Thèse de doctorat ès lettres

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Shakespeare Alterations of the Exclusion Crisis, 1678-1682: Politics, Rape, and Authorship

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Décembre 2011

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Acknowledgments

I have incurred a number of debts while working on this project. 'Shakespeare Alterations of the Exclusion Crisis, 1678-1682: Politics, Rape, and Authorship' began as an MA thesis at the University of Leicester where it was supervised by Michael Davies and Sarah Knights. Michael's inspirational BA teaching left me enamoured with Restoration literature, and he helped to shape my interest in Exclusion Crisis politics. Sarah offered insightful suggestions, invaluable feedback and warm encouragement throughout. My thanks go to both.

I wrote my thesis on a part-time basis while employed as a junior faculty member at the University of Geneva, and I am deeply grateful to Lukas Erne and the University of Geneva for giving me this wonderful opportunity. I have benefitted greatly from interactions with members of the Geneva Doctoral Workshop for Medieval and Early Modern Studies, and from discussion of texts and ideas explored in the thesis with various BA classes from 2006 to 2011. I warmly thank both groups for their enthusiasm and insightful comments.

The Swiss National Science Foundation awarded me a six-month junior research scholarship in 2008, thereby enabling me to consult playbooks and Exclusion Crisis prints and pamphlets at The William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, Los Angeles. I am deeply grateful to the SNSF for funding my research and would also like to thank the friendly Clark Library staff for all of their precious help. Further funding enabled me to participate in a seminar on 'Shakespeare for Sale', led by Adam Hooks, at the Shakespeare Association of America's annual meeting in 2011, and a seminar on 'Civil War in Shakespeare, his Contemporaries, and his Successors', led by Mihoko Suzuki and Miki Suehiro, at the World Shakespeare Congress in Prague in 2011. I would like to

thank both sets of seminar participants, particularly Pete Kirwan and Vimala Pasupathi, for the feedback they offered on draft versions of my fourth and fifth chapters.

I am further grateful to the work of scholars of Shakespeare's Restoration afterlife, particularly Michael Dobson. My readers will not find a single allusion or reference to 'Tatification' or any of the other disparaging remarks early critics made about Shakespeare alterations of the Restoration. If I have felt able to omit discussion of the critical backlash that once tainted study of these fascinating plays, it is thanks to Dobson who paved the way for analyses of the plays that go beyond aesthetic value judgements or angry defences of Shakespeare. I am also indebted to Susan J. Owen's immensely useful work on Exclusion Crisis drama, and to Robert D. Hume and Judith Milhous's scholarship for its illuminating insights into Restoration theatre history.

I would additionally like to thank Pascale Aebischer, both for encouraging me, and for introducing me to my fantastic PhD supervisor, Lukas Erne. Working with Lukas has been an absolute pleasure, and I have benefitted greatly from his advice, his constant encouragement and enthusiasm, and the detailed feedback he has provided on drafts of my work. Lukas has helped me to develop my ideas, my critical thinking, and my academic writing, and he has been endlessly patient and supportive. I could not have asked for a more dedicated supervisor, and I am eternally grateful to him for his constant kindness and for always giving so generously of his time. I also wish to thank Guillemette Bolens, Michael Dobson, Indira Ghose, and Paul Hammond for agreeing to serve on my *jury de thèse*.

Last but by no means least, I wish to thank my family, particularly André, for their love and support.

Note on Dates and Texts

I quote from the first printed editions of the Shakespeare alterations. With most institutions subscribing to *Early English Books Online*, the *EEBO* facsimile copies are now the most widely available editions of many of the plays discussed in this thesis. I am also keen to historicise the original packaging and likely reception of seventeenth-century playbooks, and the trappings of modern editions would undermine this aim.

References to quotations from plays are given as page signatures because there is a lack of consistency in the way in which the plays were divided into acts and scenes. Dates of plays are those of first publication, unless otherwise specified. Again, unless otherwise stated, the dates of first performances are those given in *The London Stage*. The performance and publication dates of Exclusion Crisis plays are provided in Table 5 (pp. 98-101).

I have retained Old Style days and months but have followed the example of other scholars in taking 1 January to be the date on which the calendar year begins. I have reversed italic font in quotations from seventeenth-century texts. My discussion of play premieres frequently alludes to theatrical seasons, so it ought to be noted that theatrical seasons ran from September to June.

Introduction

Ten Shakespeare alterations were staged and nine were printed between 1678 and 1682, marking the most sustained period of rewriting in his authorial afterlife. These alterations made up almost twenty percent of all new plays staged during the period, suggesting that (versions of) Shakespeare's works dominated the theatre repertoire in an unprecedented manner. Shakespeare's plays had been revived and altered before 1678, but there is little evidence to suggest that audiences would have been aware that the plays they watched had been written by or altered from the works of a man named Shakespeare. This changed after 1678, with at least seven of the altered plays referencing Shakespeare's role as author or author-source in the theatrical paratexts (prologues and epilogues) that accompanied them onto the stage. The years 1678-1682 therefore mark the point at which audiences began to recognise Shakespeare as the author of plays they saw performed. This thesis seeks to account for the decision to turn to alteration of Shakespeare's plays during these theatrical seasons, and the reasons why he suddenly achieved recognition as the author of plays based on his own. It claims that the Popish Plot and a succession crisis known as the Exclusion Crisis had a profoundly detrimental impact on the theatre market, encouraging writers to turn to the alteration of an earlier playwright's work. It further argues that Shakespeare's low status and the parallels that could be construed between his characters and plots and the figures and events of the Crisis made his plays ideal candidates for topical alteration.

In addition to exploring what the Crisis can tell us about Shakespeare's authorial afterlife the thesis contends that these Shakespeare alterations provide insights not only into the politics of the period, but more specifically into the problematic implications of

the 'rape rhetoric' circulating in the late 1670s and early 1680s.[1] The alterations predominantly transform Shakespeare's works into vehicles for royalist propaganda, with new scenes of rape constituting the clearest indication of a play's political allegiance. Of the ten Shakespeare plays altered between 1678 and 1682, three featured significant new rape-plots, one had its existing rape-plot modified, and others used rape allusions as shorthand for rebellion and tyranny. Both the threat of rape and the need to conform to politically prescribed gender roles pervade these plays. I therefore offer a reading of the politics of the plays without losing sight of the statements they make about the crime of rape and relations between the sexes.

The ten plays altered between 1678 and 1682 are predominantly taken from Shakespeare's histories and tragedies.[2] Dating late seventeenth-century premieres is never an exact science, but it is likely that the earliest of the alterations, Thomas Shadwell's *The History of Timon of Athens, the Man-Hater*, was first performed in c. January 1678 and printed the same year.[3] Edward Ravenscroft's *Titus Andronicus, or The Rape of Lavinia* probably premiered in autumn 1678, but it was not printed until 1687.[4] The pace between premiere and publication then increases, in line with late seventeenth-century practice, with John Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida, or Truth Found Too Late* staged c. March-April 1679 and printed the same year; Thomas Otway's alteration of *Romeo and Juliet* into *The History and Fall of Caius Marius* staged in c.

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[1] This term is used by Julia Rudolph in 'Rape and Resistance: Women and Consent in Seventeenth-Century English Legal and Political Thought', *The Journal of British Studies*, 39 (2000), 157-84. I omit inverted commas in subsequent usage to avoid unnecessarily distracting my reader.

[2] I recognise that Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens* and *Titus Andronicus* are now jointly attributed to Shakespeare and Thomas Middleton and Shakespeare and George Peele respectively. This acknowledgement is implied in each subsequent reference to the plays as 'Shakespeare's'. See Brian Vickers, *Shakespeare Co-Author: A Historical Study of Five Collaborative Plays* (OUP, 2002).

[3] All premiere dates are based on Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume's additions to the information provided in *The London Stage*. See: 'Dating Play Premières from Publication Data, 1660-1700', *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 22 (1974), 374-405, and *The London Stage, 1660-1800, Part One: 1660-1700*, ed. by William Van Lennep and others, 5 parts in 11 vols (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1960-68), I (1965). I have indicated noteworthy disputes over premieres after individual plays.

[4] Susan Owen has posited a later premiere date (autumn 1679) based on a possible link between the character of Lucius and the (by then banished) Duke of Monmouth. See *Restoration Theatre and Crisis* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), pp. 300-02. I do not think there is enough evidence to challenge the earlier date.

October 1679 and printed in 1680; John Crowne's alteration of *2* and *3 Henry VI* into *The Misery of Civil-War* staged in late 1679 / early 1680 and printed in 1680;[5] Nahum Tate's *The History of Richard The Second / The Sicilian Usurper* staged in December 1680 or January 1681 and printed in 1681; Tate's *The History of King Lear* staged in autumn 1680 or January 1681 and printed in 1681; Crowne's *Henry the Sixth, The First Part, with the Murder of Humphrey Duke of Glocester* staged between January and March 1681 and printed in 1681;[6] Tate's alteration of *Coriolanus* into *The Ingratitude of a Common-Wealth or, The Fall of Caius Martius Coriolanus* staged in December 1681 and printed in 1682; and Thomas Durfey's alteration of *Cymbeline* into *The Injured Princess, or The Fatal Wager* staged in February or March 1682 and printed the same year.[7]

Throughout my thesis I use the term 'alteration' in order to reflect seventeenth-century usage. Late seventeenth-century title-pages use 'altered' where we would today use 'adapted', and as distinct from 'revived', which is predominantly used to denote an earlier play which has appeared on stage without the introduction of major changes. The first recorded use of the term 'adaptation' to denote 'the alteration of a dramatic composition to suit a different audience' dates from 1790 (*OED*), more than a century after the Exclusion Crisis.[8]

The alteration of Shakespeare's plays was, I wish to suggest, directly related to the 1678 Popish Plot, renewed fears over Popery and arbitrary government, and the introduction of a policy to exclude James Stuart, Duke of York (later James II) from the succession in 1679. Drama produced in the late 1670s and early 1680s is in intense dialogue with the politics of its times, and a playwright's ability to make a living from

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[5] For further discussion of the likely premiere date, see Owen, *Theatre and Crisis*, p. 304, and Milhous and Hume, 'Dating Play Premières', p. 391.
[6] See also John Harold Wilson, 'Six Restoration Play Dates', *Notes and Queries*, 9 (1962), 221-23.
[7] For an argument in favour of a later premiere date, see Owen, *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*, p. 306.
[8] For more on historicising play terminology, see Laura J. Rosenthal, '(Re)Writing Lear: Literary Property and Dramatic Authorship', in *Early Modern Conceptions of Property*, ed. by John Brewer and Susan Staves (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 323-38 (p. 323).

the stage was profoundly affected by the political turbulence taking place in and around London. I therefore provide an account of the Popish Plot and the policy of Exclusion that followed.

The Late 1670s and Titus Oates's Claims of a Popish Plot

The Popish Plot refers to Titus Oates's (false) claim to have knowledge of a Jesuit plot to assassinate Charles II, massacre his Protestant subjects, and install his Catholic brother, the Duke of York, on the throne. This would be achieved, Oates suggested, with the help of a French army. Oates's accusations both spoke to and fuelled longstanding hostility towards the Catholic Church, and Catholic France more specifically. Having failed to produce any legitimate children, Charles's throne was due to pass to his younger brother, James, and this fact had already led to speculation about the impact a Catholic monarch would have on the lives of Protestant subjects living within the three kingdoms.[9]

Oates made his claims in the autumn of 1678, in the wake of disastrous wars against the Dutch, continued debate about the respective roles of the Crown and parliament, and important legislation such as the Test Act of 1673. The war of 1664-

[9] For studies addressing the Popish Plot and its aftermath, see: John Gibney, *Ireland and the Popish Plot* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2009); Richard L. Greaves, *Secrets of the Kingdom: British Radicals from the Popish Plot to the Revolution of 1688-1689* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1992); Kenneth H. D. Haley, *The First Earl of Shaftesbury* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968); Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II*: *Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration to the Exclusion Crisis* (CUP, 1987); Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and his Kingdoms* (London: Penguin, 2005); Peter Hinds, *'The Horrid Popish Plot': Roger L'Estrange and the Circulation of Political Discourse in Late Seventeenth-Century London* (OUP, 2010); James Rees Jones, *The First Whigs: The Politics of the Exclusion Crisis, 1678-1683* (New York: OUP, 1961); John Phillips Kenyon, *The Popish Plot* (London: Heinemann, 1972); Mark Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678-81* (CUP, 1994); Kate Loveman*, Reading Fictions, 1660-1740: Deception in English Literary and Political Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); Alan Marshall, *The Strange Death of Edmund Godfrey: Plots and Politics in Restoration London* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999); John Miller, *Popery and Politics in England, 1660-1688* (CUP, 1973); Miller, *Restoration England: The Reign of Charles II* (London: Longman, 1985); David Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, 2 vols, 2nd edn (OUP, 1972); John Pollock, *The Popish Plot: A Study in the History of the Reign of Charles II* (London: Duckworth, 1903); Joan Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (CUP, 2003); Francis Spring Ronalds, *The Attempted Whig Revolution of 1678-81* (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1937); Jonathan Scott, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth-Century English Political Instability in European Context* (CUP, 2000); Scott, *Algernon Sidney and the Restoration Crisis, 1677-1683* (CUP, 1991); and Scott, 'England's Troubles: Exhuming the Popish Plot', in *The Politics of Religion in Restoration England*, ed. by Mark Goldie, Tim Harris, and Paul Seaward (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), pp. 107-31.

1667 led to the loss of a number of colonies, including Novia Scotia, the territory where (the playwright) John Crowne's family owned land, while that of 1672-1674 raised serious public concerns over the decision to go to war against a fellow Protestant nation.[10] The Test Act, which forced all those holding public offices to take an oath recognising the superiority of the Church of England, proved harmful to the stability of the Crown. In effect, it excluded Catholics from holding military or civil positions. By refusing to comply, the Duke of York not only lost his position as Lord High Admiral but also exposed his religious affiliation.

The Popish Plot did not simply exploit anti-Catholic feeling; it contributed to worries over excessive Catholic influence at court. To borrow the words of Andrew Marvell's infamous title, it added to concerns over 'the growth of popery and arbitrary government'.[11] As Jonathan Scott has noted, 'it was by this phrase that [English people] identified a seventeenth-century European phenomenon: the Counter-Reformation advance'.[12] After the death of his first wife, Anne, by whom he had two Protestant daughters, and closely following his exposure as a Catholic, the Duke of York married the Catholic Mary of Modena. This led to increased fears that, should Mary produce a male child, a long line of Catholic ascendancy would be established. Charles's Catholic queen, Catherine of Braganza, was equally unpopular, and is said to have 'employed twenty-eight priests' in 1670, with 'two to three hundred people attend[ing] her chapel'.[13] The presence and influence of Charles II's French Catholic mistresses, particularly Louise de Kéroualle, also provoked criticism; many accused him of (literally) sleeping with the enemy and of putting his own pleasure before the nation's

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[10] Harris, *Restoration*, p. 71.
[11] *An Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government* (Amsterdam [i.e. London?], 1677).
[12] *Algernon Sidney*, p. 28.
[13] See Francis E. Dolan, *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1999), p. 152.

best interests.[14] One lampoon of the 1670s went so far as to equate Charles with his penis, claiming that 'Though safety, law, religion, life lay on't', Charles's penis would 'break through all to make its way to cunt'.[15]

The label 'Popish Plot' is highly misleading as, on the surface, it suggests that there was a genuine Catholic conspiracy rather than an attempt to fuel anti-Catholic sentiment. That such a tendentious label was used to describe Oates's claims is surely no accident, and it hints at the orchestrated nature of his revelations.[16] The absence of a genuine Jesuit plot to kill Charles II has led many historians to overlook the significance of the Popish Plot and its impact, and their dismissive attitude raises important questions as to exactly what constitutes an historic event. *The Oxford English Dictionary* defines 'event' as 'the (actual or contemplated) fact of anything happening', and as 'that which follows upon a course of proceedings; the outcome, issue; that which proceeds from the operation of a cause; a consequence, result'. The Popish Plot saw reports of alleged Catholic plotting explode into print, with pamphlets, broadsides, ballads, and plays all making claims about what would or could happen. These documents 'participate[d] in a cultural process' and, as such, they *were* the event.[17] The Plot also had a profound impact on theatre and politics of the late 1670s and early 1680s and on the lives of the thousands of Catholics who became victims of the backlash provoked by the claims of Oates and his fellow Popish Plot informers.

