than one comedy of the succeeding age.  

Sheridan, who came along much later, "disdained not to borrow his Lady Teazle"  and Sir Peter Teazle from The Lady of Pleasure, Shirley's "finest work."  

The Lady of Pleasure, however, "was marred by an indecent tone,"  but it does offer incontrovertible proof that a new trend of mirroring the beau monde

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62 Metcalf, op. cit., p. 166.
63 Moody, op. cit., p. 156.
64 Nicoll, British Drama, p. 166.
66 Schelling, Elizabethan Playwrights, p. 265.
67 Patrick, op. cit., p. 484.
68 Brawley, op. cit., p. 121.
had set in before the Civil War. Apparently not a few of his critics have believed that Shirley carried forward the movement which culminated in the Restoration Congreve.

Lamb regarded "The Cutter of Coleman Street (1668) as a link between the comedy of Fletcher and Congreve"; nevertheless, Gayley is of the opinion that "though in some sense a transitional comedy, it is hardly a link between the Elizabethan and Restoration comedies."

Abraham Cowley wrote the crude boisterous comedy The Guardian (1642) while he was a student, but he was never satisfied with this work, which was one of the last plays to be performed on the Caroline stage. He revised it during the Commonwealth, and as The Cutter of Coleman Street, it became one of the first to be put on the boards after the theaters reopened. A thorough study shows The Guardian very similar in plot incidents, characterizations, and dialogue to Sir Martin Mar-all (1667), Love in a Wood (1671), and even to The Rivals (1775). Aurelia, the intrigante, in her lewdness and malice foretells Restoration comedy.

"is one of those disgusting old ruffians, more popular after the Restoration

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69 Lovett, op. cit., p. 535.

70 Gayley, op. cit., III, xciii.


72 Gayley and Thaler, op. cit., IV, 7.

73 Ibid., p. 9.
than before the Civil War."\(^{74}\) Cowley was the first among seventeenth century dramatists to deride false wit in the spirit of Congreve.\(^{75}\)

Nearly all the realistic comedies of the Caroline period are marred by coarseness and vulgarity, thus displaying the evil that was growing in power throughout these years,\(^{76}\) and also showing the way to the time of Charles II. Life, while decadent, Nicoll points out, "was becoming more refined intellectually; and an approach was being made to Restoration comedy of manners."\(^{77}\) Never has there been a greater number of works written, nor a drama so near to the life it mirrored than that of the late Elizabethans.\(^{78}\)

A great form of art was being worn thin, and "it finally played itself out in dissipation and dirt."\(^{79}\) By 1642 the tide was full, and the Puritans were in control. To avert "the wrath of God," an edict went forth on September 2, 1642, for the suppression of stage plays. Actors caught performing were severely punished. In the reign of the Puritans, merriment ceased. Charles I was sent to the scaffold, and the rest of the court sought refuge in France.

\(^{74}\) Archer, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 65.

\(^{75}\) Lynch, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 101.

\(^{76}\) Nicoll, \textit{British Drama}, p. 167.

\(^{77}\) Ibid., pp. 97-98.

\(^{78}\) Schelling, \textit{Elizabethan Playwrights}, p. xiii.

\(^{79}\) Metcalf, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 166.
One is inclined to believe Garnett and Grosse that the declining art of drama suffered an abrupt and complete extinction after the breaking out of the Civil War. However, after extensive research, one is more inclined to share Brawley's opinion that "the spirit of drama did not die out under the Puritans—it only slept." 81

Perhaps it did not sleep too soundly, for while the Puritans forbade plays, "entertainments" were not forbidden. D'Avenant, under the pretense of giving "music and instruction,"82 was able to produce The Siege of Rhodes in 1656, four years before the ban was officially lifted in 1660, when the Stuart family was restored to the English throne.

The Stuart king, Charles II, had been living in exile, where he had passed years in idleness, wasting his energy in drinking and wanton festivity. With his return after years of stiff Puritan rule, all restrictions were lifted. Immorality was opposed to the intense morality of the Puritans; gaiety took the place of religious restraint. 83 Archer gives the age the epithet "encyclopedia of loose living." 84

From the beginning, Restoration theater took shape as a class institution.

81 Brawley, op. cit., p. 117.
82 Harvey, op. cit., p. 161.
83 Nicoll, British Drama, p. 106.
84 Archer, op. cit., p. 175.
For the men of title, the city gallants, the fawning politicians, the ladies of fashion, the demi-mondaines, the mistress of the great, and the motley crew of male-hangers-on—for all these, who composed the bulk of playgoers, the Court provided a core of existence and formed a common tie among them. They felt themselves a perfect microcosm, united by a fixed code of taste. 85

For thirteen years after the Restoration, one theater supplied the needs of London. The middle class kept away. Because the playhouse had become a rather riotous haunt of the upper class, the playwrights, catering to their public, furthered the "rise of heroic tragedy and the elaboration of the comedy of manners." 86

The one appealed to artificial aristocratic sentiments, on the subject of honour; the other reflected the morally vicious, but intellectually brilliant atmosphere of the salons and the chocolate-houses. 87

The comedy of intrigue, as well as the comedy of manners, was the pervading type of Restoration comedy, "both of which have roots in the national tradition." 88 "The Restoration inherited and grotesquely outdid some of the vices of the primitive Elizabethans." 89

85 Lovett, op. cit., pp. 536-537.
86 Nicoll, British Drama, pp. 218-219.
87 Ibid.
88 Gayley, op. cit., III, 543.
89 Archer, op. cit., p. 168.
When the theaters reopened in 1660, they were provided with witty but indecent comedies, and the tradition of Caroline drama was present, particularly in the dramas of Shadwell, Wilson, and Dryden. The very first of the Restoration type dramas, Etherege's *Love in a Tub* (1664), "is a piece of sheer late Elizabethanism." Legouis observed that Restoration literature derives chiefly from pre-Commonwealth national literature, but with a "preference for its most licentious elements." Eleven years after the reopening of the theaters, the foul-mouthed Wycherley wrote his *Love in a Wood* (1671), and a year later, *The Country Wife*, which Nicoll calls "indescribably vulgar." Wycherley's comedy, in spite of its "mire of animalism," has undeniable power and is an improvement over Dryden, D'Avenant, and even the ingenious Mrs. Behn, who has quite a reputation of her own. Wycherley "symbolizes Restoration comedy, suggests what is full-blooded and lusty about

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90 Inglis, *Adventures in English Literature* (1950 ed.), IV, 205.
95 Brawley, *op. cit.*, p. 139.
To say that there is no relationship between Caroline drama and Wycherley is to ignore facts of research. Withington is assured there is evidence to show that the Restoration comedy would have developed much as it did without Moliere, who is accredited with influencing the Restoration dramatists a great deal. "It is true then, in any case, the Restoration would have produced a comedy not very different from that which appeared." 

What other influences played a part in its evolution, Restoration drama owed much after all, to the realistic pattern of comedy developed within the Elizabethan tradition.

As Withington further states, even before the war, such plays as The Wild Goose and The Lady of Pleasure pointed the way to Congreve, Wycherley, and other dramatists.