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[14] Rachel Weil, 'Sometimes a Sceptre is only a Sceptre: Politics and Pornography in Restoration England', in *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500-1800*, ed. by Lynn Hunt (New York: Zone Books, 1993), pp. 125-56. See also Paul Hammond, 'The King's Two Bodies: Representations of Charles II', in *Culture, Politics and Society in Britain, 1660-1800*, ed. by Jeremy Black and Jeremy Gregory (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1991), pp. 13-48.

[15] 'A Satyr on Charles II' (lines 18-19), in *The Complete Works of John Wilmot Earl of Rochester*, ed. by David M. Vieth (New Haven: Yale UP, 1962), pp. 60-61. As Paul Hammond has demonstrated, poets depicted 'the King's own sexual body […] to indicate how the private body has tyrannized over the body politic' ('The King's Two Bodies', p. 27).

[16] The term 'Popish Plot' was also used to refer to alleged Catholic plotting between 1636 and 1642. See Caroline M. Hibbard, *Charles I and the Popish Plot* (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1983).

[17] Dolan, *Whores of Babylon*, pp. 4, 23. As Dolan rightly insists, 'in crises such as the Gunpowder Plot and the Popish Plot, representations are what "really happened"', p. 23.

Oates's 1678 revelations were both well timed and highly topical, and they helped to generate great fear. When Oates gave his evidence to the House of Commons in October 1678, he found 'an audience already primed to believe such tales through decades of anti-Catholic propaganda'.[18] He also found an opportunity to level a few old scores. As Alan Marshall notes, Oates 'increasingly struck out against those who had antagonized him in the past'.[19] He insisted that the evidence for his accusations came from a Jesuit meeting he attended at the White Horse tavern in the Strand on 24 April 1678.[20] He claimed that he had attended the meeting out of duty and care for his monarch and country:

> Oates depicted himself as a man who had seen the light and braved many dangers to save the nation. His initial grasp of very complex and detailed evidence was also impressive. Indeed, so complex did the story become that it was soon necessary to print collated versions to give the public at least some understanding of the threats involved.[21]

Oates's audience at the parliamentary sitting, which had opened on 21 October, was further persuaded to believe his account when the death of Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey, the magistrate to whom Oates disclosed his evidence, was made known. Godfrey's death was variously viewed as a Catholic crime aimed at silencing reports of the Popish Plot, a Protestant crime designed to further implicate Catholics, and suicide. The most

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[18] Alan Marshall, 'Oates, Titus (1649–1705)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20437> [accessed 20 December 2010].
[19] 'Oates, Titus', para. 8 of 17.
[20] See Sheila Williams, 'The Pope-Burning Processions of 1679, 1680 and 1681', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 21 (1958), 104-18 (p. 23).
[21] Marshall, 'Oates, Titus', para. 8 of 17.

we can say is that Godfrey's death intensified the perceived threat of 'Popery' which Oates's revelations sought to exploit.[22]

In fact, a series of 'unrelated, yet related events' that followed Oates's revelations seemed to offer further credibility to his claims.[23] In early November, the Duke of York's former secretary, Edward Coleman, was implicated in the alleged plot after he was found to be in possession of 'treasonable letters to Louis XIV's confessor about Catholic designs in England'.[24] Oates's stab in the dark had come up trumps, with many viewing Coleman's exposure as evidence that Oates's claims of imminent invasion and forced conversion were true. Coleman was hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn on 3 December 1678, becoming one of the Plot's earliest victims.[25]

Another event that seemed to corroborate Oates's claims was the covenanters' rebellion in Scotland in May-June 1679. As Harris explains, Oates had claimed that 'Jesuits were first to send priests disguised as Presbyterian ministers into Scotland to stir up those suffering under "Episcopal Tyranny" into rebellion'.[26] With somewhere in the region of 8,000 Presbyterians in revolt within less than twelve months of Oates's allegations, it must have seemed as though he really did have inside information.[27]

A combination of personal rivalry and the timely exposure of machinations between France and parliament offered additional support to Oates's accusations. As Knights states, Charles had been receiving payments from his French cousin, Louis XIV, in exchange for not allowing parliament to meet.[28] Meanwhile, in the House of Commons, concerns were increasingly raised over French Catholic expansionism, particularly in Dutch territories. The outcome was a vote in favour of war with France,

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[22] Godfrey's death remains a mystery. For theories on who killed Godfrey, see John Dickson Carr, *The Murder of Sir Edmund Godfrey* (New York: International Polygonics, 1989), and Marshall, *The Strange Death of Edmund Godfrey*.
[23] Owen, *Theatre and Crisis*, p. 1.
[24] Knights, *Politics and Opinion*, p. 3.
[25] Andrew Barclay, 'Colman, Edward (1636–1678)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5871> [accessed 30 January 2010].
[26] *Restoration*, p. 137.
[27] *Restoration*, p. 137.
[28] *Politics and Opinion*, p. 19.

Britain's long-standing enemy, and the creation of an army to pursue military action against the French. Charles received an army, but Commons did not receive an official declaration of war with France. This was problematic, and it caused Charles to irritate both sides: parliament and France.[29] In December 1678 Ralph Montagu, the former ambassador to Paris, revealed the secret dealings between Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby, who was the Lord Treasurer and Charles's chief advisor, and Louis XIV.[30] Montague is thought to have been both manipulated by the French Ambassador, and motivated by his resentment at not being appointed Secretary of State.[31] He exposed letters showing that, rather than planning war with France, Danby had 'requested 6 million livres as the price of England's peace with France and the prorogation of Parliament'.[32] Understandably, this lent credence to the widespread fears that Charles wanted to retain a standing army in order to establish an arbitrary government and pursue French interest. The climate of public concern in which Oates made his claims is thus rather humorously summarized by a mock-advertisement selling 'Two whole peeces of new fashioned paradoxes, the one to suppress popery by the Suppression of the Protestant interest abroad, the other to maintain libertie by the raiseing of a standing Army at home'.[33]

The Immediate Impact of the Popish Plot

Initially believed by a great many, Oates was given 'complete power to imprison those he chose'.[34] The Cavalier Parliament, which had been sitting since 1661, was dissolved

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[29] Knights, *Politics and Opinion*, p. 19.
[30] Knights, *Politics and Opinion*, p. 19.
[31] Knights, *Politics and Opinion*, pp. 19, 27.
[32] Edward Charles Metzger, 'Montagu, Ralph, first Duke of Montagu (*bap.* 1638, *d.* 1709)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19030> [accessed 10 January 2011].
[33] London, British Library, MS Harleian 7317, fols. 91-6; *Lyme Letters, 1660-1760*, ed. by Lady Newton (1925), pp. 85-90, cited in Harris, *Restoration,* p. 74.
[34] John Warner, *The History of English Persecution of Catholics and the Presbyterian Plot*, ed. by Thomas A. Birrell, trans. by J. Bligh, 2 vols (London: Privately Printed, 1953), cited in Marshall, 'Oates, Titus', para. 7 of 18.

as a consequence of the Plot, and a call for new elections was issued. This was the first time parliament had been decided by elections since 1661. The Plot also prompted the first of two periods of exile for the Duke of York: November 1679 – February 1680 and October 1680 – March 1682. Many of those whom Oates chose to implicate in the plot were not only arrested but executed.

Oates's allegations went on to be joined by accounts from other informers and were expanded to implicate the Queen and her physician in the Plot. It was claimed that she planned to poison Charles, an accusation that Marshall suggests 'was going too far for some in the government' and which resulted in Oates being 'confined to his lodgings' and the seizing of 'his papers'.[35] Detailed enquiries into Oates's allegations soon revealed a number of contradictions and inconsistencies, and by 1681 his stories had begun to lose credit. As Sheila Williams states, 'by 1682 belief in the Popish Plot had largely disintegrated'.[36] It seems that, as Oates's accusations grew more elaborate, so did 'the scope for contradictory testimony', the most significant example being the discovery that Oates had been abroad at the time of the alleged White Horse Tavern meeting at which he claimed to have witnessed Jesuits devising their plot to kill the King.[37] Oates went on to lose 'several cases of libel against those who attacked his opinions or person', and in 1684 was arrested on a charge of '*scandalum magnatum* after a suit by the Duke of York, whom Oates had called a traitor'.[38]

Not everyone believed the rumours of a Catholic plot, and Charles II was highly sceptical, but denouncing the plot came with the fear of being accused of Popery, as the diary of Sir John Reresby, a Royalist Member of Parliament, testifies. He writes of meeting Oates and adds that, though Oates came across as a 'Fool' when 'running down the Duke of York', none of their dinner companions 'dared to oppose him, for fear of

[35] 'Oates, Titus', para. 8 of 17.
[36] 'Pope-Burning', p. 104.
[37] Williams, 'Pope-Burning', p. 104.
[38] Marshall, 'Oates, Titus', para. 12 of 17.

being made a Party of the Plot'.[39] In November 1678, the King was also keen to diffuse anti-Catholic feeling and accusations, responding to fears over the succession by telling Members of Parliament that he 'would give the royal assent to any bills that would make them "safe in the reign of [his] successor, (so as they tend not to impeach the Right of Succession, nor the descent of the crown in the true line)"'.[40] Charles's speech was 'mistakenly reported as a resolution in favour of a Protestant successor or [Charles's illegitimate but Protestant son,] the Duke of Monmouth, prompting celebratory bonfires throughout the capital'.[41] Though by no means the only issue at stake, the succession question went on to be discussed at length, both in print and during subsequent parliamentary sittings. It is for this reason that the Exclusion Crisis is usually credited with causing the nation to divide between those who supported and those who opposed the Duke of York's claim to the throne.

The Exclusion Crisis

The label 'Exclusion Crisis' is generally used to denote the years 1679-1683, from the introduction of a bill to exclude the Duke of York from the succession to the Tory reaction period.[42] I use the term to encompass the Popish Plot, the introduction of exclusion legislation, and the battle over parliament's right to sit, as I view each as playing an important role in the period's atmosphere of crisis and conflict.[43] Like the Popish Plot, the policy of exclusion and the debates over arbitrary government were not

[39] 26 December 1680. Sir John Reresby, *The Memoirs of the Honourable Sir John Reresby* (London, 1734), sig. H8^{r}.
[40] Harris, *Restoration*, p. 146.
[41] Tim Harris, 'Cooper, Anthony Ashley, first earl of Shaftesbury (1621–1683)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6208> [accessed 29 June 2010].
[42] Knights is sceptical about the appropriateness of the label 'Exclusion Crisis', stating that it is 'best reserved for the brief period between the rejection of the [Exclusion] bill in the House of Lords in November 1680 and the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament in March 1681' (*Politics and Opinion in Crisis: 1678-81*, p. 5). Ronalds preferred the term 'Attempted Whig Revolution' in his book of the same title.
[43] I am here following the lead of Scott, Knights and Miller who demonstrate that the political crisis concerns more than simply the policy of Exclusion. See Miller, *Popery and Politics*, Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis*, and Scott, 'England's Troubles', and *Algernon Sidney*.

created *ex nihilo*: they had their origins in the mid-century crisis which led to Charles I's execution and, more recently, in the 1673 revelation that James had converted to the Roman Catholic faith. As Susan J. Owen has noted, 'the Lords were considering proposals for the exclusion of James from the succession' as early as 1674; in other words, the Exclusion Crisis is closely linked to the Popish Plot, but it was by no means a product of it.[44]

The policy of exclusion is most closely associated with Anthony Ashley Cooper, the first Earl of Shaftesbury, but the Duke of York's opponents were numerous, and their demands varied. Shaftesbury advocated the exclusion of the Duke of York from the succession, suggesting that 'the succession [ought] to go on, as if he was dead'.[45] As Tim Harris notes, Arthur Capel, the Earl of Essex, and George Saville, the Marquess of Halifax, instead 'urged limiting the powers of a popish successor'.[46] Shaftesbury objected that to do so would be 'much more prejudicial to the crown than the exclusion of one heir', because it would consequentially alter 'the whole government, and set up a democracy instead of a monarchy'.[47] While Essex and Halifax opposed the Duke of Monmouth's claim to the throne, declaring him illegitimate, Shaftesbury was among those who championed him as an alternative successor to the throne, urging Charles II to declare his son legitimate. Charles refused to do so and remained vehemently opposed to the idea of barring his brother from the succession. It therefore seems that all-out exclusion was not the only proposed solution to the problem of a Catholic heir-apparent.[48]

Scott writes of the Crisis as consisting of 'five principal stages': 'the storm against popery and arbitrary government; followed by polarisation; radicalisation;

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[44] *Theatre and Crisis*, p. 37.
[45] Gilbert Burnet, *Bishop Burnet's History of his own time*, new edn (Oxford: Clarendon, 1857), p. 303, cited in Harris, 'Cooper, Anthony Ashley' para. 49 of 61.
[46] 'Cooper, Anthony Ashley', para. 49 of 61.
[47] Burnet, *Bishop Burnet's History*, p. 303, cited in 'Cooper, Anthony Ashley', para. 49 of 61.
[48] The views expressed in this paragraph are indebted to Harris, *Restoration*, pp. 139-40.

repetition; and reaction'.[49] The first parliamentary sitting of 1679 is said to have devoted more than half of its time to Danby and 'the hunt for [other] arbitrary ministers', and to the Popish Plot.[50] However, a 'Bill to disable the Duke of York to inherit the Imperial Crown of [the] Realm, was called for, and read the first time' on 21 May.[51] It proposed

> First, That James, Duke of York, Albany and Ulster, should be incapable of inheriting the Crowns of England, Scotland and Ireland, with their dependences, and of enjoying any of the Titles, Rights, Prerogatives, and Revenues belonging to the said Crowns.[52]

It also dictated that

> in case his Majesty should happen to die, or resign his Dominions, they should devolve to the person next in Succession, in the same manner as if the Duke was dead [and] That all Acts of Sovereignty and Royalty which that Prince might then happen to perform, were not only declared void, but to be High Treason, and punishable as such.[53]

Charles responded by proroguing parliament on 27 May and then by dissolving it on 18 July. Carolyn Andervont Edie notes that Charles

> seems, at one point, to have considered a number of expedients whereby James, though retaining the title and style of king, would have been banished from

[49] *Algernon Sidney*, pp. 50-51.
[50] Scott, *Algernon Sidney*, pp. 53, 52-53.
[51] Anchitell Grey, *Debates in the House of Commons: From the Year 1667 to the Year 1694*, 10 vols (London, 1763), VII, 285.
[52] Grey, p. 285.
[53] Grey, p. 285.

> England with the authority of the crown transferred to a regent, either Mary of Orange, James's eldest daughter, or in event of death, her sister Princess Anne.[54]

This was a more modest proposal, and one which brings to mind Shakespeare's *King Lear*, but both were attacks on the rights of kingship, and their potential impact left many in fear. No such legislation was passed.

For anti-Exclusionists, the situation was straightforward: a rightful heir could not be denied his birthright.[55] They 'maintain[ed] that the King is King by an inherent Birth-right, by Nature, by Gods Law, and by the Law of the Land'.[56] Exclusionists, by contrast, often drew upon Natural Law, insisting that 'the succession is transferable, when the public safety requires it'.[57] Exclusionists also claimed that '*Lex facit Regem*': a monarch's rule without the people's consent, by which they really meant parliament's consent, was thus 'no lawful Succession, but downright usurpation'.[58] As *A Just and Modest Vindication of the last two Parliaments* (1681) put it, parliament's views must be respected, and the reigns of 'Edward 2, R[ichard] 2. and Hen[ry] 6. ought to serve as land marks, to warn succeeding kings from preferring secret councils to the wisdom of their parliaments'.[59] It is surely not coincidental that these should be the reigns staged in three of the Shakespeare alterations produced during the Crisis.

Elections were scheduled for the end of summer, but Charles again prorogued parliament in October before it could meet. His actions were seen as yet more evidence

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[54] 'Succession and Monarchy: The Controversy of 1679-1681', *The American Historical Review*, 70 (1965), 350-70 (p. 354). See also: Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, II, 615, and Anon., *Heads of the Expedient Proposed in the Parliament at Oxford* (London, 1681).
[55] See Edward Bagshaw, *The Rights of the Crown of England, As it is established by Law* (London, 1660), sigs. $D1^{r-v}$, and William Prynne, *The Divine Right of Kings Asserted in General* (London, 1679).
[56] David Jenkins, *The King's Prerogative, and the Subjects Privileges Asserted According to Law and Reason* (London, 1680), sig. $D1^{r}$.
[57] W.G., *The Case of Succession to the Crown* (London, 1679), sig. $A4^{v}$.
[58] See *Pereat Papa, or Reasons why a Presumptive Heir, or Popish Successor should not inherit the Crown* (London, 1681), sig. $A1^{v}$.
[59] Cited in Scott, *Algernon Sidney*, p. 192.

of arbitrary government.[60] It is at this point, J. R. Jones states, that the 'Whig leaders set out systematically to put the maximum pressure on the King by organising petitions which called for the immediate assembly of the new Parliament'.[61] The petitioners' campaign, articulated in publications such as *Vox populi, or, The peoples claim to their Parliaments sitting, to redress grievances, and provide for the common safety* (1681), had the support (and thus the signatures) of the City of London.[62] This prompted the Duke of York to suggest that the Capital was 'set up for a commonwealth'.[63] Those who opposed or 'abhorred' such petitions were correspondingly labelled 'abhorrers', and countered that petitioning for the sitting of parliament was 'the seed and spawn of Rebellion' and 'the principles of 1641'.[64] Their point of view was correspondingly articulated in publications such as John Nalson's *Vox populi, fax populi, or, A discovery of an impudent cheat and forgery put upon the people of England by* [the] *author of Vox populi thereby endeavoring to instill the poysonous principles of rebellion into the minds of His Majesties subjects* (1681). It is not difficult to see how such issues resembled those that had been at stake back in the 1640s, and it is for this reason, along with the increased political polarity, that many contemporaries began to fear that ''41' was come 'again'.[65]

On the streets of London it seemed that Monmouth was gaining support, with numerous reports of bonfires held to 'champion the cause of "the Protestant Duke"', while James's popularity further dwindled.[66] Charles took measures to diffuse this situation by banishing his illegitimate son, and by sending his brother to Scotland. Owen notes that the 'Government' also 'tried to regain the moral offensive', with

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[60] Scott, *Algernon Sidney*, p. 57.
[61] *The First Whigs*, p. 115.
[62] Jones, *The First Whigs*, pp. 115-18.
[63] Scott, *Algernon Sidney*, p. 61.
[64] Scott, *Algernon Sidney*, p. 163; Jones, *The First Whigs*, pp. 115-6, and Grey, *Debates*, VIII, 389.
[65] Scott posits that the late 1670s and early 1680s saw the revival of 'the "old cause"' and that the Exclusion Crisis is merely a cover story concocted by Whig historians keen to 'rescue their martyrs from anything so dangerous' and portray them as 'innocent victims of Stuart tyranny, and prophets of the future, at the same time' (*Algernon Sidney*, p. 63).
[66] Harris, *London Crowds*, pp. 159, 157-60.

George Villiers, the second Duke of Buckingham 'arrested for sodomy in 1679', Ford Grey, Earl of Tankerville 'prosecuted for seducing his sister-in-law in 1680', and Shaftesbury repeatedly accused of 'lechery'.[67] Accusations of sexually transgressive behaviour as a means of demonising the opposition is, as I go on to demonstrate, a key theme found in Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis.

The Tory Reaction

The next parliament met on 21 October 1680, not in London, but in 'loyal' Oxford, where tensions were somewhat lower.[68] The subject of exclusion was raised again in early January, and Charles again responded by dissolving parliament on 18 January. When parliament next opened, in Oxford in March 1681, it did so for the final time during Charles II's reign. In the weeks and months leading up to this meeting, Charles and his supporters had taken two important steps to solidify the court's power. The first saw Charles sign a secret treaty with Louis XIV in a bid to secure his financial position. He was offered '5 million livres over the next three years if he did not call a parliament to support Spain against France'.[69] This ensured that the King had enough funds to rule independent of parliament. The second step began in February 1681 and involved 'purging' the army, local government offices, and the law courts of Whig / Exclusion sympathisers.[70] With the army and key position holders on his side Charles was in a safe position to close parliament for the final time on 28 March 1681. He completed his rule without parliament. This marked the beginning of the period known as the Tory Reaction, when the tides turned and the Court appeared to have the upper hand.[71]

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[67] *Theatre and Crisis*, p. 41. See also Paul Hammond's discussion of how sodomy was used as a means of discrediting Titus Oates in *Figuring Sex Between Men from Shakespeare to Rochester* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2002), pp. 155-71.

[68] Harris writes that Oxford was 'Charles's preferred site for the meeting of parliament […] because it was regarded as being one of his most loyal towns at the time' (*Restoration*, p. 187).

[69] Harris, *Restoration*, p. 253.

[70] Harris, *Restoration*, p. 293.

[71] The views expressed in this paragraph are indebted to Harris, *Restoration*, Chs. 4 and 5.

The reaction of the Tories to Whig demands for Exclusion, parliament's right to meet, and the prevention of Popery and arbitrary government is perhaps best described as counter-propaganda. Tory writers, including the King himself, responded to Whig attacks by carefully throwing the same charges back at their opponents in a political version of the childish taunt 'I know you are, I said you are, so what am I?' In order to rebuff Whig claims about the threat of 'Popery', Tories suggested that the real threat came from the Whigs, who were in cahoots with the nonconformists and who, 'like the parliamentary Puritans of the 1640s', wanted to 'destroy the episcopal Church establishment'.[72] Equally, rather than cause the Duke of York's succession to be feared, they instead pointed to 'York's conduct [during his exile] in Scotland as indicative of what an excellent ruler he would be if he came to the throne of England', and to the 'great Benefit the Church received' during James's exile, when he 'put a stop to the growth of schism' and 'did both privately and publickly demonstrate his Zeal to the Church of England'.[73] This was in diametrical opposition, Tories claimed, to the Whigs who were to be associated with radical Presbyterians in Scotland who had already staged numerous rebellions in the 1660s and 70s. As Harris explains, 'Whig' was 'a shortened form of "whiggamore", a Scottish Presbyterian rebel'.[74] James was thus upholding the Church of England, despite his Catholicism, while Whigs threatened to destroy it.

To counter accusations of arbitrary government Tories, as exemplified by the full title of Roger L'Estrange's response, insisted on '*the growth of knavery under the pretended fears of arbitrary government and popery*' and drew '*a parallel betwixt the reformers of 1677 and those of 1641 in their methods and designs*' (London, 1678). This was assisted by two related claims: the first was that Cromwell's republican government, which had retained a (model) standing army, was both arbitrary and

[72] Harris, *Restoration*, p. 238.
[73] Harris, *Restoration*, p. 252.
[74] *Restoration*, p. 241.

tyrannical, and the second was that exclusion would lead to civil war.[75] This second claim was specifically linked to both York and his family's motherland; Scotland was very unlikely to support an English bill designed to disinherit a Stuart.[76]

Perhaps the most impressive piece of counter-propaganda, however, came from the King himself after he closed Parliament for the last time in March 1681. On 8 April 1681, Charles issued a '*Declaration to all his loving subjects*' in which he explained the '*causes and reasons that moved him to dissolve the two last parliaments*' (London, 1681). Charles presented himself as a reasonable man and a lover of parliament, but as primarily committed to protecting his subjects from the horrors of civil war that the unreasonable, uncompromising Exclusionists were likely to unleash, had he not taken firm action in dissolving parliament. He lamented that 'contrary to [his] Offers and Expectation, [he] saw, that no Expedient would be entertain'd but that of a total Exclusion', adding that he 'could never consent to it', not after 'the sad Experience […] of the late Civil Wars, that Murder'd Our Father of Blessed Memory, and ruin'd the Monarchy' (sigs. $A3^{r-v}$). In short, Exclusion law would 'establish another most Unnatural War, or at least make it necessary to maintain a Standing Force for the Preserving the Government and the Peace of the Kingdom' (sigs. $A3^{v}$-$A4^{r}$). He also assured his people that the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament in March by no means indicated a permanent end to parliament; it was 'with exceeding great trouble' that he had closed parliament, an institution he viewed as 'the best Method for healing the Distempers of the Kingdom' (sig. $A4^{v}$). On the contrary, he wrote as if deeply regretful of the need to close parliament: 'no Irregularities in Parliaments, shall ever make us out of Love with Parliaments' (sig. $A4^{v}$). He added that he would have 'frequent Parliaments', as soon as the opposition in the house was ready to act in a reasonable and responsible manner (sig. $A4^{v}$). Charles ensured that this message – his full and detailed

[75] Harris, *Restoration*, pp. 238-39, 245.
[76] Harris, *Restoration*, p. 240.

response to previous criticism – reached a mass audience by ordering it 'to be read in all churches and chapels throughout England'.[77] With parliament closed and the Tory propaganda machine in overdrive, the Exclusion movement was effectively halted in its tracks.

The Bill of Exclusion, then, was introduced at three successive parliaments, May 1679, November 1680, and March 1681, each dismissed before the legislation could hope to be passed, and the issues it raised went beyond the simple question of who was to succeed Charles II. Exclusion returned the country to the ferocious arguments of the 1630s and 1640s, such as the rights of parliament and the perceived need to resist arbitrary government. Although James, Duke of York, was at the centre of the succession debate, the campaign to exclude him simultaneously revived disputes over the rights of kings, the source of their claims to power, and the occasions, if any, on which a monarch's claim might be refused, or his powers limited. These debates exploded into print, with key works including Sir Robert Filmer's *Patriarcha* (1680), Roger L'Estrange's *An Account of the Growth of Knavery* (1678), William Jones's *A Just and Modest Vindication of the Proceedings of the Last Two Parliaments* (1681),[78] and Sidney's *Discourses Concerning Government* (1698).[79]

Defining Rival Political Factions

It is clear that the years 1678 to 1682 led to great division in the nation, but the labels we ought to use to describe the rival groups or factions that emerged are by no means straightforward, nor can we succinctly split public and political opinion into two neat categories. We could, perhaps, speak of 'Exclusionists' and 'anti-Exclusionists', but this would reduce the latter to what they did not want, and suggest that Exclusion was the

[77] Harris, *Restoration*, p. 254.
[78] The *Vindication* has also been attributed to Algernon Sidney. For discussion of the authorship debate, see Scott, *Algernon Sidney*, pp. 185-95.
[79] Sidney is thought to have begun work on *Discourses* in 1681. His writing was interrupted by his arrest for treason, with his manuscript used as evidence against him. See Scott, *Algernon Sidney*, pp. 201-07.

only point of contention. It would also overlook an important third contemporary label, that of 'Trimmer', which was used to reflect those who 'trim between opposing parties' and incline 'to each of two opposite sides as interest dictates', a term which was first applied to Lord Halifax and then appropriated by him and his supporters to denote 'one who keeps even the ship of state' and 'changes sides to balance parties' (*OED*).[80] The terms 'Petitioners' and 'Abhorrers' function in a similar vein, while 'Loyalist' and 'Opposition', though also used at the time, run the risk of conveying partiality. It should also be noted that the claim to be 'Loyal Protestants' was made by both Exclusionists and anti-Exclusionists.[81] Alternative labels therefore seem necessary.

There has been much debate as to the point at which the labels 'Whig' and 'Tory' came into popular parlance, and the date from which we can apply them in an accurate and meaningful way. Laurence Echard writes that it was at 'about the same Time' that 'Petitioners and Abhorrers' were creating 'Great Heats and Animosities' that 'the pernicious Terms, and Distinctions of WHIG and TORY [were coined], both Exotick Names, which the Parties individiously bestow'd upon each other'.[82] These terms were certainly being applied in the early 1680s, but this should not be taken to suggest that organised political parties, with clear, unified manifestos, had emerged. We see this most clearly when we compare the demands of the Earl of Shaftesbury with those of more moderate Exclusionists, as outlined above. The advantage of using the labels 'Whig' and 'Tory' resides in their established use in scholarship on the period and in their ability to summarise a range of interrelated policies and values. I therefore intend to use these terms, as defined below, with the acknowledgement that the names

[80] See Halifax, *The Character of a Trimmer* (London, 1688), and Anon, *The Character of a Trimmer neither Whig nor Tory* (London, 1682).
[81] John Patrick Montaño, *Courting the Modertates: Ideology, Propaganda, and the Emergence of Party, 1660-1678* (London: Associated University Presses, 2002) p. 136.
[82] *The History of England* (London, 1720), p. 988, cited in Robert Willman,'The Origins of "Whig" and "Tory" in English Political Language', *Historical Journal*, 17 (1974), 247-64 (p. 247).

were vital weapons of the print propaganda campaigns circulating in the 1680s, and not labels that contemporaries embraced to describe their own political allegiances.[83]

The primary objectives of those loosely labelled 'Whigs' were parliamentary freedom and the ability to discuss legislation without fear of the monarch proroguing or dismissing parliament; limitations on, or complete exclusion of, a Catholic Monarch; the right of the people (i.e. parliament) to consent to be ruled by a particular monarch; and the protection of individual property rights. They declared themselves to be loyal to the monarchy and also, more assertively, to Protestantism, seeing themselves as defenders of Protestant freedom and rights in the face of the threat of French Catholic expansionism. The exposure of Coleman and Danby's dealings with France had left them highly suspicious of and particularly hostile towards all things French. Whigs were accused of association with the crown's opponents during the 1630s and 1640s, but the majority tried to dissociate themselves from the bloody consequences of earlier parliamentary activism.

The group defined, again loosely, as 'Tories' needs to be understood in relation to 'Whigs' and Whig objectives, as their stance was above all responsive or 'defensive'.[84] They tended to mock excessive fear of Catholicism and what they saw as hyperbolic expressions of loyal Protestantism, while also associating their opponents with Presbyterian rebels in Scotland. The vast majority of Tories also described themselves as loyal Protestants, but they were sceptical that Catholicism posed a threat. They also stood for tradition and the divine right of kings, and for the need for passive obedience, or 'quietism', as Owen terms it throughout *Theatre and Crisis*. They opposed rebellion in its many forms and frequently associated Whig petitioners with 'the *Rabble* […] of '41', suggesting that their actions threatened to return England to a

[83] For more on the origins of the labels, see Willman, 'The Origins'; and Jones, *The First Whigs*.
[84] Owen, *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*, pp. 55, 54.

state of civil war.[85] Rather than oppose the Duke of York, they tended to celebrate his leadership skills, as (allegedly) revealed during his banishment in Scotland, and his military skills, as demonstrated during his role as naval commander in the Dutch wars.[86]

Another way in which political difference could be identified in the period, and one in which I will be particularly interested below, is via the use of rape rhetoric. Owen notes that Tory depictions of rape reflect a reversal of what began as a Whig trope; Whig rape rhetoric tends to demonise tyrant rapists in order to criticise the Stuart brothers and voice support for elected or limited rule, and corrupt rulers are frequently depicted as rapists, as the violation of female consent involved in rape becomes equated with the rule of a monarch without the consent of his subjects.[87] Both acts are presented as a violation of the rights of the people and as a failure to respect the private property embodied in the female victim. The story of Lucretia's rape in Rome functioned as the *locus classicus* for Whig rape rhetoric, with Tarquin junior's rape of Lucretia frequently cited as justification for political resistance, and in defence of limited or mixed monarchy. The parallel suggested was that the 'Resentments […] That drove the *Tarquins* out of *Rome*' would also lead to the Stuarts' 'overthrow' in Britain.[88]

Tory responses to Whig rape rhetoric either deny that rape has taken place or else reverse the charge and equate illegitimate claims for power with illegal sexual urges. The former approach is taken by Filmer in his *Observations upon Aristotles Politiques* (1679), where he affectively denies Lucretia's rape in order to explain 'the

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[85] Roger L'Estrange, *An Account of the Growth of Knavery* (London, 1678), sig. F4^{r}.
[86] Harris, *Restoration*, pp. 251-52.
[87] *Theatre and Crisis*, pp. 175-6.
[88] John Ayloffe, 'Marvel's Ghost', in *Poems on Affairs of State* (London, 1697), sigs. M1^{r}, L8^{v}. See also: Ian Donaldson, *The Rapes of Lucretia: A Myth and its Transformations* (OUP, 1982), p. 112; Owen, '"Partial Tyrants" and "Freeborn People" in *Lucius Junius Brutus*', *Studies in English Literature*, 31 (1991), 463-82; Zara S. Fink, *The Classical Republicans: An Essay in the Recovery of a Pattern of Thought in Seventeenth-Century England* (Evanston: Northwestern UP, 1945), esp. pp. 6-7; and Rudolph, 'Rape and Resistance'.

expulsion of Tarquin' by 'the wantonness and licentiousness of the people of Rome'.[89] More generally, it should be noted that Tory rape rhetoric reflects a continuation of the satire of Puritan Parliamentarians which flourished in the wake of Charles II's return to the throne: royal sexual prowess is celebrated, with royals and aristocrats portrayed as irresistible to women, while Parliamentarians are depicted as cuckolds who are incapable of satisfying their wives.[90] The portrayal of illegitimate pretender princes as attempted rapists and variations on this theme of Tory rape rhetoric are to be found in Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis. It is to Shakespeare that I now wish to turn.