Dryden, for whom the age has sometimes been called, was quite prolific in all fields of Restoration drama -- heroic tragedy, tragi-comedy,

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98 Brawley, *op. cit.*, p. 129.


and comedy of manners. Dryden, whom Nicoll calls a "link between the earlier and later,"\textsuperscript{101} still retained something of the Elizabethan Age in him.\textsuperscript{102} Dryden did not like Shirley; "yet Shirley, more than any other dramatist" of the Caroline period, "approximated to the comedy of manners that Dryden so admired in Etherege, Wycherley, and Congreve."\textsuperscript{103} Dryden's Sir Martin Mar-All is reminiscent of Shirley and Jonson, and his heroic tragedies were patterned after D'Avenant, who passed on to Dryden the heroic couplet from France.

While Dryden's heroic dramas were killing their victims and winning conquests, Restoration drama "reached its peak in the comedy of manners,"\textsuperscript{104} which "without its Elizabethan background would be hard to visualize."\textsuperscript{105} Even the wit, which was so commonly worshipped in the Restoration plays, was taken from the Elizabethans.\textsuperscript{106}

It is to be understood that something of the past had to survive in the present as truly as something of the future had been anticipated.

\textsuperscript{101} Nicoll, \textit{British Drama}, p. 246.
\textsuperscript{102} Ibid., pp. 247-248.
\textsuperscript{103} Gayley, \textit{op. cit.}, III, 545.
\textsuperscript{105} Lynch, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 14.
\textsuperscript{106} Archer, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 129.
and prepared by the men who wrote before the Restoration. 107

On the whole, the Restoration theater continued the tradition of the Renaissance. Although it is true that the progress of time introduced external and internal changes, it is quite clear that in its general features the Restoration drama owed much to the late Elizabethans. A preponderance of critical comment indicates that if English drama died in 1642, the Restoration saw a resurrection, with the body showing remarkably little change as a result of the eighteen years' interment.

Though a survey of the critical comments indicate a conclusion about the relation between Caroline and Restoration drama, no serious study of this matter would be complete without a comparison, in detail, of several plays of one period with a similar number from the other.

To make such a comparison, a number of representative details must be chosen. From the many features of Restoration drama which are generally accepted as typical, a fairly large sample will be chosen, catalogued, and counted. The Caroline plays will then be examined to discover the occurrences and frequency of these same features.

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107 Legouis, A Short History of English Literature, p. 178.
CHAPTER III
STUDY OF THE PLAYS

Characters

A quick look at the dramatis personae of the plays studied reveals the fact that a number of characters are apparently stereotyped; a lot of names suggest occupation or character types, and a good many names reveal the use of foreign names, particularly Spanish, French, and Italian. Upon reading these plays, one discovers that there is also considerable duplication of characters and characteristics.

In both Caroline and Restoration drama, stereotyped names suggesting character types are quite evident, and the number of usages is nearly equal in both periods—twenty-two in Caroline and nineteen in Restoration. However, this count concerns only the comedies in the two periods. Although John Ford states in his character listing of The Broken Heart (1633) that "the speakers fitted to their qualities, "there is no notable example of names suggesting character in either Caroline or Restoration tragedy.

On the other hand, in Caroline comedy, Jonson, the master of "humors," calls the magnetic lady, Lady Loadstone (The Magnetic Lady, 1632), and the unmarried mother, Placentia (The Magnetic Lady), Probee (A Tale of a Tub, 1633) and Dampay (A Tale of a Tub), who are
part of the Chorus, symbolize the young wits and courtiers who feel it
is their duty to probe and damn the plays which they see.

The Lady of Pleasure (1635) offers Sir Thomas Bornwell and Lady
Bornwell. Scentlove (The Lady of Pleasure), Littleworth (The Lady of
Pleasure), and Venture (Hyde Park, 1632) are three of Shirley's gallants.
In The Guardian (1641) Truman and his son are true men, and Colonel
Cutter is a "sharking soldier." Colonel Winfield's name suggests his
character because he "wins the field" in The Ball (1632).

Since the facts point out that suggestive names are found in both
periods, it is not surprising to find that Wycherley, an outstanding
Restoration playwright in various other ways, is a frequent user of names
to suggest character. In The Country Wife (1672), all the women but Alithea
and her maid can be listed in this category. Two of the outstanding ones
are Lady Fidget and Lady Squeamish. Pinchwife and Horner, who cuckolds
him and every other married man in the play, reveal their character in
The Country Wife. Dapperwit flutters around My Lady Flippant in Love
in a Wood (1671). Sir Simon Addlepot (Love in a Wood) and Sir Martin
Mar-all (Sir Martin Mar-all, 1667) are supposedly wits, yet seldom show
they have any wit. Warner attempts to keep his master Mar-all on the
right track; needless to say, he is unsuccessful. Lady Dupe (Sir Martin
Mar-all) triumphs in helping her niece and others dupe their lovers. A
study of the cast list of these Caroline and Restoration plays will show
that the ample list given does not exhaust all the examples.
Further similarity in the naming of characters in the two periods can be observed in Basket-Hilts (A Tale of a Tub), who is fond of his sword, and Drawcansir (The Rehearsal, 1671), a vicious swordsman who enjoys his ability. Hannibal "Ball" Puppy (A Tale of a Tub) is one of the first Caroline dandies encountered whose name reflects his character. His Restoration counterpart is Mr. Sparkish (The Country Wife).

Except for Ben Jonson's propensity for using names to indicate occupations, the two periods are about equal in their use of occupational names. In the Caroline period Jonson used this device to excess.

In The Magnetic Lady, Compass, a "scholar mathematic"; Practice, a lawyer; Bias, "a Vi-Politic"; and Keep, the nurse, are a few of the outstanding Caroline examples. Jonson suggested more stereotype characters in John Clay, the tile-maker, who wishes to marry Awdery Turfe; Rasi' Clench, "farrier and petty constable"; To-Pan, the tinker; and justice Preamble—all in A Tale of a Tub. Monsieur Le Frisk (The Ball), a French dancing master, and Haircut (The Lady of Pleasure), a barber, are other delightful stereotypes of the Caroline period. Both Jockey (Hyde Park) and Captain Blade (The Guardian) of Caroline drama are self-explanatory.

Restoration drama was not without its suggestive occupation names. For instance, Mistress Preparation (Sir Martin Mar-All) is the maid, and Bayes (The Rehearsal) is the name Buckingham gave Dryden when he was
crowned poet laureate with bay leaves. Buckingham also used Fisherman (The Rehearsal), and Wycherley offered Quack (The Country Wife), a quack doctor. Only a few of the names suggesting occupations are given here; however, many other names in both periods could be cited.

Good examples of the close relation between these methods of naming characters in the two periods are the names used for tailor and procuress. Mister Needle (The Magnetic Lady) is Jonson's tailor, and Tom Thimble (The Rehearsal) is Buckingham's tailor; the Caroline Decoy (The Lady of Pleasure) and the Restoration Mistress Joyner (Love in a Wood) are procuresses.

Not to be overlooked is the great deal of foreign influence to be noted in the names of characters. True, it would be inconsistent for a Greek play to have English names and background. Moreover, it is noteworthy to mention that none of the tragedies and heroic dramas considered have an English setting, whereas, all of the comedies in both periods, with the exception of Mrs. Behn's The Dutch Lover (1673) laid in Madrid, take place in London or its vicinity. Therefore, all of the serious plays show some foreign influence.