Shakespeare and the Exclusion Crisis: Politics, Rape, and Authorship

Before approaching the impact the Crisis had on the alteration of Shakespeare's plays, I offer an introductory chapter (Chapter One) that assesses Shakespeare's presence in the theatre and print markets from the reopening of the theatres in 1660 to 1678. I wish to echo Robert D. Hume's view that scholars of Shakespeare's authorial afterlife need to 'attend not only to what the most knowledgeable literary people in London knew' but also 'to what ordinary playgoers would have known and are likely to have known'.[91] I therefore explore the extent to which we can infer that Shakespeare would have been known as the author of his plays and plays altered from his own. I claim that, although Shakespeare's plays were performed by the two licensed theatre companies in operation in Restoration London, few audience members could have known that revivals or alterations of his plays were in any way linked to him as an author. The picture of

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[89] Filmer's *Observations upon Aristotles Politiques Touching Forms of Government* was first printed in London in 1652. It was then reissued as part of his *The Freeholders Grand Inquest* (London, 1679), sig. K1^{v}.

[90] Owen, *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*, pp. 4-5; and J. Douglas Canfield, 'Tupping your Rival's Women: Cit-Cuckolding as Class Warfare in Restoration Comedy', in *Broken Boundaries: Women and Feminism in Restoration Drama*, ed. by Katherine M. Quinsey (Lexington: U of Kentucky P, 1996), pp. 113-28.

[91] 'Before the Bard: "Shakespeare" in Early Eighteenth-Century London', *English Literary History*, 64 (1997), 41-75 (pp. 41-2).

Shakespeare's status that emerges in 1678 is an inconsistent one in which, although credited with unaltered print editions of his works, Shakespeare is seldom recognised as the author of revivals of his plays, or of altered plays, whether in print or performance. I break from previous studies of Shakespeare's Restoration afterlife by arguing for the importance of abbreviated versions of Shakespeare's plays known as drolls. I suggest that droll collections printed in the 1660s and 1670s offer insight into less conventional ways in which Shakespeare's plays may have circulated on the late seventeenth-century page and (makeshift) stage.

The second Chapter seeks to establish why versions of Shakespeare's plays came to dominate the new plays' repertoire, and why Shakespeare came to be identified on stage (in prologues and epilogues) as author-source. In order to do so, I situate alterations of Shakespeare's plays in the context of the economic and censorship impact the Crisis had on the two theatres and on a playwright's ability to make a living from the theatre in late seventeenth-century London. I argue that Shakespeare's plays were useful objects for playwrights for two reasons: because alterations thereof were commodities with which to make money, and because they provided ready-made parallels to the politics of the Exclusion Crisis. I therefore stress the topical links between the themes and concerns of the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis, and the Shakespeare plays selected for alteration.

By reading the Shakespeare alterations in the context of the Crisis, I demonstrate in Chapter Three the royalist, anti-Exclusion bias found in the majority of the plays.[92] I place particular emphasis on the reigns of Richard II and Henry VI, reigns dramatized by Shakespeare that had since been exploited by Whig propagandists. As audiences are more likely to have been familiar with the reigns as exploited in recent propaganda texts than with Shakespeare's dramatization of them, I suggest that the Shakespeare

[92] I do not, however, wish to suggest that the plays were exclusively or straightforwardly Tory in tone.

alterations need to be read in the context of seventeenth-century printed accounts of the reigns. Rather than view Tate's and Crowne's decision to tackle such controversial reigns as unwise, I see their alterations as reactionary in the same way that Tory writers, like Roger L'Estrange, offered 'answers' to Whig pamphlets: not by constructing completely new narratives, but by carefully re-appropriating the opposition's own arguments.

My discussion of the Richard II and Henry VI plays is then linked to the wider politics found in other Shakespeare alterations of the Crisis. I concentrate on the presentation of family politics found in the altered plays in order to argue that the Shakespeare alterations, like the Tory arguments with which they resonate, advocate loyalty and obedience to rightful monarchs and patriarchs while insisting on the need to enforce politically prescribed gender roles.

My interest switches in this chapter from the playwrights' motivation and agenda discussed in Chapter Two to the way the altered plays, and their politics in particular, were likely received by audiences. Although the plays are today considered as alterations, I give equal importance to changes made to the source-plays and elements that remained unchanged. As my findings in Chapter One indicate, there is little reason to believe that ordinary playgoers would have had enough familiarity with the Shakespeare source-texts to enable them to identify changes the altering playwrights introduced. I therefore attempt to historicise the plays' initial reception, considering them as unified dramatic pieces, and not as amalgamations of Shakespearean and new material. Comparative readings between alterations and source-texts may offer insights into the altering playwrights' adaptorial intentions, but readings which consider the altered plays independently of their source-texts, as plays in their own right, instead offer a clearer idea of the political rhetoric presented to audiences. In other words, I am interested not in the politics of alteration but in the politics of the alterations.

Chapter Four offers readings of the politics found in Edward Ravenscroft's *Titus Andronicus,* Nahum Tate's *King Lear*, and Tate's *The Ingratitude of a Common-Wealth*. It does so by concentrating on the new or re-appropriated scenes of rape, and by situating these plots in the context of rape narratives found in contemporary political pamphlets. Disputing the argument that one finds a greater number of rape-plots on the Restoration than on the Renaissance stage as a result of the introduction of actresses in 1660, I build on Derek Hughes's suggestion that rape-plots cluster around periods of political crisis, while opposing his claim that plays depicting attempted rape ought to be omitted from the canon of rape plays.[93] While scantily clad actresses were certainly an economic consideration, the advent of the actress cannot account for the proliferation of rape narratives also found in political tracts circulating in the late 1670s and early 1680s. Equally, the depiction of attempted rather than completed rape is crucial to the Tory politics found in Tate's plays.

I argue that the violent metaphor of rape found in Ravenscroft's *Titus Andronicus*, and Tate's *The History of King Lear* and *The Ingratitude of a Common-Wealth* is used in order to voice support for the Duke of York's claim to the throne, while demonising both rival claimants and rebellion more generally. I further argue that the similarities between Tate's rape-plots and the new scene of attempted rape found in Durfey's *The Injured Princess* may help to clarify the allegiance of Durfey's politically ambiguous play. Although Ravenscroft does not radically change the rape scene found in Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*, he does make significant alterations to his rape victim, Lavinia. He does so, I argue, in line with Sir Robert Filmer's comments about Lucretia's rape in Rome. By examining the statements political and dramatic rape narratives make about the crime of rape and relations between the sexes, I further argue that the threat the Exclusion Crisis posed to royal authority led to the expression of a

[93] 'Rape on the Restoration Stage', *The Eighteenth Century*, 46 (2005), 225-38. Jean I. Marsden argues for a link between rape plays and the introduction of actresses. See: 'Rape, Voyeurism and The Restoration Stage', in *Broken Boundaries*, ed, by Quinsey, pp. 185-201.

problematic set of ideals and values in which illegitimacy and illegal claims to power were equated not only with the *desire* to rape, but also with the *inability* to do so. The plays can thus be seen to offer insight into the sexual politics of late seventeenth-century England.

Chapter Five returns to the issue of authorship and the impact the Crisis had on Shakespeare's status. By outlining the unequal censorship conditions affecting the dramatic and print markets between 1678 and 1682 and by surveying references to Shakespeare found in the paratexts to Exclusion Crisis alterations, I argue that the Crisis led to an authorial construction of Shakespeare that greatly differed on page and stage. I assess the impact the alterations had on audiences' and readers' awareness of Shakespeare as an author of plays, arguing that he was frequently presented as the author of staged alterations produced between 1678 and 1682, only to have his authorship undermined in readerly paratexts, such as prefaces and dedications, where textual property is usually reclaimed by the altering playwrights. I therefore claim that, between 1678 and 1682, Shakespeare both was and was not presented as the author of works derived from his own; it depended on the media in which one encountered them.

The thesis accounts for Shakespeare's transformation from a little recognised presence on the early Restoration stage to a dominant position on the Exclusion Crisis stage, suggesting that both his promotion as an author and the rewriting of his plays came as a direct result of the economic and political turbulence facing London between 1678 and 1682. I present a case for seeing the Exclusion Crisis as a highly significant point in Shakespeare's authorial afterlife, while arguing that the rewritten plays offer crucial insights into late seventeenth-century sexual politics.

Chapter One

Shakespeare in Performance and Print, 1660-1677

This chapter explores Shakespeare's authorial status between 1660 and 1677, immediately prior to the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis, in order to highlight the impact the Crisis had on Shakespeare's authorial afterlife and the practice of altering his plays. Here and throughout the thesis I concentrate on drama's dual media of print and performance, omitting examples of early Shakespeare criticism which, given how scattered they are, provide a far less representative picture of Shakespeare's status at the time. The chapter considers the presence of Shakespeare's plays in the theatrical and print market between 1660 and 1677.[1] By considering drolls, abbreviated dramatic texts usually omitted from studies of Shakespeare's authorial afterlife, I suggest that the availability of Shakespeare's works in the first decade of the Restoration may have been greater than is generally acknowledged. I also assess Shakespeare's status in this period by exploring the likelihood that audiences at revivals and alterations, and readers of his printed works and Shakespeare alterations, would have been alerted to his authorship or role as author source. With only scare reference to Shakespeare's authorship found in theatrical and readerly paratexts it may be assumed that, between 1660 and 1677, audiences and readers had little way of identifying plays they saw or read as derived from the works of Shakespeare. I wish to further argue that, although his plays were still performed, interest in Shakespeare's plays as performance pieces and source material waned towards the end of the 1660s.

[1] Thomas Shadwell's alteration of *Timon of Athens*, first performed in January of the theatrical season of 1677-1678 and thus on the cusp of the two periods, will be considered with post-1677 plays. This is because it falls within the calendar year 1678, and because both the play's tone and its paratextual reference to Shakespeare's authorship align it with alterations produced between 1678 and 1682. The same factors distinguish Shadwell's *Timon of Athens* from pre-1677 alterations, the most recent of which was John Dryden and William Davenant's *The Tempest, or the Enchanted Island*, first staged a decade earlier (published 1670).

My approach is influenced by important recent scholarship on Shakespeare's authorial afterlife.[2] Like Michael Dobson in *The Making of The National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Authorship, 1660-1769*, I approach Shakespeare alterations, 1678-82, in the context of the political climate in and for which they were produced, but my scope is more localized than Dobson's in terms of both the time covered and the range of sources consulted. My project is likewise informed by Don-John Dugas's materialist approach in *Marketing the Bard: Shakespeare in Performance and Print, 1660-1740*, Katherine West Scheil's in *Taste of the Town: Shakespearian Comedy and the Early Eighteenth-Century Theatre*, and the work of Robert D. Hume, but I have sought to balance economic enquiry with analysis of the plays' politics.[3] I have endeavoured to follow their examples by remaining alert to commercial considerations and by recognising that Shakespeare alterations are, first and foremost, commodities designed to make money. I am keen to stress the impact the Exclusion Crisis had on a playwright's ability to make a living from the theatre, and the kinds of plays they chose to write. My approach differs from my predecessors in that I confine my focus to the first twenty-two years of the Restoration, thereby allowing more detailed engagement with the ten Shakespeare alterations produced between 1678 and 1682 and the ways in which their presentation of Shakespeare's authorial claim differed

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[2] For studies covering the period 1660-1700, see: Michael Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Authorship, 1660-1769* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992); Don-John Dugas, *Marketing the Bard: Shakespeare in Performance and Print, 1660-1740* (Columbia: U of Missouri P, 2006); Jean I. Marsden, *The Re-Imagined Text: Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Eighteenth-Century Literary Theory* (Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1995); *The Appropriation of Shakespeare: Post-Renaissance Reconstructions of the Works and the Myth*, ed. by Marsden (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991); Barbara Murray, *Restoration Shakespeare: Viewing the Voice* (London: Associated University Presses, 2001); Mongi Raddadi, *Davenant's Adaptations of Shakespeare* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1979); Gary Taylor, *Reinventing Shakespeare: A Cultural History from the Restoration to the Present* (New York: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1989); and Katherine West Scheil, *The Taste of the Town: Shakespearean Comedy and the Early Eighteenth-Century Theatre* (Lewisburg: Bucknell UP, 2003). For studies of Shakespeare's eighteenth-century afterlife, see: Jonathan Bate, *Shakespearean Constitutions: Politics, Theatre, Criticism, 1730-1830* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989); Robert D. Hume, 'Before the Bard: "Shakespeare" in Early Eighteenth-Century London', *English Literary History*, 64 (1997), 41-75; and Margreta De Grazia, *Shakespeare Verbatim: The Reproduction of Authenticity and the 1790 Apparartus* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991).

[3] Especially 'The Economics of Culture in London, 1660-1740'; and 'Securing a Repertory: Plays on the London Stage 1660-5', in *Poetry and Drama 1570-1700: Essays in Honour of Harold F. Brooks*, ed. by Antony Coleman and Antony Hammond (London: Methuen, 1981), pp. 156-72.

from that found in alterations produced from 1660 to 1677.[4] I believe that reducing our focus allows us to observe more immediate changes in Shakespeare's authorial status, by which I especially mean an audience or reader's ability to recognise a play, altered or revived, as having its origin in the work of a man named Shakespeare. It also helps to further dispel the view that the decision to revive and alter Shakespeare's plays was inevitable or progressive. As Table 2 indicates (p. 60), the revival and alteration of Shakespeare's plays did not follow a linear trajectory. It instead appears that theatre managers and playwrights' interest in Shakespeare's plays had dried up in the years leading to the premiere of Thomas Shadwell's *Timon of Athens, or the Man-Hater* in January 1678.

I endorse Dugas's view that 'if a comment about Shakespeare appeared in the printed edition of a play [or other work] neither written by nor adapted from Shakespeare, many people looking for references to the playwright were probably ignorant of its existence',[5] although it should be added that the number of people who were actively looking for references to a long-dead playwright may have been very small. Criticism did exist, granted, but its scattered nature limits its representative value.[6] Dryden sometimes did and sometimes did not appreciate Shakespeare, and this tells us a lot about Dryden and his changing opinion and agendas, but it tells us little about Shakespeare's status in the late seventeenth century.[7] Likewise, Pepys's

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[4] Murray's *Restoration Shakespeare* is also based on the first twenty-two years of the Restoration, but her study is more a companion piece to her edition of the Exclusion Crisis plays than a critical monograph. See *Shakespeare Adaptations from the Restoration: Five Plays* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 2005).

[5] Dugas, *Marketing the Bard*, p.24.

[6] In omitting early Shakespeare criticism from my study I by no means wish to detract from important works that offer valuable insights into Shakespeare criticism of the seventeenth century. See, for example, Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet*; Marsden, *The Re-Imagined Text*, esp. Ch. 2; Taylor, *Reinventing Shakespeare*; and *Shakespeare: The Critical Heritage, 1623-1800*, ed. by Brian Vickers, 6 vols (London: Routledge, 1974-1981), I (1974). David Frost's response to Gerald E. Bentley's findings in *Shakespeare and Jonson: Their Reputations in the Seventeenth Century Compared* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1945) raises important questions about methodologies used to gauge a writer's popularity in a given period ('Shakespeare in the Seventeenth Century', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 16 (1965), 81-89).

[7] For discussion of Dryden's criticism, see especially: Jennifer Brady, 'Dryden and Negotiations of Literary Succession and Precession', in *Literary Transmission and Authority: Dryden and Other Writers*, ed. by Earl Miner and Jennifer Brady (CUP, 1993), pp. 27-54; Michael Werth Gelber, *The Just and the Lively: The Literary Criticism of John Dryden* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1999); Paul Hammond, 'The

preference for Samuel Tuke's *The Adventures of Five Hours* over *Othello* reflects one man's opinion.[8] By contrast, a Shakespeare play's presence in, or absence from, the seventeenth-century theatre and print market speaks volumes. I thus wish to stress the need to contextualise exposure to Shakespeare, observing when, how, and why late seventeenth-century Londoners come into contact with Shakespeare's name, with his works and, most importantly, with his name in association with his works.

Michael Dobson has examined

> The adaptations produced during the crucial century from the 1660s to the 1760s alongside the prodigious numbers of other texts produced about Shakespeare during the same period ('legitimate' and otherwise) as complementary aspects of the extensive cultural work that went into the installation of Shakespeare as England's National Poet.[9]

Dobson argues that Shakespeare's 'transformation' from the comparative neglect of the Restoration' to 'national, indeed global, pre-eminence […] constitutes one of the central cultural expressions of England's own transition from the aristocratic regime of the Stuarts to the commercial empire presided over by the Hanoverians'.[10] He points out that in the period 1660-1678, John Fletcher and Ben Jonson's plays had greater presence in the repertory, and suggests that, at this point in his authorial afterlife, 'Shakespeare is imagined at worst as an artless rustic, at best as an archaic father

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Janus Poet: Dryden's Critique of Shakespeare', in *John Dryden (1631-1700): His Politics, His Plays, and His Poets*, ed. by Claude Julien Rawson and Aaron Santesso (Newark: U of Delaware P, 2004), pp. 158-79; Philip Harth, *Contexts of Dryden's Thought* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1968); and Robert D. Hume, *Dryden's Criticism* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1970).

[8] 20 Aug 1666. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. by Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols (Berkeley: U of California P, 1970-1983), VII (1966), 255.

[9] *The Making of the National Poet*, p. 5.

[10] *The Making of the National Poet*, p. 8.

king'.[11] However, this evaluation of Shakespeare's status depends on no more than two theatrical paratexts.[12] The impressive time-scope of Dobson's project understandably necessitates a selective approach, but I believe we cannot gain an accurate view of Shakespeare's perceived status if we privilege a small selection of texts that make reference to Shakespeare at the expense of the numerous texts that say nothing at all. As Dobson acknowledges, the Dryden-Davenant *Tempest* offers only 'scant acknowledgement of [Shakespeare's] original authorship', and the other Shakespeare alterations produced between 1660 and 1677 do not mention Shakespeare at all.[13] I would argue that this 'scant acknowledgement' suggests that, rather than imagined as 'artless rustic' or a 'monarch' between 1660 and 1678, Shakespeare was hardly imagined at all.[14]

This chapter begins with an examination of Shakespeare drolls, claiming that the significance of printed drolls for Shakespeare's authorial afterlife lies in the prominence given to Shakespeare's authorship in a 1673 collection, in the ways Francis Kirkman, the publisher, appears to have used drolls as a means of selling his stock of complete plays (including Shakespeare plays), and in the distinct possibility that Shakespeare drolls continued to be performed in the first decades of the Restoration. I then move on to consider performances of Shakespeare's plays in unaltered and altered form in the two patent theatres, and chart references to Shakespeare's name found in theatrical paratexts. My survey of performance records leads me to suggest that Shakespeare plays and alterations of Shakespeare plays were staged and produced less frequently from the late 1660s than in the preceding years. This is followed by an exploration of printed

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[11] *The Making of the National Poet*, p. 13. On Beaumont and Fletcher's status in the Restoration, see: Arthur Colby Sprague, *Beaumont and Fletcher on the Restoration Stage* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1926); Gunnar Sorelius, *'The Giant Race Before the Flood': Pre-Restoration Drama on the Stage and in the Criticism of the Restoration* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1966); and Sorelius,'The Rights of the Restoration Theatrical Companies in the Older Drama', *Studia Neophilogica*, 37 (1965), 174-89.

[12] These are: a prologue to a revival of *Julius Caesar*, and the prologue to the Dryden and Davenant *Tempest*. I discuss both in more detail below.

[13] *The Making of the National Poet*, p. 61.

[14] Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet*, p. 61.

editions of Shakespeare's plays and alterations of Shakespeare's plays, and the extent to which the editions alerted readers to Shakespeare's role as author or author-source.

Shakespeare, Performance, and the Significance of Drolls

Drolls, also known as 'droll-humours', were 'farces or humourous scenes adapted from […] plays and staged, for the most part, on extemporised scaffolds, at taverns and fairs'.[15] These dramatic texts are usually omitted from studies of Shakespeare's authorial afterlife, but I believe that their impact and significance may have been greater than is generally acknowledged. Gary Taylor has stated that, although we know of 'successful or unsuccessful attempts to perform' the works of pre-1642 playwrights such as Ben Jonson, Francis Beaumont, John Fletcher, and James Shirley during the 1640s and 1650s despite 'the legalised ban on acting', we do not 'hear of a single projected or achieved performance of a complete play by Shakespeare'.[16] Performances of abbreviated versions of Shakespeare's plays do, however, appear to have taken place both during the Interregnum and after the reopening of the theatres in 1660, and critics' decision to ignore drolls may have caused them to overlook important instances of Shakespeare's popular appeal.

The arguments usually put forward for not considering drolls as useful ways of gauging Shakespeare's presence in the Restoration are summed up in Dugas's objection that the droll collection *The Wits, or Sport upon Sport* 'contains works neither performed as mainpieces nor associated with London's professional theatres [and] no full-length Shakespeare plays or adaptations'.[17] He further protests (incorrectly) that the collections 'did not contain Shakespeare's name'.[18] Taylor dismisses the collection of

[15] *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, ed. by Adolphus W. Ward and A. R. Waller, 14 vols (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1907-17), VIII, 116. See also *A History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne*, ed. by Ward, 3 vols (London: Macmillan, 1899), III, 280.
[16] *Reinventing Shakespeare*, p.11.
[17] *Marketing the Bard*, p. 87n.
[18] *Marketing the Bard*, p. 87n.

twenty-six drolls 'collected and published in 1662' on the grounds that only 'three of them (hardly an impressive proportion) were taken from scenes in plays of Shakespeare'.[19] I do not share Dugas and Taylor's size anxiety, nor do I see why performances beyond the two established theatres ought to be excluded. In fact, Dugas's objection to the drolls arguably undermines his study's insistence on the need to recognise 'the presence of consumers in society' as 'consumers exerted the single greatest influence on what was actually performed and published'.[20] A number of droll collections were published in the first two decades of the Restoration, and it may be argued that publishers produced these texts in order to 'satisfy the desires and expectations of the consumers'.[21] The fact that these are abbreviated versions of plays is directly linked to both the ban on acting in force from 1642, and the later restriction of acting to two patent companies from the 1660s onwards; surreptitious or unlicensed performances needed to be brief in order to avoid detection. That Shakespeare drolls formed part of this underground performance repertory, with the various risks such performances involved,[22] surely argues for their inclusion rather than exclusion from studies of his afterlife.

The first two decades of the Restoration saw Shakespeare drolls printed both in a single-droll edition and within four editions of droll collections. A droll based on *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, entitled *The Merry Conceited Humours of Bottom the Weaver*, was printed in 1661.[23] As its title suggests, the quarto consisted of the sections of Shakespeare's play (mostly copied verbatim) concerning Bottom, namely: his involvement with the rehearsal and later performance of *Pyramus and Thisbe*; Oberon's decision to take revenge on Titania by causing her to fall in love with the first beast she

[19] *Reinventing Shakespeare*, p.11.
[20] *Marketing the Bard*, p. 5.
[21] Dugas, *Marketing the Bard*, p. 5.
[22] See Leslie Hotson, *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1962), Ch. 1.
[23] For discussion of the roles Francis Kirkman and Robert Cox played in the compilation and authorship of the drolls, see *The Wits or Sport upon Sport*, ed. by John James Elson (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1932).

sees on waking; Bottom's transformation into an ass, and his scenes with the enamoured Titania. The droll, which is exceptional in its length, ends with the Duke assuring the workmen that their play does not require an epilogue. *Bottom the Weaver* was printed with a title-page puff stating that the piece 'hath been often publikely acted by some of his Majesties comedians, and lately, privately, presented, by several apprentices for their harmless recreation, with great applause'. As has been noted, the reference to '*some* of his majesties comedians' (emphasis mine) acting the droll, as opposed to all of them, makes it likely that the King's Men 'acted surreptitiously in playlets of the kind after the closing of the theatres'.[24] The players would have been 'disbanded' after 1642, which is why some and not the entire troop of the King's Men were involved.[25]

An octavo collection of drolls, entitled *The Wits; or, Sport upon sport*, *Part One*, appeared in 1662. It contained two texts derived from Shakespeare plays, *The Bouncing Knight, or the Robers Rob'd*, based on scenes with Falstaff, the robbers, Hal, and the Hostess of *Henry IV, Part I*, and *The Grave-Makers*, based on *Hamlet*.[26] These two drolls were reprinted in the 1672 octavo edition of *The Wits, Part One*, while the *Midsummer Night's Dream* droll was included in both the quarto and octavo issues of *The Wits, Part Two,* printed in 1673. Shakespeare drolls were therefore available to readers throughout the first two decades of the Restoration.

Shakespeare's name may not be mentioned on the title pages to these droll collections, but his name is still given prominence. The title pages do not feature any authorial attribution, but the preface to both the quarto and octavo issues of *The Wits* in 1673 state that 'the most part of these Pieces were written by such Pen-men as were

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[24] W. J. Lawrence, 'Review of *The Wits or Sport upon Sport*, ed. by John James Elson (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1932)', *Modern Language Review*, 28 (1933), 254-58 (p. 257).
[25] Lawrence, 'Review of *The Wits or Sport upon Sport*', p. 257.
[26] Lawrence reports that 'collation shows that *The Grave Makers* was probably taken from *Hamlet*, Q. 5 (1639), a faint clue to the date of making [while] prompt-book source is […] indicated in *The Bouncing Knight*, in which the variants mostly conform to *Henry IV, Part I*, Q. 8 (1639), though in two instances they follow no known edition'. *Bottom the Weaver* 'follows no particular text of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, though presenting echoes of the Second Folio' ('Review of *The Wits or Sport upon Sport*', pp. 256-57).

known to be the ablest Artists that ever this Nation produced, by Name, Shake-spear, Fletcher, Johnson, Shirley, and others; and these Collections are the very Souls of their writings' (sig A2^{r}). West Scheil makes reference to the title page's lack of author-attribution to argue that 'if Shakespeare's name could have sold copies or attracted audiences, no doubt it would have been included and even highlighted in this collection'.[27] Yet Shakespeare's name is clearly mentioned in the preface, on the very first page readers would have seen after opening the book, and it is mentioned ahead of Fletcher and Jonson. At least to some extent then, the opposite of what West Scheil states may have been true: Shakespeare is the first author to be mentioned, so perhaps his name did sell copies or attract audiences to these drolls.

Moreover, though drolls are abbreviated forms of plays, they were used to advertise full editions of plays. The 1662 and 1672 editions of *The Wits* inform readers of the texts the drolls are based on,[28] and Kirkman's invitation to the reader can be seen to promote further Shakespeare's plays as a result. He tells them:

> If you please to Turn over the Leaf, you may find from what Plays these several Droll Humours are Collected: And if you please to come to my shop being the Next Door to the Sign of the Princes Arms, in Saint Pauls Church-Yard, you may be Furnished; not only with all those plays themselves, but also with all the English Stage Playes that were ever yet Plaid. (1672, sig. A3^{r})

The text of the 1661 edition of *Bottom the Weaver* is also followed by an 'Advertisement' telling readers that 'all Plays that were ever yet Printed' can be purchased at the 'shops aforementioned' (sig. D4^{v}), and the 1662 edition of *The Wits* lists 'Merlin, or the child hath found his Father: Written by W. Shakespear and W.

[27] *'The Taste of the Town'*, pp. 27-28.
[28] *The Bouncing Knight* is misattributed to *Edward IV*, but it is clearly taken from *The history of Henrie the Fourth […] With the humorous conceits of Sir Iohn Falstalffe*.

Rowley' as 'newly printed' (sig. P1^{v}).[29] Of course, Kirkman wants to sell copies of the (numerous) plays he has, but the acknowledgement that drolls described as 'excellent Fancies, which do command, and have Emerited universal Applause' come from, for example, 'Hamlet P. of Denm', and the offer to let readers have more of what they like by purchasing the entire play-texts are surely a significant boost for the post-1660 Shakespeare market. The catalogues of plays available from Kirkman's shop, which were printed with William Wager's (?) *Tom Tyler and his Wife* in 1661, and John Dancer's translation of Corneille's *Nicomède* in 1671, indicate that readers may have had the opportunity to buy not just *Henry IV* and *Hamlet* but a whole host of texts listed as written by Shakespeare. It therefore seems that drolls may have functioned in the way that 'trial size' goods or 'tasters' are used to sell products today: they may be small, but they can be used to whet the reader's appetite.

Taylor dismisses the droll collections on the grounds that they contained only a small number of Shakespeare texts compared to those by his contemporaries and later writers. It may be argued, however, that pre-eminence is given to Shakespeare's Falstaff of *The Bouncing Knight*. The 1662 edition has an engraved frontispiece on the inside cover (sig. A1^{v}) in which Falstaff and the hostess (literally) take centre stage (see figure one, p. 63).[30] It appears that signature A1^{r} was blank, meaning that the frontispiece and the title page (sig. A2^{r}) would have had been viewed simultaneously when the book was opened. In fact, it might be further argued that, as frontispieces rarely appeared on the inside cover of books,[31] the image – and Shakespeare's Falstaff by extension – was more conspicuous than the title page. The frontispiece was presumably used as a visual aid designed to remind audiences of a character they had appreciated in performance

[29] As noted in Table 4 (p. 62), *The Birth of Merlin* was printed by Thomas Johnson for Francis Kirkman and Henry Marsh in 1662.
[30] The ESTC lists the frontispiece as being metal cut.
[31] For more on the use of blank pages and the location of title pages, see Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (OUP, 1972), p. 52, and H. R. Woudhuysen, 'Early Play Texts: Forms and Formes', in *In Arden: Editing Shakespeare*, ed. by Ann Thompson and Gordon McMullan (London: Thomson Learning, 2003), pp. 48-61.

and, ultimately, to sell the droll collection. I would therefore suggest that Shakespeare's characters enjoyed great paratextual prominence and that the exceptional status accorded to Falstaff implies that *The Bouncing Knight* was an essential and highly marketable feature of the collection.