In the Caroline period, The Broken Heart by John Ford, which takes place in Sparta, offers the Greek names of Philema, Armostes, Amelus, and Ithocles. Ford's 'Tis Pity She's a Whore (1633) set in Parma, shows Italian influence in the characters of Grimaldi, Giovanni, and Bergetto. The Maid of Honour (1632) laid in Sicily and Palermo also shows Italian
influence in Roberto, Bertoldo, Gonzaga, and Fulgentio. Popular Sicily is again the scene of The Platonick Lovers (1635) with Gridonell, Castrangano, Arnoldo, and Buonateste.

The Italian influence continues in the Restoration tragedy, and a Spanish trend is also noted. Perhaps the name of D'Avenant's The Unfortunate Lovers (1668) is coincidental, but the setting is in Verona. Some of the Italian names are Grandolph, Galleotto, Morello, and Rampino.

Howard and Dryden's The Indian Queen (1664), in the tradition of heroic-drama taking place in "far off places of Granada, Mexico, Peru...," was set in Peru. Montezuma, Amexia, and Ismeron are various characters. Dryden's individual effort, The Indian Emperor (1665), is laid in Mexico, and some of its characters are the same with the addition of Cortez, Vasquez, Pizarro, and Almeria. Although the settings of Dryden's heroic-dramas are in Mexico and Peru, the influence is mainly Spanish.

Mrs. Behn actually goes to Spain in the comedy The Dutch Lover, which in addition to a Dutch "lover" involves a Belgian lover. Nevertheless, she follows her Spanish format with the Spanish names of Silvio, Alonzo, Carlo, and Pedro, to name a few.

With the Italian influence appearing in so many of the selections and Spanish influence coming to the forefront in the Restoration, it

108 Osgood, op. cit., p. 271.
seems strange that only one of the plays shows any French names—the Caroline Monsieur Le Frisk (The Ball), the French dancing master. One expects many more examples, especially in the Restoration, since one of the theories concerning Restoration dramatic development is that prominent French influence is apparent. However, foreign influence here means only foreign name usage. There has been no attempt to show what trends in foreign drama have influenced the English playwrights. That is a detailed study in itself.

In all dramatic periods there have been stereotype characters, and no doubt there will continue to be. The Caroline period had some characters that were prominent in that period, and they in turn were passed on to the Restoration period. Many other character types which are not peculiar to any particular period show up in these two in an unusual abundance. The procuress, the lady of pleasure, and the libertines are found in other periods, but not as abundantly as in the Caroline and Restoration comedies.

The procuress, especially, shows the degradation of the plays of these periods. The jaded audiences liked the procuress, and the playwrights were eager to please. Shirley’s Decoy (The Lady of Pleasure), for example, foreshadows the Restoration Mrs. Joyner (Love in a Wood) in the same profession. The Restoration characters Olinda and Dormida (The Dutch Lover) are not in the Decoy or Joyner class, but they do have a procuring service for their ladies. Dryden’s Lady Dupe (Sir Martin
Mar-all) is no procuress, because Christian, her niece, already has a paramour. Dupe, however, tutors her in the art of lovemaking and in the art of making her lover pay for his pleasure. Wycherley's Mrs. Crossbite (Love in a Wood) is equally anxious for her daughter to be Alderman Gripe's mistress so that both of them will be provided for.

Placentia (The Magnetic Lady), who actually gives birth to an illegitimate child during the action of the play, has Restoration descendants who find themselves in the same condition Christian (Sir Martin Mar-all) and Mistress Martha Gripe (Love in a Wood).

The Caroline Lady Bornwell (The Lady of Pleasure), a model for many Restoration characters, always desires to be in fashion and seeks pleasure and love, in the fullest sense of the word, in the same way as Lady Flippant (Love in a Wood). Lady Bornwell uses her procuress Decoy; Flippant uses Mrs. Joyner; however, they both also solicit on their own. Lady Bornwell, who is successful at cuckoldry, points the way for Mrs. Pinchwife (The Country Wife) and Lady Fidget (The Country Wife) of the Restoration period. Both Margery Pinchwife and Lady Bornwell came from the country to enjoy the immoral modes of London living, but Mrs. Pinchwife did not sell her country estate to finance her pleasures there as did Lady Bornwell.

Lady Bornwell, Celestina, Isabella, and Mariana in Lady of Pleasure, who engage in extravagance and licentiousness; Carol, Lady Bonavent, and Julietta of Hyde Park, who go to the race track to bet and
look for dandies; Ladies Rosamond and Honoria of The Ball, who frequent the ball where courtiers attend; and lewd Aurelia of The Guardian, who goes in the dark to find a lover, are all close relatives of the Restoration Lydia and Flippant of Love in a Wood, who go to the park looking for intrigue. They are also related to Euphemia and Clarinda of The Dutch Lover, who send for their lovers to meet them discreetly, and Lady Fidget, Danity, Squeamish, and Mrs. Pinchwife of The Country Wife, who are all glad that Horner is not a eunuch.

Celestina (The Lady of Pleasure) and Mistress Bonavent (Hyde Park) are Caroline widows looking for husbands among the gallants of the town. The Restoration Lady Flippant (Love in a Wood) is also a widow searching the gallant's haunts for a husband.

There can be little doubt of a definite relationship between the character traits found in the women of the Caroline period and their younger sisters in the Restoration period. The procuress, professional and non-professional; the unwed mothers; the trollops; the widows; and the debauched ladies of pleasure run riot in the plays of both periods.

The men also measure up and add their bit to the naughtiness of the theater.

In Caroline drama, the wits, the libertines, the freelivers, and the cuckolded husbands all make their appearance, and their counterparts parallel their performances in the Restoration period. The comedies of the two periods emphasize loose living, of which these characters do not hesitate to partake.
Sir Diaphaneous Silkworm (*The Magnetic Lady*), a courtier;
Hannibal "Ball" Puppy (*A Tale of a Tub*), a Jonsonian fop; and Cowley's
Puny (*The Guardian*), a Caroline wit, all point the way particularly to
Dapperwit (*Love in a Wood*) and the Restoration rakes. Sir Ambrose
Lamount, Sir Marmaduke Travers, Mr. Freshwater, and Mr. Bostock
of *The Ball* are all echoed thirty years later in the Restoration. The
Caroline gallants of *The Lady of Pleasure*, Sir William Scentlove, Master
Alexander Kickshaw, and Master John Littleworth, who flutter around
Lady Bornwell, forecast the fops of Restoration comedy personified in
*Love in a Wood* by Mr. Ranger, Mr. Vincent, and Sir Simon Addlepott
and in *The Country Wife* by Mr. Horner and Mr. Sparkish. The type is
also found in Mrs. Behn's Dutch fop, Haunce van Ezel (*The Dutch Lover*).
Sir Martin Mar-all, in the play of the same name, must not be omitted
from a list of Restoration wits. The Restoration fops are also remi-
niscent of the "amorous servants to Miss Carol," Fairfield, Rider,
Venture, and Lacy in the Caroline horse-racing play, *Hyde Park*.