In terms of performance, Kirkman's preface to the 1673 edition of *The Wits, Part Two* suggests that drolls not only continued to be staged after the ban on acting, but also drew large crowds. Like the 1662 frontispiece, the 1673 preface also gives prominence to a Shakespeare droll. Kirkman states that

> When the publique Theatres were shut up […] all we could divert ourselves with were […] humours and pieces of plays, which passing under the Name of a merry conceited Fellow, called Bottom the Weaver […] or some other such Title, were only allowed to us, and that but by stealth too, and under pretence of Rope-dancing […] and these being all that was permitted to us, great was the confluence of the Auditors; and these small things were as profitable, and as great get-pennies to the Actors, as any of our late famed Plays. I have seen the Red Bull Play-House, which was a large one, so full, that as many went back for want of room as had entered. (sig. $A2^{v}$)

A line from George Etherege's *She Wou'd if She Cou'd* (1668) also attests to the popularity of drolls when Mr Courtal asks Sir Oliver:

> What are you going
> To act a Droll? how the people would throng
> About you, if you were but mounted on a
> Few Deal-boards in Covent-Garden now! (sig. $G4^{r}$)

The passage may allude either to the popularity of drolls before the theatres reopened or to their continued popularity, and thus to their status as competition for the restored professional theatres.

There is evidence to suggest that performances of drolls, including Shakespeare drolls, may have continued after the restoration of the theatres. According to the title page of *The Wits, Part Two* (1673), the drolls have been 'Presented and Shewn / For the / MERRIMENT and DELIGHT / OF / Wise Men, and the Ignorant'. They have been 'sundry times Acted / In Publique, and Private' at London fairs, such as Bartholomew Fair, as well as at country fairs, in 'HALLS and TAVERNS', on 'Several MOUNTEBANKS STAGES', at 'Charing Cross, Lincolns-Inn-Fields, and other places', where they were performed 'BY / Several Stroleing PLAYERS, / FOOLS, and FIDLERS, And the Mountebancks ZANIES. / With loud Laughter, and great Applause'. This is a new title page, it is not a reprint of that used for *The Wits, Part One*, and the long list allows plenty of scope for potential performances. Robert D. Hume and Judith Milhous's *Register of English Theatrical Documents, 1660-1714* focuses on the professional theatres, but it also contains frequent entries regarding warrants to arrest unlicensed strolling players and musicians performing, for example, 'at playes Dumbshows Game houses Taverns victualing Houses and other places In the Cyties of London and Westminster'.[32] There are also references to warrants to arrest the organisers of 'mountebank shows in Lincoln's Inn fields […] whereby multitudes of loose & disorderlie people are drawn together',[33] and *The London Stage* notes that, in the 1672-73 season, a season which coincides with the publication of droll editions, 'the patent companies had competition from an unusually large number of other native and

[32] 2 vols (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1991), I, entry 211 (30 May 1663), p. 51.
[33] *Register of English Theatrical Documents,* I, entry 264 (January 1664), p. 62. See also entries on pp. 56, 57, 60, 65, 66, 67, 68, 91, 105, 111, 117, 123.

foreign performers'.[34] Further evidence of and encouragement for performances is found in the preface to the 1673 edition of *The Wits*, where it is stated that, while there are some 'who read these sorts of Books for their pleasure, there are [also] some who do it for profit[,] such as are young Players, Fidlers, &c. As for those Players who intend to wander and go a stroleing, this very Book, and a few ordinary properties is enough to set them up, and get money in any town in England' (sig. $A2^{v}$).[35] It is not possible to pin droll performances down with great precision, but the link between the title page and the warrants does imply continued performances, while Kirkman's prefatory comments suggest that there was a market for both reading and performance copies of drolls.

The performance of drolls on the kinds of stages usually exempt from scholarly study is also alluded to in Kirkman's preface. Kirkman advises Mountebanks to 'carry this book, and three or four young fellows to Act what is here set down for them' as 'it will most certainly draw in Auditors enough' (sigs. $A4^{r-v}$). W. J. Lawrence explains how drolls were likely used by mountebanks:

> It would not have been politic for a mountebank to indulge the gaping crowd with a farce given all of a breath. They believed in the limiting of 'to be continued in our next'. A scene or two of the droll would be given, leaving the spectators longing for more and content to listen to the harangues of the mountebank concerning his nostrums, in the hope of gaining more free amusement.[36]

[34] We do not know which other plays were performed, but we do know that 'Antonio di Voto established a booth in Charing Cross and [that] during the week of 11-15 November 1672 [he] advertised farces, drolls, and comical entertainments' (*The London Stage*, *Part One*, p. 197).
[35] For more on drolls, see: Mary Chan, 'Drolls, Drolleries and Mid-Seventeenth-Century Dramatic Music in England', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle,* 15 (1979), 117-73.
[36] W. J. Lawrence, 'Review of *The Wits or Sport upon Sport*', p. 256.

It therefore appears that drolls had a wide appeal and could function on a variety of stages for different marketing purposes.

The printed texts reference and show evidence of a demand for drolls in Restoration London. When *The Merry conceited Humors of Bottom the Weaver* was printed in 1661, it was accompanied by a note from 'The Stationers to the Reader' (sig. A1^{r}). The note claims that it was the 'entreaty' of 'several persons' which 'enduced' them to publish the droll, stating that they have 'many Pieces of this nature' and promising to bring 'forth [their] store' if the reader 'encourage' them with their response to the current 'Piece' (sig. A1^{r}). It is possible that the additional drolls included in the collections that followed *Bottom the Weaver* into print did so as a result of its success. After all, *The Wits, Part One* appeared in print only one year later. The imprint to both 1673 editions states that copies are 'to be sold by most book-sellers', thereby indicating that the drolls were expected to have wide appeal. The 1661 note from the stationer adds that the droll 'may be easily acted, and may be now [following the King's return] as fit for a private recreation as formerly it hath been for a publique' (sig. A1^{r}). The publishers thus seem to have envisaged and responded to a market for drolls in print and performance.

When we turn to the two licensed theatres of Restoration London, we find that the plays from which the drolls were taken were revived from the outset and that *Hamlet* and two plays which featured the character of Falstaff, *Henry IV* and *The Merry Wives*, seem to have been particularly popular, suggesting a possible link between performances and printings of Shakespeare drolls and professional performances of full Shakespeare plays.[37] It is also possible that the existence of a *Venus and Adonis* droll helped to revive interest in the printing of Shakespeare's poem of the same name. Having been frequently printed from 1593 to 1636, Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*

[37] Dobson also suggests that Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* may have been revived 'on the strength of the underground popularity it seems to have enjoyed during the Commonwealth in the form of the [Bottom] droll' (*The Making of the National Poet*, p. 27).

then remained out of print for almost four decades. It was issued twice in 1675, just two years after the droll's appearance in print. It is therefore possible that these pieces of popular theatre and print helped to promote Shakespeare's texts in both the print market and the professional theatres.

Shakespeare's plays appeared on stage in both altered and unaltered form between 1660 and 1677, but his theatrical presence was a far cry from that of Beaumont and Fletcher of whom 'between 1660 and 1700 at least thirty-nine and perhaps as many as forty-two plays were performed in the public theatres on hundreds of nights'.[38] As I go on to demonstrate, although Shakespeare's plays were printed, altered and performed in the professional theatres between 1660 and 1677, his name is seldom cited on title pages, in readerly paratexts, or theatrical paratexts, and his plays' appeal to theatre managers and altering playwrights appears to have decreased after the late 1660s.

Shakespeare, Performance, and the Patent Theatres

The label 'Restoration' describes both the reestablishment of the monarchy and the reopening of the theatres. On his return to the throne, Charles II legitimised the theatres, which had been closed by order of law since 1642. On 21 August 1660 Charles II granted two men, Thomas Killigrew and William Davenant, 'a monopoly to run a pair of theatre companies as they see fit, though enjoining them to avoid all profanity and scurrility'.[39] Formal patents were issued two years later, thereby drawing a line under initial disputes over the rights to stage and regulate plays in London.[40] Killigrew formed the King's Company, and Davenant formed the Duke's Company, though it should be noted that it took the Duke's Company longer to establish itself, and that other

[38] Dugas, *Marketing the Bard*, p. 33.
[39] Milhous and Hume, *Register of English Theatrical Documents,* I, entry 19, p. 5.
[40] For an account of Killigrew and Davenant's disputes with Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels (particularly over the right to regulate stage plays) and other companies, see N. W. Bawcutt, *Control and Censorship of Caroline Drama: The Records of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels 1623-73* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996); and Hotson, *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*. Killigrew's patent was issued on 25 April 1662, and Davenant's was issued on 15 January 1663. See Milhous and Hume, *Register of English Theatrical Documents,* I, entry 131, p. 32; entry 186, p. 45.

companies staged productions in the first year or so after the King's return. These facts should be acknowledged when observing the data presented in table 1 (pp. 56-59).

The rights to perform Shakespeare's plays were distributed between the two theatre companies after William Davenant requested the rights to more plays. The first of a series of warrants was granted to Davenant, manager of the Duke's Company, on 12 December 1660. It gave his company the right to perform eight Shakespeare plays, along with his own plays, John Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi*, and John Denham's *The Sophy*. The Shakespeare plays were: *The Tempest*, *Measure for Measure*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Twelth Night*, *Henry VIII*, *King Lear*, *Macbeth*, and *Hamlet*.[41] Davenant was also allowed to perform *Pericles* and a handful of other plays for a period of two months.[42] On 20 August 1668, Davenant was also granted the rights to *Timon of Athens*, *Troilus and Cressida* and all three parts of *Henry VI*, among other plays.[43] A list produced in January 1669 documents that Davenant's rival, Thomas Killigrew, manager of the King's Company, held the rights to perform *The Winter's Tale*, *King John*, *Richard II*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *As You Like It*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *All's Well that Ends Well*, both parts of *Henry IV*, *Richard III*, *Coriolanus*, *Titus Andronicus*, *Julius Caesar*, *Othello*, *Anthony and Cleopatra*, and *Cymbeline*.[44]

The terms 'revival' and 'alteration' point, respectively, to plays that have simply been prepared for the stage and those which have been significantly changed or modified. Davenant's *Hamlet*, which was printed in 1676, is an example of a revival and not an alteration. As the note to the reader indicates, it was simply abridged, much

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[41] Milhous and Hume, *Register of English Theatrical Documents,* I, entry 50, p. 15.
[42] These were: John Fletcher's *The Mad Lover*, *The Loyal Subject*, and *Rule a Wife*, Fletcher and William Rowley's *The Maid in the Mill*, and Fletcher and Philip Massinger's *The Spanish Curate*. Milhous and Hume, *Register of English Theatrical Documents,* I, entry 50, p. 15.
[43] See *The London Stage*, *Part One*, p. 140; and Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of English Drama 1600-1900* (CUP, 1953), 1, pp. 314-316 and pp. 353-54.
[44] See *The London Stage*, *Part One*, pp. 151-52

as performances continue to be today.[45] Hazleton Spencer and Mongi Raddadi have treated the play as an alteration.[46] Raddadi argues that the 1676 version leaves Hamlet 'bereft of his most characteristic features, his philosophical bent, cynicism, and theatricality', and claims that Hamlet has become 'more active and less talkative',[47] but Davenant does not add new lines, characters, nor plot stands. It is true that cropping necessarily alters characters, but the same may be said of casting choices, costume, accent and a number of other factors that are equally typical of stage productions. As Lukas Erne has argued, 'by considerably abridging *Hamlet* in preparation for performance, Davenant was only doing what Shakespeare and his fellows had done long before him'.[48] I am therefore inclined to see Davenant's *Hamlet* as a revival of Shakespeare's play: it is not an alteration but a performance text.

Davenant was the manager in charge of the Duke's Company who staged *Hamlet*, but had another playwright prepared the text, it seems unlikely that the theatre company would have considered it an alteration or paid the poet's benefit. Paulina Kewes cites a case in which Peter Motteux was refused the full author's benefit for *The Island Princess* in 1698, because 'the Alterations [were] but few', adding that he was instead offered 'a certain Sum of Money, in Consideration of his Musical Words'.[49] The dispute was eventually resolved, but it offers an important insight into what

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[45] For an excellent discussion of the limits between production and adaptation, and 'what adaptation is not', see Margaret Jane Kidnie, *Shakespeare and the Problem of Adaptation* (London: Routledge, 2009), Ch. 2; For more on defining alteration, see: Ruby Cohn, *Modern Shakespeare Offshoots* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1976); *Shakespeare and Appropriation*, ed. by Christy Desmet and Robert Sawyer (London: Routledge, 1999); Alan C. Dessen, *Rescripting Shakespeare: The Text, the Director, and Modern Productions* (CUP, 2002); *Textual Performances: The Modern Reproductions of Shakespeare's Drama*, ed. by Lukas Erne and Kidnie (CUP, 2004); *Adaptations of Shakespeare: A Critical Anthology of Plays from the Seventeenth Century to the Present*, ed. by Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier (London: Routledge, 2000); Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, trans. by Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky (Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1997); *After Shakespeare: An Anthology*, ed. by John Gross (OUP, 2002); Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation* (London: Routledge, 2006); and Julie Sanders, *Adaptation and Appropriation* (London: Routledge, 2006).

[46] See *Davenant's Adaptations of Shakespeare*, pp. 64-78; Spencer, 'Seventeenth-Century Cuts in Hamlet's Soliloquies', *The Review of English Studies*, 60 (1933), 257-65; and Gary Taylor, *Reinventing Shakespeare*, pp. 47-48.

[47] *Davenant's Adaptations of Shakespeare*, p.73.

[48] *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist* (CUP, 2003), p. 169.

[49] *Authorship and Appropriation*: *Writing for the Stage in England, 1660-1710* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), pp. 106-07.

contemporaries working in the theatre considered an alteration. Songs and lavish costumes are again all that Davenant appears to have contributed to the Restoration production of *Henry VIII*, and I am thus inclined to also view this version as a revival and not an alteration.[50]

My definition of alteration is in line with that which John Dryden articulates in the preface to *Don Sebastian, King of Portugal* (1690). He claimed that it is 'the contrivance, the new turn, and new characters, which alter the property' and thus a play's status from a revival to an alteration (sig. A2^{v}). The word rewriting is here appropriate, as it is the labour put into adding to and changing plays that distinguishes them as alterations. The altered play must, however, still resemble the source-text enough for comparative reading to reveal substantial similarities. Few if any late seventeenth-century playgoers or play-readers will have conducted such readings, and very few will have had enough knowledge of the Shakespeare source-texts to recognise a performed play as alteration, but we would have very few examples of Restoration Shakespeare alterations if we limited our scope to only those plays which theatre patrons and play-readers would have recognised as Shakespeare alterations. To take the example of Nahum Tate's *King Lear*, anyone who reads the Quarto and the Folio versions of Shakespeare followed by Tate's *Lear* will recognise the same situation of a king who wishes to test his daughters' love for him and divide his kingdom accordingly, a similar dramatis personae, with a significant addition in Clarina and omission in the Fool, particular rewriting of characters such as Cordelia and Edgar, who both have their roles increased, a very similar story, but with a modified plot and a sub-plot which has

[50] See Table 1 for performances of the play. I recognize that *Henry VIII* is now thought to have been jointly written with John Fletcher, but attribute the play to Shakespeare on the grounds that its inclusion (and first appearance) in the 1623 Folio left seventeenth-century readers with little reason to doubt Shakespeare's (sole) authorship. See Brian Vickers, *Shakespeare Co-Author: A Historical Study of Five Collaborative Plays* (OUP, 2002). A contemporary allusion to Davenant's production of *Henry VIII* can be found in George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham's play, *The Rehearsal* (London, 1672), where Bayes makes reference to the 'great Scene in *Harry* the Eight' (sig. G1^{v}). For further discussion of Davenant's *Henry VIII*, see Dugas, *Marketing the Bard*, pp. 36-37. As Dugas notes, the only single edition of *Henry VIII* to be printed between '1660 and 1735' was 'a shortened acting version published in Dublin in 1734' (*Marketing the Bard*, p. 37). See also Raddadi, *Davenant's Adaptations of Shakespeare*.

become an integral part of the main-plot, familiar intrigues, and a generic alteration from tragic to a happy ending.

In order to mark the difference between an alteration and an entirely new play, we may turn to the example of Dryden's *All for Love*, *or The World Well Lost* of 1677, a play which deals with the story of Anthony and Cleopatra which Shakespeare dramatised in his play of that name. Dryden's play certainly contains echoes of Shakespeare's, but Shakespeare is by no means a source author the way he is of Tate's *Lear*, and there is little to link the two plays beyond the story Shakespeare (and Samuel Daniel and others) had drawn upon. As Maximilian Novak has argued, critics need to look beyond Dryden's title-page claim that he wrote his play in 'Imitation' of Shakespeare's 'Stile', and recognise 'the literature about Cleopatra, which went far beyond Shakespeare's play'.[51] He rightly adds that by 1677, Mark Antony and Cleopatra 'belonged to the realm of a changing myth'.[52] Shakespeare wrote one play about Anthony and Cleopatra, Dryden another.

I have further omitted two plays occasionally accepted as Shakespeare alterations on the grounds that they are at least at one or two removes from a Shakespeare play. Thomas Shadwell's operatic version of *The Tempest, or The Enchanted Island* (1674) and Thomas Duffet's *The Mock-Tempest: or The Enchanted Castle* (1674) are alterations of alterations. Shadwell's *Tempest* is both an opera, and an alteration of a Shakespeare alteration, Dryden and Davenant's the *Tempest, or The Enchanted Island* of 1667,[53] while Duffet's play is a burlesque of Shadwell's play. Shakespeare's play is not used as source material. I do not wish to undermine the significant impact these two plays (Shadwell's in particular) had on the practice of

[51] John Dryden, *The Works of John Dryden*, ed by E. N. Hooker and H. T. Swedenberg, 20 vols (Los Angeles: U of California P, 1956-1989), XIII, 368.
[52] *The Works of John Dryden*, XIII, 368.
[53] Murray argues that 'there were significant textual changes made for the 1674 performance, although the most immediately obvious difference from the text used in 1667 lies in much fuller indications of the scenic arrangements and in the words of the additional songs' (*Restoration Shakespeare*, p. 91).

Shakespeare alteration I simply wish to stress their distance from a Shakespeare source-text. I believe that by excluding Shadwell and Duffet's plays from the canon of Restoration alterations of Shakespeare and records of performances of altered and unaltered Shakespeare plays, one gains a more accurate view of the appeal Shakespeare's plays had as performance pieces and source-texts in the first two decades of the Restoration.

It also seems necessary at this stage to define what I consider to be Shakespeare's works when discussing his presence in the seventeenth-century theatre and print market. I have disregarded much modern criticism concerning Shakespeare and authorship attribution studies in a bid to historicise seventeenth-century theatregoers and playbook readers' notions of what Shakespeare did and did not write. If a play appeared on stage or in print with Shakespeare's name cited as author or author source, then we must remain alert to the clues it offers about Shakespeare's authorial afterlife. *The Birth of Merlin*, for instance, is almost unanimously rejected from the Shakespeare canon now, but it was printed with his name on the title page in 1662, leaving readers with little choice but to consider it as Shakespeare's. Nor do I see any reason to omit Davenant's *The Rivals* from the canon of Shakespeare alterations, even though Barbara Murray omits it from her study of *Restoration Shakespeare*. Shakespeare's name appeared on the title page of the 1634 Quarto edition of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, along with Fletcher's, and Davenant had no reason to question the title page's claim.[54] The copy he consulted must have been the 1634 Quarto, as *The Two Noble Kinsmen* was not reprinted until the Second Beaumont and Fletcher Folio of 1679, a long time after Davenant produced his alteration of the play.

Tables 1 and 2 (pp. 56-59, 60) contain all of the known or probable performances of altered and unaltered Shakespeare plays taking place between 1660 and

[54] For more on Shakespeare and Fletcher's collaboration on the *Two Noble Kinsmen* and *Henry VIII*, see Brian Vickers, *Shakespeare Co-Author*, Ch. 6.

1677.[55] It is hard to draw firm conclusions based on performance records; performance records are very limited, [56] and an absence of records need not mean that performances did not take place. That said, performance records for the first two decades of the Restoration are rather consistent, despite the fact that Pepys's *Diary*, a valuable record of performance dates, ended in 1669.[57] It should also be noted that the theatres were closed for much of 1666 as a result of the plague; the absence of Shakespeare performances in this season is therefore due to an almost complete lack of performances across the board. Tables 1 and 2 show ninety performances, of which forty-three were of altered plays. The Duke's Company produced the majority of the altered plays. In fact, the Duke's Company was responsible for the staging of all but one (John Lacy's *Sauny the Scot*) of the Shakespeare alterations produced during the period from 1660 to 1677, and the Company's manager, Davenant (d. 1668), was either responsible or jointly responsible for the composition of four of them. There appears to have been a move towards altered versions from around 1664-1665. It can also be observed that, following a peak in the 1667-1668 season, thanks mostly to the popularity of the Dryden and Davenant *Tempest*, the number of performances remains very low for the seasons of the 1670s, with only fourteen recorded performances in seven seasons.

Table 3 (p. 61) shows six alterations based on seven Shakespeare plays. The altered plays were: Davenant's combination of *Measure for Measure* and *Much Ado About Nothing* into *The Law Against Lovers* (1662, 1673);[58] Davenant's *The Rivals* (1664, 1668); his version of *Macbeth* (1664, 1674); James Howard's lost play, which transformed *Romeo and Juliet* into a tragicomedy (1662);[59]John Lacy's *Sauny The Scot,*

[55] Entries are based on *The London Stage*, *Part One.*
[56] Hume and Milhous have estimated that only a relatively low number of the performances that took place between 1660 and 1700 can be identified. See Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, 'Dating Play Premières from Publication Data, 1660-1700', *The Harvard Library Bulletin*, 22 (1974), 374-405.
[57] As noted in *The London Stage*, Van Lennep's 'Plays on the English Stage, 1669-1672', *Theatre Notebook*, 16 (1961), 12-20 'partially offsets the loss of Pepys's *Diary* and materially augments our knowledge of […] daily performances' (p. 143).
[58] The first date refers to the likely premiere, the second to the first print edition.
[59] Howard's alteration was performed by the Duke's Company in February or March of 1662.

or The Taming of The Shrew (1667, 1698); and Davenant and Dryden's *The Tempest, or The Enchanted Island* (1667, 1670). The Dryden and Davenant *Tempest* (1667) is the last Shakespeare alteration to be produced in the period 1660-1677. This fact combined with the low number of recorded performances after 1669-70 leads me to share Dugas's view that, by this point, 'the Duke's company had a well-balanced, modern repertory, which meant that it no longer needed to rely so heavily on its stock of Shakespeare plays'.[60] Both managers and playwrights thus appear to have lost interest in Shakespeare's plays, though it is surely not coincidental that the decline in Shakespeare alterations followed Davenant's death in 1668.

Concerning an audience's awareness that a play it was watching was written by Shakespeare, only one dramatic paratext from 1660 to 1677 has been found in which Shakespeare's name is mentioned before a revival. *Covent Garden Drolery* (London, 1672) contains a 'prologue to Iulius Caesar' (sigs. $B5^{r-v}$).[61] The prologue compares Shakespeare to 'Country Beauties' who 'charm' without knowing 'they are fair' and so 'take without their spreading of the snare', claiming that he is possessed of 'Artless beauty' and that ''Twas well in spite of him what ere he writ' (sig. $B5^{r}$). The prologue goes on to say (in an allusion to the induction to *The Taming of the Shrew*) that 'like the drunken *Tinker*, in his Play / [Shakespeare] grew a Prince, and never knew which way' (sig. $B5^{r}$).[62] That Shakespeare is the author of the play the audience is about to see is made clear when his name is linked to 'this Caesar which this day you see' (sig. $B5^{r}$).

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[60] *Marketing the Bard*, p. 44.

[61] Dobson suggests a date of c. 1669 (*The Making of the National Poet*, p. 30). Brian Vickers attributes the prologue to John Dryden in his *Critical Heritage*, I, 141, and reprints the prologue in full (pp. 141-42). The editors of the California Dryden reject the attribution.

[62] This prologue may contain an allusion to a – thus far unidentified – play entitled *The New Made Nobleman*, performed at the Red Bull theatre on 22 January 1662. The prologue's reference to Shakespeare's tinker's rise in status seems to support the theory that the mysterious play was based on 'a droll made out of the Christopher Sly prologue of *The Taming of the Shrew*' (*The London Stage*, *Part One*, p. 46). This theory was put forward by Ethel Seaton, *Literary Relations of England and Scandinavia in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1935), pp. 333-35; William Van Lennep rejected the theory in 'The new-made nobleman', *The Times Literary Supplement*, 20 June 1936, p. 523; as has Allardyce Nicoll, in *Restoration Drama*, pp. 309-10.

Another prologue to an unaltered Shakespeare play, 'Richard the third', is printed in the same collection (sigs. B7^{r-v}), but this time Shakespeare's name is not mentioned at all. Instead, the prologue uses the example of Richard in order to discuss usurpation and tyranny more generally. It declares 'This day we Act a Tyrant', and the prologue reader goes on to advise the audience to 'Ne'er serve Usurpers, [but instead] fix to Loyalty' (sig. B7^{r}). The prologue is designed to foreground the play's moral, presented in terms of the *De Casibus* tradition, and celebrate Charles II's return following his father's death and Cromwell's rule, rather than praise or cite the playwright responsible for the audience's entertainment.

One of the most famous prologues of the Restoration period again accompanied a Shakespeare play onto the stage, but it was 'a Prologue to introduce the first Woman that came to Act on the stage in the Tragedy, call'd The Moor of Venice', and not designed to foreground the author of the play.[63] Shakespeare's *Othello* was performed on 8 December 1660, and though the prologue does mention character names, Shakespeare's name is not used at all.[64]

When it comes to an audience's awareness that a play it was watching was altered from the works of a man named Shakespeare, there is again only one example: the prologue to John Dryden and William Davenant's *The Tempest, or The Enchanted Island*, printed with the play in 1670:

> As when a tree's cut down, the secret root
> Lives under ground, and thence new branches shoot;
> So from old Shakspeare's honour'd dust, this day
> Springs up and buds a new reviving play:
> Shakspeare, who (taught by none) did first impart

[63] See Thomas Jordan, *A Royal Arbor of Loyal Poesie* (London, 1663), sigs. C3^{r-v}.
[64] For more on the likely identity of the actress, see John Harold Wilson, *All the King's Ladies* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1958), pp. 5-8.

To Fletcher wit, to labouring Jonson art.

He, monarch like, gave those, his subjects, law;

And is that nature which they paint and draw. (sig. A3^{v})

As argued in Chapter Five, there appears to be a direct link between the lines stating that the Dryden-Davenant *Tempest* 'springs up' from '*old Shakespeare's* honoured dust' (emphasis mine), and Pepys's ability to identify the play he saw in November 1667 (Dryden and Davenant's *Tempest*) as 'an *old* play of *Shakespeare's*' (emphasis mine).[65] Pepys saw almost fifty performances of Shakespeare's plays in both altered and unaltered form, but only once does he mention Shakespeare's name in relation to a play he has seen performed. I believe that Pepys's failure to mention Shakespeare's name in conjunction with any of his other plays at an earlier date is thus most likely due to a lack of knowledge, and that this lack of knowledge is in turn linked to the absence of dramatic paratexts informing theatregoers of Shakespeare's role as either author or author-source of the play they were about to watch.

Like the prologue that seems to have been used when the unaltered version of *Julius Caesar* was performed, the prologue to *The Tempest* points to Shakespeare's authorship and compares Shakespeare with other pre-1660 playwrights. He is presented as a forefather who fertilized Fletcher and Jonson's works. The reference to the 'drops which fell from Shakespeare's pen' suggest a link between bloodlines and poetic ink-lines:

Fletcher reach'd that which on his heights did grow,

While Jonson crept, and gather'd all below.

This did his love, and this his mirth digest:

[65] *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, VIII, 521.

> One imitates him most, the other best.
>
> If they have since outwrit all other men,
>
> 'Tis with the drops which fell from Shakspeare's pen.
>
> The storm, which vanish'd on the neighbouring shore,
>
> Was taught by Shakspeare's Tempest first to roar. (sig. A3^{v})

The prologue goes on to add to this poetic genealogy with the authors by making reference to the subtitle of the current production. It states that the 'innocence and beauty, which did smile / In Fletcher, grew on *this enchanted isle*' (emphasis mine). The prologue therefore succeeds in establishing Shakespeare's *The Tempest* as inspiration, or 'raw material',[66] for both Fletcher's *The Sea Voyage* and Dryden and Davenant's *The Tempest or the Enchanted Isle*.

Shakespeare in Print

As table 4 shows (p. 62), in addition to the two issues of the third Folio edition of 1663 and 1664, a Quarto printing of *The Birth of Merlin* appeared in 1662, *Macbeth* was published in a 1673 Quarto,[67] two Sextodecimo editions of *Venus and Adonis* reached print in 1675, and two Quarto editions of *Hamlet* were issued in 1676.[68] *The Birth of Merlin* was printed for Kirkman, the printer of the droll collections mentioned above, and it featured a title-page attribution to Shakespeare and William Rowley. The *Macbeth* printed in 1673 bears no title-page attribution or other reference to Shakespeare, while the two *Hamlet* editions of 1676 state that the play is 'BY

[66] *The Making of the National Poet*, p. 39.
[67] There has been some confusion surrounding the 1673 and 1674 editions of *Macbeth*. As Murray states, 'Q 1673 is a reprinting of F1; Q 1674 is Davenant's stage version and was reprinted in 1687, 1689, 1697, and 1710'. See *Restoration Shakespeare*, p. 51; and Hazleton Spencer, 'D'Avenant's *Macbeth* and Shakespeare's', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 40 (1925), 619-44 (pp. 622-28). The distinction between the two *Macbeth* printings is also indicated in the fact that the 1674 edition refers to the play as '*Macbeth a tragaedy: with all the alterations, amendments, additions, and new songs'*, while the 1673 edition simply states that it is '*Macbeth a tragedy'*.
[68] Information taken from the English Short Title Catalogue, and Andrew Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print: A History and Chronology of Shakespeare Publishing* (CUP, 2003).

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE', and mention in the note 'To the Reader' that the play was abbreviated for performance but is now printed in full. *Venus and Adonis* does not feature Shakespeare's name on the title page, but does contain a dedication signed by 'WILL SHAKESPEARE'. It therefore seems fair to say that browsers and readers of these texts would have associated them with Shakespeare.

Whereas Shakespeare was identified as the author of the majority of his works printed between 1660 and 1677, this was not the case with dramatic alterations of his plays. As table 3 indicates (p. 61), three alterations were printed in Quarto between 1660 and 1677: William Davenant's version of *Macbeth* was published in 1674 (two editions); Davenant's *The Rivals* appeared in 1668 and again in 1669; and the Dryden and Davenant *Tempest* appeared in 1670. In addition, *The Law Against Lovers* was printed in Davenant's *Works* of 1673,[69] and Lacy's *Sauny the Scot* was not printed until significantly later in 1698. Howard's *Romeo and Juliet* is now, sadly, lost. Concerning a reader's awareness that a play was written by or altered from the work of Shakespeare, it should be noted that none of the altered plays are attributed to Shakespeare, and only *All for Love* (premiere 1677; printed 1678), a new play, features Shakespeare's name on the title page. It mentions Shakespeare on its title page not to attribute the play to him but rather to claim that it is 'written in imitation of Shakespeare's stile'. In fact, the play's title page clearly states that it was written: 'by John Dryden'.