Two other significant character types are the libertine lord and the
cuckolded husband. The first is exemplified by Caroline Lord A
(*The Lady of Pleasure*) and the Restoration Lord Dartmouth (*Sir Martin
Mar-all*). The cuckolded husband is enacted by Caroline Lord Bornwell
(*The Lady of Pleasure*) and by the Restoration Pinchwife and Sir Jasper
Fidget of *The Country Wife*.

Duplications of all types of character of both Caroline men and
women are found in the Restoration period. Thus, there is a great deal of parallelism between the character types portrayed in the theater of the two periods.

Yet, in each period little relationship between the characters of the comedies and those of the tragedies can be found. In fact, only in 'Tis Pity She's a Whore are found similar comic and tragic characters: Hippolita and Annabella cuckold their husbands Richardetto and Scoranzo, and Annabella is expecting a child out of wedlock. However, the duplications of stereotyped characters are as evident in the tragedies themselves as in the comedies. In the tragedies people of high birth abound. These characters are not interested in the fashion of the day, but in high noble thought and deeds, and in real love and honor. "They are unequalled in valour, they scorn pain and danger, but their actions are guided by knightly punctilio."

No serious play is without a king, high nobleman, or general; indeed, several of the plays have all three. The Caroline kings are Roberto (The Maid of Honour) and the King of Sparta (The Broken Heart); the Restoration kings are Hildebrand (The Unfortunate Lovers), The Inca of Peru (The Indian Queen), and Montezuma (The Indian Emperor). Nobles of the two periods are Caroline Sciolto (The Platonik Lovers), Grimaldi

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109 Legouis, A Short History of English Literature, p. 171.
("Tis Pity She's a Whore), and Ferdinand (The Maid of Honour), and Restoration Altophil (The Unfortunate Lovers). The many soldiers necessary for the heroic battles are led by Theander (The Platonik Lovers) and Ithocles (The Broken Heart), Caroline generals who parallel Traxella, a Restoration general in The Indian Queen. Rangones (The Unfortunate Lovers) of Restoration drama and Rodergio (The Maid of Honour) of Caroline Drama are captains.

Members of the royal families were also numerous. Nearchus (The Broken Heart) and Bertoldo (The Maid of Honour), of Caroline royalty, and Acacis (The Indian Queen), Guymar (The Indian Emperor), Odmar (The Indian Emperor), and Ascoli (The Unfortunate Lovers) of Restoration tragedy are princes; Caroline Calantha (The Broken Heart), Orazi (The Indian Queen), and Cydaria (The Emperor) of the Restoration period are princesses.

In the tragedies of these two periods, beautiful, chaste, and noble maidens are plentiful. In these tragedies is a decided change of pace, for few chaste maidens can be found in the comedies of the middle 1600's. The Caroline "fair maidens" are Aurelia (The Maid of Honour), Euphanea (The Broken Heart), Eurithea (The Platonik Lovers), and Philotes ("Tis Pity She's a Whore). Their counterparts are Almeria (The Indian Emperor), Amoranta ("Tis Pity She's a Whore), and Arithopia (The Unfortunate Lovers), who are Restoration damsel.

While the comedies use a churchman for marrying only, the tragedians use him for religious purposes. In the tragedies, he is a
man who can help in trying circumstances. The Caroline priests are Paulo (The Maid of Honour) and Bonaventura ( 'Tis Pity She's a Whore); a Spanish priest makes up the Restoration offering.

There can be no mistake that the dramatists of the Restoration period were influenced by the Caroline playwrights. Many similarities and even exact duplications of stereotyped characteristic names, stereotyped occupational names, and stereotyped characters have been observed in the two periods. Foreign influence on names is also prevalent. Perhaps the Carolineans took some of their characters from other periods. The argument to be made is that the dramatists of the Restoration do not break away suddenly from the old English standards as Long believes, for in the depicting of characters, there is an undeniable continuity between the Caroline and Restoration drama.

Plot Incidents

A study of the plot incidents and an accounting of their recurrences should reveal likenesses or differences between the plays of different periods. Several plot incidents occur with sufficient frequency to warrant the label of typical plot material. Of these one of the most popular incidents of the Restoration plays is the use of disguise. Often the disguises used seem very weak by twentieth century standards, but evidently the

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Restoration audiences enjoyed the practice immensely. No doubt some of the disguises were weak, but the author who had no real reason to use the disguise, inserted it only because the audience loved it.

Disguises were used in various ways—to fool a father to get his daughter, to gain a desired husband or wife, to gain anonymity, or to assume another's identity. Disguises were also used to cover bad deeds or illicit behavior.

In the Restoration, several examples of disguises for illicit behavior are used. For example, Mrs. Pinchwife lets her husband believe that she is his sister so that he will take his "sister" to meet Horner for a rendezvous in *The Country Wife* (1672). Marcel (*The Dutch Lover*, 1673) and Sir Simon Addlepott (*Love in a Wood*, 1671) muffle themselves in their cloaks in order to conceal their identity as they enjoy the fruits of intrigue. In the Restoration, many of the ladies also use masks as they enjoy "park time" by looking for willing lovers.

Mrs. Pinchwife, Marcel, and Addlepott duplicate the action of the Caroline characters of Aurelia (*The Guardian*, 1642), who disguises herself, seduces Puny, and attempts to seduce Truman, and Lady Bornwell (*Lady of Pleasure*, 1635), who masks herself while Kickshaw visits her boudoir. Masks are also commonly used by Caroline ladies when they go to the theater or when they go to seek other diversions.

Two similar disguises of assuming another's identity which occur in the Restoration *Sir Martin Mar-all* (1667) and the Caroline *The Guardian*...
(1642) show again the closeness of these two periods. Sir Martin Mar-all (Sir Martin Mar-all), disguised as Moody's bastard son, and Warner, as his friend, repeat a hilarious scene of two servants who pretend they are Captain Blade's bastard son and friend (The Guardian). Two other examples of assuming another's identity are Orgilus (The Broken Heart, 1632), who disguises himself as Techicus and Hippolyta (The Dutch Lover) disguised as Alonzo.

Another exact parallel is the marrying of disguised couples. In the Restoration, Millicent (Sir Martin Mar-all), who is to marry Mar-all, decides she prefers the serving man Warner; therefore, in disguise, she and her maid switch bridegrooms who have disguised themselves to get into Millicent's father's house. Another Restoration character, Alonzo (The Dutch Lover), assumes the disguise of Haunce, the man who is the choice of Euphemia's father and marries Euphemia. The real Haunce and his man Goad wear masks as they marry the masked Olinda and Dorice. Caroline Awdery and Pol Martin (A Tale of a Tub, 1633) marry in disguise because Pol does not want Awdery to know him, and he disguises Awdery to prevent her suitors from recognizing her. In the Caroline play, The Guardian, Aurelia's father plans for her to marry Truman, but Lucia wants him for her husband, assumes Aurelia's identity, and marries Truman.

Many of the disguises in the two periods are weak; yet others are clever, and nearly all are amusing. The middle seventeenth century
artist took advantage of the preference of his audience and filled his pages with incidents of disguise. As research and examples show, the Restoration dramatist did not deviate from the pattern. In using thirty-nine disguises in five plays, the Restoration playwrights followed the trend set by the Caroline writers who used twenty-nine disguises in seven plays. Consequently, there are many resemblances between the two periods in their use of disguise.

There are times when it is difficult to differentiate between mistaken identity and disguise intended for that purpose or resulting from it. Since disguises are responsible for numerous mistaken identity incidents, many of these incidents have been listed as disguises. Only the outstanding examples of mistaken identity which show characters discovering they are really someone other than the person they thought they were are discussed. There are also two instances of characters mistaking another character for someone else.

Mistaken identity as a plot incident is a good criterion for comparative study because there are numerous similar incidents in both periods. Alonzo (The Dutch Lover) in the Restoration era discovers the identity of his parents from whom he was stolen as a baby. Silvio (The Dutch Lover), said to be Ambrosio's bastard son, is really the son of Ambriosio's admired friend. Montezuma in the Restoration heroic-drama, The Indian Queen (1664), is unsure of his parentage until he learns that he is the son of the good Mexican Queen Ameria. Similar
incidents are common in Caroline drama. One incident is the mistaken identity of Placentia, Lady Lodestone's niece, and Pleasance, the gossip's daughter, in The Magnetic Lady. The gossip had switched their cradles when they were babies, and the true Placentia had been known for years as the maid, Pleasance. The false Placentia was really the maid Pleasance.

Two incidents of bloodshed resulting from mistaken identity further emphasize the parallelism of the two periods. Silvio (The Dutch Lover), a Restoration character, is nearly killed because Marcell thought it was he in Clarinda's apartment. In the earlier Caroline period Bergetto ('Tis Pity She's a Whore, 1633) is killed because Grimaldi mistakes him for Soranzo. It is quite obvious that the mistaken identity incidents are similar in the two periods.

The plot incident of mistaken identity proves to be a springboard for unlimited action and other plot incidents. Just as the baby switching, as a plot incident, is tied up with mistaken identity, the latter is closely associated with screen scenes. The screen scene was used both as a cause and a means of discovery of mistaken identity, and in either case it was always good for a laugh.

The eighteen screen scenes in the plays considered show that this plot incident was popular in both periods. Further study will continue to show the similarities of kinds of screen scenes used in the two periods.

The playwrights had characters hidden behind the hangings, doors, and the trees, and in the dark. Occasionally, the eavesdropper
heard pertinent information that was vital to the plot; at other times he heard only lovers' conversations or was only checking on his mate's activities which excluded him. Some eavesdroppers were advised to hide, either to listen or not to be discovered.

Regardless of the types of scenes used, the parallels remain. Restoration dramatic plots are advanced as Marcel (The Dutch Lover) hears his brother reveal his love for his sister, and as Guyomar (The Indian Emperor, 1665) discovers that his brother and their girl friend are plotting to aid the enemy. Vital to the plot in Caroline drama is the screen scene in which Compass (The Magnetic Lady) learns the truth about the mistaken identity of Placentia and Pleasance.

Evidence of the Caroline influence on the Restoration drama is shown in The Ball, in which Lady Lucina has Colonel Winfield hide behind the hanging to listen to her make fools of her suitors, and in The Country Wife of the Restoration period in which Quak hides at Horner's command and listens to Horner make fools of the ladies who seek his attentions. Further examples of this practice are found in Restoration Valentine (Love in a Wood) and Warner (Sir Martin Mar-all), and in Caroline Trier (Hyde Park), Cutter (The Guardian), and Orgilus (The Broken Heart), who hide themselves and listen to lovers' conversations. Restoration Pinchwife (The Country Wife) and Caroline Bonavent (Hyde Park) learn of their wives' activities through eavesdropping in a screen scene.

An analysis of screen scenes points clearly to the fact that these
two periods were closely similar in their choice of plot incidents. In fact, screen scenes were used in six Caroline and five Restoration plays.

Dueling and fighting, engrossing activities which engaged numerous members of the populace in each period, naturally found their way into the plot incidents of the two periods. In all of the plays except The Broken Heart, The Maid of Honour, and The Country Wife, there are dueling incidents. In The Broken Heart and The Maid of Honour, dueling and fighting have taken place in faraway battles, but none occurs on stage.

The love of adventure, the excitement of bloodshed, and the display of bravery were inherited by the Restoration audiences and writers from the Caroline audiences and writers. For example, Mrs. Behn's Restoration comedy, The Dutch Lover boasts eight sword fights.

Drawcansir of The Rehearsal (1671), which mocks the heroic-drama, kills a whole army singlehandedly. Valentine (Love in a Wood) flees to France because he thinks he has killed a rival. Very similar scenes take place in the Caroline drama, and Doggrel and Cutter (The Guardian), Grimaldi and Vasquez ('Tis Pity She's a Whore), Plylomont and Theander (The Platonic Lovers, 1635) head the long list of duelists.

Because dueling and fighting were so much a part of life from 1632 to 1673, it is only natural that it would prove to be an incident incorporated in nearly all the plays studied.

Another favorite plot incident of four Caroline playwrights was the business of marrying or attempting to marry widows for money. This
action was copied by Wycherley in *Love in a Wood*. As the Caroline dramatists had suitors fail to get their widows, Wycherley also had more suitors than widows for them to marry. Matching incidents in the two periods verify the fact that the two periods are a great deal alike.

Sir Simon Addlepote (*Love in a Wood*) and Captain Blade (*The Guardian*), who have lost all their money by free living, marry widows Flippant and Widow the Puritan.

Corresponding incidents of immorality are recorded in both Restoration and Caroline drama. Restoration characters Mistress Martha Gripe (*Love in a Wood*) and Christian (*Sir Martin Mar-All*) are expecting illegitimate children; Caroline character Placentia (*The Magnetic Lady*) actually has a child out of wedlock in the play's course of action. However, no Restoration play surpasses, or even quite fully equals, the disgrace of Caroline character Annabella (*'Tis Pity She's a Whore*), who is carrying her brother's child.

The Restoration husbands, Pinchwife (*The Country Wife*) and Sir Jasper Fidget (*The Country Wife*) were not the first husbands ever cuckold. Their ancestors in the Caroline period were cuckold husbands Richardetto (*'Tis Pity She's a Whore*), Soranzo (*'Tis Pity She's a Whore*), and Lord Bornwell (*The Lady of Pleasure*).

Ilicit sexual affairs abound as evidenced by the fact that twenty-eight characters are involved in seventeen plot incidents of illicit love affairs in the two periods. Six such affairs occur in the Caroline period,
and eleven in the Restoration. The numerous thwarted affairs that have not been counted because they did not quite happen would, if included, make the sex element more prominent than it is. What appear to be specific borrowings are noted in the Restoration duplications of the actions of three Caroline adulteresses—Lady Bornwell (Lady of Pleasure), Hippolita ('Tis Pity She's a Whore), and Annabella ('Tis Pity She's a Whore). Mrs. Pinchwife (The Country Wife), Lady Fidget (The Country Wife), and Lord Dartmouth (Sir Martin Mar-all) all commit adultery in the Restoration plays.

Bailey states that the Restoration plays were "coarse and even immoral." No one will argue that point, but evidence of exact parallels tends to prove that immorality flourished in the plot incidents of the Caroline plays as well, and that these incidents were actually the forerunners of the immoral incidents of the Restoration plays which followed.

It is interesting to discover that plot incidents provide a better basis for comparing the serious plays of the two periods than do the other characteristics. The two plot incidents which are more associated with the serious plays than with the comedies are the incidents of pursuit of noble maidens and heroic deaths. Although these plays deviate from the comic pattern, the serious plays of both periods are still allied with one another; and the similarities of the plays in both periods remain.

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111 Bailey, op. cit., p. 364.
Emphasizing the fact that the similarities do exist are the plot incidents of ten noble maidens pursued in three Restoration tragedies (only three were considered for study) and in an equal number of Caroline plays. Six noble maidens in The Broken Heart, The Maid of Honour, and The Platonik Lovers are pursued by one or more gentlemen, and several Restoration heroes also seek the favor of four noble maidens in The Indian Queen, The Indian Emperor, and The Unfortunate Lovers (1668).

Five heroic death incidents are noted in the three tragedies of the Restoration as compared to four heroic Caroline deaths. Nearly all the Restoration characters grandly stab themselves, but Arthiopa (The Unfortunate Lovers) is a victim of the broken heart epidemic which started in the Caroline Period with Calantha (The Broken Heart) and Florio ("Tis a Fity She's a Whore). Ford, "who craved for novelty in horror," has Penthea (The Broken Heart) dramatically starve herself. He also has Orgilus, a condemned criminal who gets to choose his own death method, choose to bleed to death and let his own blood.

Pursuit of noble maidens and heroic death plot incidents are ingredients for tragedy writers. Certainly, the Caroline tragedians did not refrain from using them, and neither did Dryden, Howard, and D'Avenant hesitate to follow in their footsteps.

Close analyses of the Restoration plays studied show that the

112 Nicoll, British Drama, p. 151.
writers in that period did not alter their course but steered in the same
direction the Caroline writers had charted.

**immorality and Obscenity**

Immorality and obscenity are not limited to the characterizations,
names, and plot incidents of the Caroline and Restoration plays.
Numerous passages deal with immoral actions which have taken place,
those that are to take place, and those that the characters wish would
take place. The characters' immoral thoughts, actions, and obscene
language dominated the stages in both periods.

If one may judge by what happened in the theaters, the societies of
the two eras were pre-occupied with sex and indecency. One desirable
trait of the times apparently was the mastering of the art of love.
Londoners of all classes went to great ends to cultivate this "social
grace." Ferdinand, in Shirley's The Lady of Pleasure (1635), who has
been abroad to school, has not been schooled in the English court ways,
and is anxious to complete his education. His steward offers this
suggestion as a quick way to learn:

> If you find, sir,
The operation of the wine exalt
Your blood to the desire of any female
Del' t., I know your aunt will not deny
Any of her chambermaids to practice on;
She loves you but too well.  

*The Lady of Pleasure, II, 1*

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Shirley continues to hold up the mirror to the times with Kickshaw and Lord A, who further emphasize the way of the court. Lord A has been an abstainer since his mistress died, but he debates whether he should again indulge in the main activity of the court. Kickshaw urges him on as he says:

Prepare his lady,
'Tis time he were reduced to the old sport,
One lord like him would undo the court.  

The Lady of Pleasure, III, 11

In transitional D'Avenant's The Platonick Lovers, Gridonell, who has been away to school, has never seen a woman. When he does see some women for the first time, he does not know what they are; but he believes they must be angels. His father, who wants him to have some fire in his veins, gives Gridonell a potion—a heady draught. The father Sciolto accomplishes his purpose, for after the son drinks the potion, no one is safe to be around him. Gridonell does not attend a wedding because he is afraid he will ravish the bride. When Gridonell finds he cannot have any of his companions' sisters for his purpose, he enlists them in another scheme.

Gridonell: Well, gentlemen, you must each stand sentinel
Close at the laundry door and bring me the
First prize. No words! It must be done.

114 Ibid., p. 306.
Arnold: Gladly! We love th' employment, sir.

The Platonic Lovers (1635), IV

Not only did the dandies cultivate the art of lovemaking, but the seventeenth century was also an age of wit. The courtiers of both Carleses' courts prided themselves on their cleverness. However, in this time of sordid values, obscenity was often mistaken for wit. In fact, Jonson is cognizant of this fact as he describes his physician:

\[\text{The slave of money, a buffoon in manners. Obscene in language, which he vents for wit.}\]

The Magnetic Lady (1632), I

Bayes, the playwright, who satirizes Dryden, in the Restoration The Rehearsal tells how he wrote his play:

\[\ldots\text{I made 'em all talk bawdy--Ha, ha, ha,--beastly, downright bawdy upon the stage, y god--ha, ha, ha! but with an infinite deal of wit, that I must say.}\]

The Rehearsal (1671), III, iv

Wycherley's Mrs. Dainty further condemns the wits as she scoffs at Dorilant because:

\[\text{---}\]


You herd with wits, you are obscenity all over. 119

_The Country Wife_ (1672), II, i

Not only did the wits discourse vulgarly, but their actions and thoughts suited their language, and their philosophies were in tune with the times. Horner, a Restoration wit, expounds the thought of his age:

Whores are only hated by each other. 120

_The Country Wife_ , III, ii

Many of the wits are categorized in Dogrel'e Caroline description of Colonel Blade,

If whoring, drinking, poverty, cowardice be qualities, he's one of the best qualified men in the Christian world. 121

_The Guardian_ (1641), IV, v

and Harcourt expresses the Restoration philosophy thus:

...I have other designs upon women than eating and drinking with them. 122

_The Country Wife_ , III, &

Although men had designs on women other than eating and drinking.

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120 Ibid., p. 39.


122 Wycherley, _op. cit_., p. 38.
marriage was considered dull, in so much as mistresses and lovers were extremely fashionable as evidenced by Mrs. Pinchwife’s statement:

I've got the London disease they call love,
I am sick of my husband. 123

The Country Wife, IV, iv

Olinda also has her ideas on marriage.

On easy terms perhaps, but this marrying I do not like; 'tis like going on a long voyage to sea, where after awhile even the clams are distasteful, and the storms dangerous: one seldom sees a new object, 'tis still a deal of sea, sea; husband, husband, every day, --till one's quite cloyed with it. 124

The Dutch Lover (1672), III, i

Whereas marriage was unfashionable, whores and whorehouses appear to be the rage of the period. Bawdy houses are frequently mentioned in the plays of the Restoration and Caroline periods. In Hyde Park (1632) Shirley makes a reference to Strove Tuesday, which was noted for riotous conduct of London apprentices who used to attack the brothels. 125 It is interesting to note, however, that the authoress of The Dutch Lover, Mrs. Aphra Behn, is the first writer in either period to set an actual scene in a bawdy house.

123 Ibid., p. 6.


125 Nason, op. cit., p. 266.
Whoring was mentioned as casually as bowling is today. In the plays considered the word whore or one of its synonyms e.g. strumpet, prostitute, fireship queen, harlot, wench—is used more than 170 times. *Mistress* has not been included in the count because *mistress* is used in several ways—as direct address for lady, as lover or as common equivalent for girl friend. *Whoredom* and *whoremaster* were also used quite frequently. A favorite epithet was "son of a whore."

Although whoring seemed to be the national sport, the second member of the lovemaking team was not usually a prostitute. Ofttimes she was a grand lady seeking adventure as was Lady Bornwell, who is Shirley's lady of pleasure. Restoration Lady Fidget is also a prime example.

**Lady Fidget:** How saucy fellow, Would you wrong my honor?

**Horner:** If I could. 126 [He does.]

*The Country Wife*, I, 1

In the two periods both men and women were propositioned on stage. To add to this lewd atmosphere, Shirley approaches incest in *The Lady of Pleasure* as Ferdinand in a drunken fit of passion propositions his aunt.

**Ferd:** My blood is rampant too, I must court somebody: As good my aunt as any other body.

**Lady B:** Where have you been, cousin?

Ferd: At the Bridge-foot, where our first health began
To the fair Aretian whose sweet company
Was wished by all. We could not get a lay,
A tumbler, a device, a bona roba,
For any money: drawers were grown dull:
We wanted our true finks, and our vagaries--

Ferd: [to his aunt]
I first salute you,
You have a soft hand, madam: are you so
All over?

Ferd: You have a couch or pallet; I can shut
The chamber door. Enrich a stranger, when
Your nephew's coming into play.

Ferd: Are you so coy to your own flesh and blood? 127

The Lady of Pleasure, V, 1

More than sixty-five Caroline conversations occur in which the characters make arrangements to sleep with each other. However, there are only nine actual consummations. Seventy-five propositions were made in the Restoration period, but only eleven were made actualities. Strange as it may seem (it has been shown earlier that the tragedies are remarkably clean), the tragedies which were included in this count contributed greatly to the total number of both propositions and consummations.

Sir Simon and Flippant offer a scene typical of the plays of the two periods. Flippant has gone to the park, as do many of the characters, to look for intrigue. She finds Sir Simon, who suits her purpose.

Simon: Are you not a fireship, a punk, madam?

Flippant: Well, sir, I love raillery.

Flippant: But let me tell you, those that deal freely indeed, take a woman by—


Flippant: By the hand—and lead her aside.

Simon: Now I understand you, come along then.

Love in a Wood (1671), II, 1

Wycherley, not content to let his characters proposition each other and then talk about their promiscuity, goes a bold step further. In The Country Wife, he lets his character who is making love off stage converse with her husband on stage. Lady Fidget goes off stage and locks the door when Sir Jasper, her husband, comes. Horner, her lover who pretends to be angry, is going to slip up on her through the back door. Sir Jasper warns his wife:

Wife! He is coming into you the back way.

Lady Fidget: Let him come, and welcome, which way he will.

128

Sir Jasper: He'll catch you, and use you roughly and be too strong for you.

Lady Fidget: Don't trouble yourself, let him if he can.

The Country Wife, IV, 111

No stone is left unturned as every potential aspect for dirt is embraced. Much of the immorality exhibited is subtle or hidden in figures of speech. There are times, however, when the playwright makes no effort to conceal his thoughts with euphony or cleverness. If anyone has a tendency to believe that the Restoration is more naughty than the Caroline period, he can easily discover that he is wrong. For instance, Caroline Ben Jonson did not draw the line at vulgarity. Even a twentieth century reader may feel that Jonson is unnecessarily coarse when he advises Madam Expectation to

have patience but a pissing while.

The Magnetic Lady, 3

Jonson and the Restoration Dryden were equally free with plain simple words. Dryden has Moody tell his friend:

Teach your grandam how to piss.

Sir Martin Mar-Call (1667), IV, 3

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129 Wycherley, op. cit., pp. 67-68.
130 Schelling, Ben Jonson's Plays, II, 519.
131 Scott, op. cit., II 1, p. 218.
Damn, ass, piss and urine are words commonly used in both periods.

On the other hand, it was quite common for Jonson and contemporaries, as well as the Restoration dramatists, to hide their dirt by cleverly playing with words and using crude comparisons and other apt figures of speech with lewdness as an end result. These vary from cleverly risque, to disgustingly filthy. The tragedies, usually exempt from low-mindedness, are also guilty of this vulgarity.

Shirley's characters do not escape without suggestive speeches as they speak in his horse-racing play Hyde Park. Julietta and Lord B are betting:

   Julietta: Your lordship is very confident.
   Lord B: I'll lay with you, too.
   Trier: Lie with her he means (aside).

Hyde Park, III, i

Cowley's Puny uses this metaphor to describe his love conquest:

   I scal'd the walls, entered the town, and left a garrison there, I hope.

   The Guardian, III, viii

In The Ball (1632) Lucina has been making fools of her suitors and teasing them; Bostock accuses her:

   Thou dost ride me.

132 Nason, op. cit., p. 213.
139 Waller, op. cit., p. 193.
and Lucina answers incredulously:

134

I ride men?

The Ball, III

Another play on the word ride occurs in the tragedy The Maid of Honour (1632) as Camiola apologizes to Sylli.

Camiola: I mean not to ride you.

Sylli: Nor I your little ladiship, 'till you have Performed the Covenante. 135

The Maid of Honour, I, ii

In The Maid of Honour, Gonzaga shows his determination in an indecent phrase.

Gonzaga: ... Ha, I'll mumble A prayer or two, and crosse my selfe, and then Though the devil fart fire, have at him. 136

The Maid of Honour, IV, vi

In another Caroline tragedy, Bergetto's speech has implied meaning.

Bergetto: ... there I --tickled you, I 'faith

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136 Ibid., p. 6.
Poggio: (aside to Bergetto)
But 'twere better you had tickled her in another place. 137

'Tis Pity She's a Whore (1633), II, vi

Ben Jonson in his efforts to appeal to his degraded audience uses various figures of speech to achieve his purpose. Here Jonson uses an uncouth metaphor as Puppy says that he is hungry.

Puppy: I am with child of a huge stomach and long Till by some honest midwife piece of beef I be delivered of it. 138

A Tale of a Tub (1633), III, v

Jonson's Awdery seems angry when her suitor says that he is finished, done with her.

Awdery: Done with me!
I do defy you, so I do, to say You have done with me... 139

A Tale of a Tub, II, ii

Placentia, the strumpet of Jonson's The Magnetic Lady whose speech is a good example of double meaning, is setting a trap for Sir Daphneas.


138 Schelling, Ben Jonson's Plays, II, 608.

139 Ibid., II, 591.
Placentia: And will you make a vicountess too, sir?
   How do they make a countess; in a chair,
   Or on a bed?

Sir Dia.: Both ways, sweet bird; I'll show you.

The Magnetic Lady, I

As has been stated throughout this study, the Restoration plays were
certainly not exempt from obscenity. One lewd example of double meaning
comes from Love in a Wood. Gripe, the lecher, has told Lucy, whose
mother has sold her to Gripe, that he has come to fiddle.

Lucy: I don't see your fiddle, sir; where is
   your little kit.

Gripe: I'll show it thee presently, sweetest. [And he chases her around the chair.]

Love in a Wood III, iii

A rather interesting simile is also found in Love in a Wood.

Ranger: Incrédulous envy! Thou art as envious
   As an impotent lecher at a wedding.

Love in a Wood, IV, v

Sir Martin Mar—...all carries on the Restoration tradition with

Warner's speech:

If my master gets her out, I warrant her,
he shall show her a better play than any

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140 Ibid., p. 327.
141 Wood, op. cit., p. 72.
142 Ibid., p. 92.
is at either of the houses.

_Sir Martin Mar-all, III, i_

In the same play, Rose speaks of marriage to Warner

_Rose:_ ...or, serving-man like, ready to carry up the hot meat for your master, and then to fall upon the cold yourself.

_Warner:_ I know not what you call the cold, but I believe I shall find warm work on't.

_Sir Martin Mar-all, IV, i_

An example of the great lengths to which the dramatists would go with their sordidness is found in Buckingham's bawdy poetry:

_Bayes:_ So bear and sow, when any storm is nigh Snuff up, and smell it gath'ring in the sky; Bear beckons sow to trot in chestnut grove, And there consummate their unfinished loves. Pensive, in mud, they swallow all alone, And snort and grumble to each other's moans.

_The Rehearsal, I, ii_

Well over a thousand examples of immorality and obscenity could be cited in both the Caroline and Restoration plays. The examples given only tap the source, but they are representative of the plays and the periods. Several noteworthy examples were omitted because of length, for some of the most lustful passages are pages long. Other passages would need a great deal of explanation because, out of context, they are quite acceptable in the most discerning company.

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143 Scott, III, op. cit., p. 34.
144 Ibid., p. 55.
145 Macmillan, op. cit., p. 57.
Burton readily asserts that the Restoration playwrights with their "boudoir atmosphere that has tainted perfume removes them from the morning freshness of the Elizabethans." Investigation, however, shows that the morning freshness of the late Elizabethan had some tainted perfume as well. Debauchery did not spring alive simultaneously with the reopening of the theaters. It was already there, waiting for the theaters to open, because the Elizabethans were not as innocent as Mr. Burton would have one think.

The seventeenth century playwrights did not suddenly decide to write smutty plays as soon as the theaters reopened in 1660. Their pathways had already been marked by their predecessors, the Caroline poets: Jonson, Shirley, Massinger, and Ford. Jonson's and Shirley's comedies were not written with clean pens, and neither were Ford's and Massinger's tragedies. Although the Caroline tragedies point to the Restoration heroic dramas, a comparison of the tragedies of the two periods shows that the Restoration tragedies were more moral than the Caroline tragedies.

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147 Nicoll, Readings from British Drama, p. 151.
There is no doubt that the comedies of the two periods are of the same vintage. It has already been ascertained by several critics that "what passed for comedy in the Restoration was of the Jonsonian type, the comedy of manners." Archer, indeed, points out that "Ben Jonson was the paramount influence in the comedy of the early years of the Restoration." He goes on to state that:

Both in comedy and in tragedy, the influence of Beaumont and Fletcher and of Massinger was very strong. Middleton and Shirley had their imitators.

It seems that Jonson's and Shirley's dramas were cruder examples of the social comedy which were followed in the Restoration by a genuine comedy of manners.

Never did one period derive more directly from another than did the Restoration period from the Jacobean and Caroline.

This review of the opinions expressed by some of the authorities on seventeenth century drama shows that a majority of them saw Restoration drama as a continuation of the Caroline period. However, sufficient disagreement occurred to warrant the further study which has been made.

148 Archer, op. cit., p. 141.
149 Ibid.
150 Ibid.
152 Archer, op. cit., p. 141.
The detailed comparison of the many characteristics common to these two periods has provided ample basis for drawing some definite conclusions.

In the naming of characters and in the use of stereotypes, the Restoration dramatists showed a marked indebtedness to the Caroline dramatists.

In plots and plot incidents, involving disguise, mistaken identity, screen scenes, dueling and fighting, marrying widows for money, illegitimate births, cuckoldry, illicit sexual affairs, pursuit of noble maidens, and heroic deaths the Restoration writers duplicated over and over similar items of the Caroline period. True, some deviations occur, but deviations can be found within the periods themselves. Definite kinship between the two periods is present. Likenesses in the use of these ten plot incidents show unmistakably that the theater of the Restoration period was the direct descendant, yes, younger brother of the Caroline theater.

Obscenity, a characteristic usually attributed primarily to the Restoration drama, was just as predominant in the Caroline plays as in those of the Restoration. Immorality was not unique in either period.

Obviously, the best ingredient for guaranteeing the attention of a Restoration audience was sex. Politics was next best, but for a sure fire job, it had better be sex.

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Phelps's philosophy also seems to have been stringently practiced by the Caroline dramatists. Sex was the focal point of both the pre-Cromwellian and post-Cromwellian societies. Therefore, it is no surprise that the dramas written between 1632 and 1672 reflected these societies.

After intense comparative study of Caroline and Restoration drama, one can assuredly say that although there was a physical breach in the drama for nearly twenty years, the continuity in concepts remained. The characteristics of the Caroline drama were continued much the same, perhaps, as if the theaters had never closed. In the Restoration plays, the characters participated in the same activities as had the Caroline characters, with Caroline characteristics and slightly altered Caroline names. As their depraved activities mushroomed, the characters in both periods lamented only because they had been caught.

The dramas written in these two periods were not as remotely related as the textbooks and some careless critics would have one think. The findings of research substantiate the fact that these two periods were closely related in nearly every aspect of drama.

True, the comedies of Congreve and Wycherley are different in some respects from the Elizabethan dramas. Jonson wrote his last play in 1633, Shirley his last in 1642. Nearly forty years after Jonson's last play and almost thirty years after Shirley's, Wycherley wrote his first. Times change—even in drama. But the point to be made is that
these changes did not take place suddenly. The theaters did not close upon a pure society, but a society which influenced the theater so much in its licentious ways that the Puritans closed the theaters.

It was almost a generation later that the theaters reopened, but if the nature of the drama is a reliable index, the Puritan interlude had little effect upon the social life of England and almost none upon the playwrights and the theater-going public.

It is easy to follow the cliche and say that after eighteen years of suppression and forced morality, the media of entertainment rebounded with excessive naughtiness, surpassing anything hitherto known. This, however, is not exactly the case. The facts indicate that had a theatergoer of 1642 played Rip Van Winkle, he could not have discovered by the plays he saw twenty years later that he had slept more than the usual eight hours.

This conclusion is supported by at least one outstanding critic:

The Restoration, in a very real sense marks an epoch in the history of English drama, but not quite in the sense which the manuals of literature are apt to suggest. We are commonly given to understand that the closing of the theaters during the Civil War caused a sudden and complete break in the dramatic movement which had set in with Marlowe, Greene and Peake some sixty years earlier, and that a totally new start was made in 1660, under the predominant and deleterious influence of France. In a literary sense, this is almost wholly untrue, and no serious study of drama could possibly make such a mistake. 154

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154 Archer, op. cit., p. 141.
Finally, then, it is evident that the Puritan interlude may be designated as a mere caesura in the development of English drama, and although the Restoration period saw some physical innovations on the English stage, the general nature of the entertainment offered was so little changed that one is tempted to speculate that a greater difference could be observed had dramatic activity continued through these years.
# APPENDIX

Plays Studied

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