One further notes that, with the exceptions of the Dryden and Davenant *Tempest*, and the reprinting of its paratexts alongside Shadwell's operatic version in 1674, printed editions of Shakespeare alterations of 1660-1677 do not contain dramatic or readerly paratexts which cite Shakespeare. The Dryden and Davenant *Tempest* contains a preface, signed 'JOHN DRIDEN', which makes reference to Shakespeare, but Shakespeare is by no means the central focus of this readerly paratext. Dryden claims to

[69] See *The Works of Sr William Davenant Kt* (London, 1673).

be writing the preface 'not to set a value on anything [he] has written in this Play', but 'out of gratitude to the memory of Sir William Davenant, who did [Dryden] the honour to joyn [him] in the alteration of it' (sigs. A2^{r-v}). Dryden announces that the play 'was originally Shakespear's' and adds that Davenant had 'particularly a high veneration for Shakespear', and that he taught Dryden to 'admire' Shakespeare (sig. A2^{v}). Dryden contrasts John Suckling's and John Fletcher's use of Shakespeare's *Tempest* with Davenant's: while the former 'copied' Shakespeare's plot and characters, Davenant 'added to the Design of Shakespear', 'put the last hand to' Shakespeare's play (sig. A2^{v}). He did so, Dryden goes on to specify, by including the characters of Hippolito and Dorinda, thereby designing 'the Counterpart to Shakespear's Plot, namely that of a Man who had never seen a Woman' (sig. A2^{v}). The remainder of Dryden's preface is given over to further praise of Davenant, and it is rounded off with the conclusion that he is 'satisfi'd [he] could never have receiv'd so much honour in being thought the Author of any Poem how excellent soever, as [he] shall from the joining of [his] imperfections with the merit and name of Shakespear and Sir William Davenant' (sig. A3^{v}). Shakespeare, in short, is not the main subject of the preface but he is nonetheless discussed with uncomplicated reverence. As the preface to The Dryden and Davenant *Tempest* is reused in Shadwell's version of the play (1674), readers would have been told that this operatic play had its origins in the work of a man named Shakespeare, but they would also have been alerted to the labour Dryden and Davenant put into the play.

With the exception of *The Law Against Lovers*, which appeared in Davenant's *Works*, only one of the altered plays features an authorial title-page attribution of any kind; most of them simply mention the theatre at which the play was performed. The authorship of these plays is thus not greatly stressed, and the Shakespearean origins of the plays would have remained unknown to audiences of all but one of the plays. Readers of the printed play-texts would have seen two of the altered plays attributed to

other playwrights, remained unaware of the authorship of another three of the plays, and received only brief hints that one of the plays was in any way linked to Shakespeare as an author-source. In sum, while Shakespeare was cited as the author of printed editions of his own works, there was little evidence for readers to deduce that he was the author-source of plays altered from his own.

Shakespeare's works were used both by theatre companies and altering playwrights between 1660 and 1677, but Shakespeare was seldom credited as an author or author-source beyond print editions of his own unaltered works. Performance records suggest that Shakespeare's plays were utilised less frequently from the late 1660s, when the practice of Shakespeare alteration came to a standstill, and when his plays occupied only a very marginal position in the repertories of the professional theatres. As I go on to outline in Chapter Two, this state of affairs changed radically between 1678 and 1682: not only did Shakespeare become the most altered playwright of the period, but versions of his works made up almost twenty percent of the new plays repertory. This was due to the impact the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis had on the material conditions of theatrical production, the topicality of Shakespeare's plays, and the model of successful Shakespeare alteration offered by Shadwell's *Timon of Athens* in the 1677-78 season.

Table 1: Performances of Shakespeare's Plays, 1660–1677

Date	Title	Company	Alteration
1660	*Pericles*	John Rhodes's Company	No
11 October 1660	*Othello*	United Company (Killigrew and Davenant together)	No
8 November 1660	*1 Henry IV*	King's	No
9 November 1660	*The Merry Wives of Windsor*	King's	No
5 December 1660	*The Merry Wives of Windsor*	King's	No
8 December 1660	*Othello*	King's	No
31 December 1660	*1 Henry IV*	King's	No
4 June 1661	*1 Henry IV*	King's	No
24 August 1661	*Hamlet*	Duke's	No
11 September 1661	*Twelfth Night*	Duke's	No
25 September 1661	*The Merry Wives of Windsor*	King's	No
26 November 1661	*Hamlet*	King's?[70]	No
27 November 1661	*Hamlet*	King's	No
5 December 1661	*Hamlet*	Duke's	No
15 February 1662	*The Law Against Lovers* (*Measure for Measure* & *Much Ado*)	Duke's	Yes
18 February 1662	*The Law Against Lovers* (*Measure for Measure* & *Much Ado*)	Duke's	Yes
1 March 1662	*Romeo and Juliet*	Duke's	No
?	*Romeo and Juliet*	Duke's	Yes[71]
29 September 1662	*A Midsummer Night's Dream*	King's	No
17 December 1662	*The Law Against Lovers* (*Measure for Measure* & *Much Ado*)	Duke's	Yes
6 January 1663	*Twelfth Night*	Duke's	No
9 March 1663	*Hamlet*	Duke's[72]	No

[70] Pepys saw a production of *Hamlet* given by the King's Company on 27 November and a production of *Hamlet* by the Duke's Company on 5 December, so it is not clear which company gave the production on 26 November. The close proximity to the production Pepys saw by the King's Company makes it likely that they also gave the production on 26 November (*The London Stage, Part One*, p. 45).

[71] John Downes also notes that Howard 'preserv[ed] Romeo and Juliet alive; so that when the Tragedy was Reviv'd again, 'twas Played Alternately, Tragical one Day, and Tragicomical another; for several Days together' (*Roscius Anglicanus* (1708), ed. by Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1987), p. 53). Clearly, this suggests a greater number of performances than we have records for. For more on alterations pre-dating Howard's, see Christopher Spencer, '"Count Paris's Wife": *Romeo and Juliet* on the Early Restoration Stage', *Texas Studies in Language and Literature,* 7 (1965-6), 309-16. See also, Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, 'Lost English Plays, 1660-1700', *Harvard Library Bulletin,* 25 (1977), 5-33.

Date	Title	Company	Alteration
28 May 1663	*Hamlet*	Duke's	No
22 December 1663	*Henry VIII*	Duke's	No
23 December 1663	*Henry VIII*	Duke's	No
26 December 1663	*Henry VIII*	Duke's	No
28 December 1663	*Henry VIII*	Duke's	No
29 December 1663	*Henry VIII*	Duke's	No
30 December 1663	*Henry VIII*	Duke's	No
31 December 1663	*Henry VIII*	Duke's	No
c. 1671-2	*Julius Caesar*	King's	No[73]
1 January 1664	*Henry VIII*	Duke's	No
Late January 1664	*King Lear*	Duke's	No
8 February 1664	*Henry VIII*	Duke's	No
10 September 1664	*The Rivals* (*Two Noble Kinsmen*)	Duke's	Yes
5 November 1664	*Macbeth*	Duke's	Yes
2 December 1664	*The Rivals* (*Two Noble Kinsmen*)	Duke's	Yes
6 January 1665	*The Rivals* (*Two Noble Kinsmen*)	Duke's	Yes
17 December 1666	*Macbeth*	Duke's	Yes
28 December 1666	*Macbeth*	Duke's	Yes
7 January 1667	*Macbeth*	Duke's	Yes
April 1667	*Sauny the Scott* (*Taming of the Shrew*)	King's	Yes
19 April 1667	*Macbeth*	Duke's	Yes
August 1667	*The Merry Wives of Windsor*	King's	No
16 October 1667	*Macbeth*	Duke's	Yes
1 November 1667	*Sauny the Scott* (*Taming of the Shrew*)	King's	Yes
2 November 1667	*1 Henry IV*	King's	No
6 November 1667	*Macbeth*	Duke's	Yes
7 November 1667	*The Tempest (Dryden and Davenant)*	Duke's	Yes
8 November 1667	*The Tempest (Dryden and*	Duke's	Yes

[72] The company is not specified but the earlier and later entries for this play lead me to suspect that this performance was also given by the Duke's Company.

[73] This performance is suggested by the prologue to *Julius Caesar* printed in *Covent Garden Drollery* of 1672. As Milhous and Hume note, a 1671-1672 performance is also indicated by the cast list John *Downes* printed in *Roscius Anglicanus*, pp. 23-24 (p. 23n). For evidence concerning a possible performance around this date, see Arthur H. Scouten, '*Julius Caesar* and Restoration Shakespeare', *Shakespeare Quarterly,* 29 (1978), 423-27; and Michael Dobson, 'Accents Yet Unknown: Canonisation and the Claiming of *Julius Caesar*', in *The Appropriation of Shakespeare: Post-Renaissance Reconstructions of the Works and the Myth*, ed. by Jean I. Marsden (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), pp. 11-28 (p. 13). Dobson's essay also offers useful insights into *Julius Caesar*'s Restoration and eighteenth-century performance history.

Date	Title	Company	Alteration
	Davenant)		
9 November 1667	*The Tempest (Dryden and Davenant)*	Duke's	Yes
11 November 1667	*The Tempest (Dryden and Davenant)*	Duke's	Yes
12 November 1667	*The Tempest (Dryden and Davenant)*	Duke's	Yes
13 November 1667	*The Tempest (Dryden and Davenant)*	Duke's	Yes
14 November 1667	*The Tempest (Dryden and Davenant)*	Duke's	Yes
19 November 1667	*The Rivals* (*Two Noble Kinsmen*)	Duke's	Yes
26 November 1667	*The Tempest (Dryden and Davenant)*	Duke's	Yes
12 December 1667	*The Tempest (Dryden and Davenant)*	Duke's	Yes
6 January 1668	*The Tempest (Dryden and Davenant)*	Duke's	Yes
7 January 1668	*1 Henry IV*	King's	No
3 February 1668	*The Tempest (Dryden and Davenant)*	Duke's	Yes
14 March 1668	*The Tempest (Dryden and Davenant)*	Duke's	Yes
13 April 1668	*The Tempest (Dryden and Davenant)*	Duke's	Yes
30 April 1668	*The Tempest (Dryden and Davenant)*	Duke's	Yes
11 May 1668	*The Tempest (Dryden and Davenant)*	Duke's	Yes
12 August 1668	*Macbeth*	Duke's	Yes
31 August 1668	*Hamlet*	Duke's	No
18 September 1668	*1 Henry IV*	King's	No
21 December 1668	*Macbeth*	Duke's	Yes
30 December 1668	*Henry VIII*	Duke's	No
c. 1668-72	*Julius Caesar*	King's	No[74]

[74] See previous note.

Date	Title	Company	Alteration
15 January 1669	*Macbeth*	Duke's	Yes
20 January 1669	*Twelfth Night*	Duke's	No
21 January 1669	*The Tempest (Dryden and Davenant)*	Duke's	Yes
6 February 1669	*Othello*	King's	No
19 February 1669	*The Tempest (Dryden and Davenant)*	Duke's	Yes
5 November 1670	*Macbeth*	Duke's	Yes
14 November 1670	*The Tempest (Dryden and Davenant)*	Duke's	Yes
3 September 1672	*Henry VIII*	Duke's	No
18 February 1673	*Macbeth*	Duke's	Yes
2 December 1674	*Hamlet*	Duke's	No
25 January 1675	*Othello*	King's	No
29 June 1675	*King Lear*	Duke's	No
28 August 1675	*Macbeth*	Duke's	Yes
November 1675	*Henry VIII*	Duke's	No
17 December 1675	*The Merry Wives of Windsor*	King's	No
12 January 1676	*Othello*	King's	No
2 October 1676	*Macbeth*	Duke's	Yes
18 October 1676	*Macbeth*	Duke's	Yes
4 December 1676	*Julius Caesar*	King's	No

Table 2: Charting Shakespeare Performances, 1660-1677

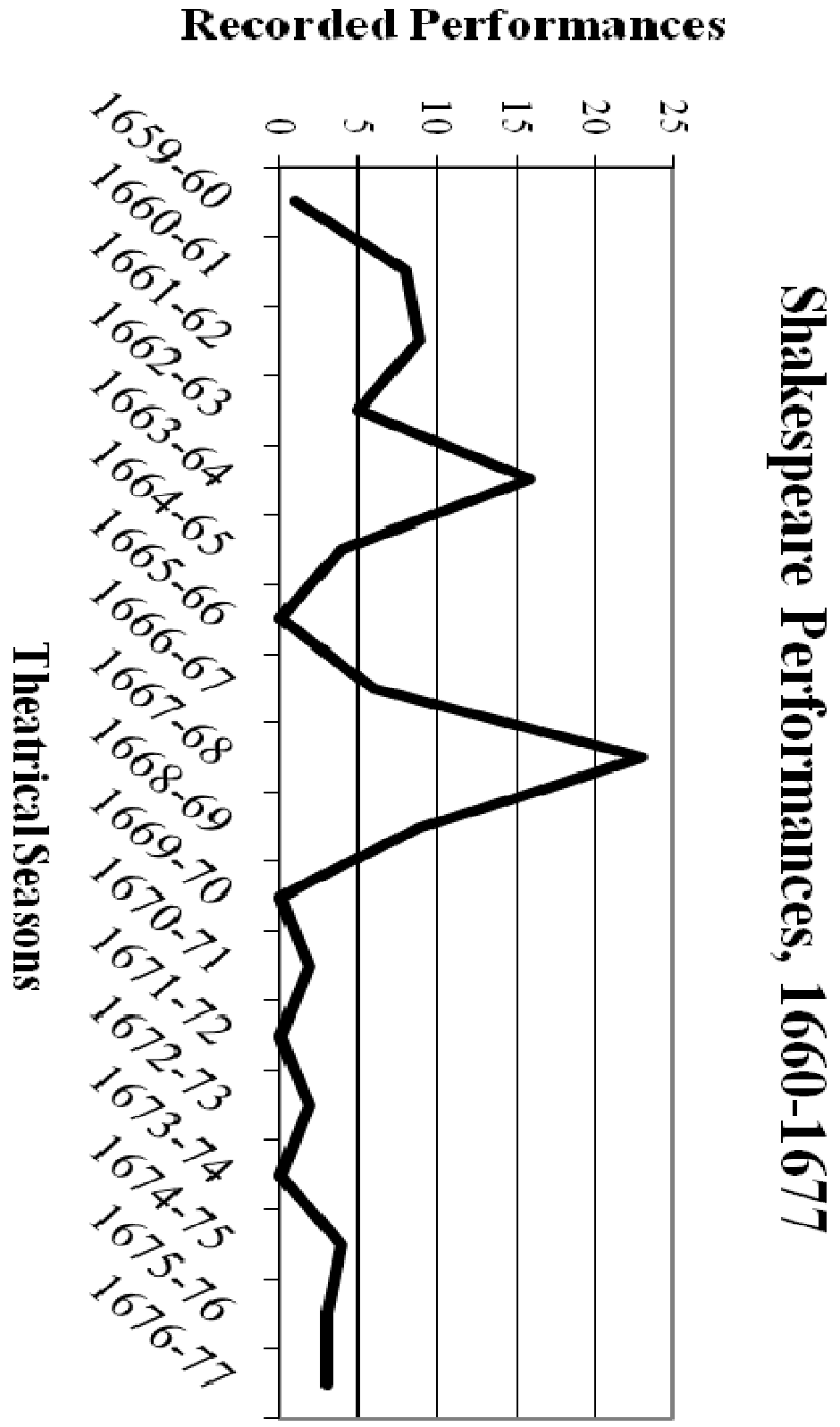

Table 3: Shakespeare Alterations, 1660 – 1677

Altering Playwright	Title & Shakespearean Source-Text(s)	Likely Premiere	Company	Printed	Title-Page Attribution	Shakespeare Cited in Printed Dramatic Paratexts	Shakespeare Cited in Readerly Paratexts
William Davenant	*The Law Against Lovers* (*Ado* & *MM*)	1662	Duke's	1673	Printed in Davenant's *Works*	No	No
James Howard	*Romeo and Juliet*	1662	Duke's	Not extant	Not extant	Not extant	Not extant
William Davenant	*The Rivals* (*The Two Noble Kinsmen*)	1664	Duke's	1668	None	No	No
William Davenant	*Macbeth, A Tragedy*	1664	Duke's	1674	None	No	No
John Lacy	*Sauny the Scot, or The Taming of the Shrew*	1667	King's	1698	'Written by J. LACEY'	No	No
William Davenant & John Dryden	*The Tempest, or The Enchanted Island*	1667	Duke's	1670	None	Yes	Yes

Table 4: Shakespeare in Print, 1660 – 1677

Date	Title	Title-Page Attribution	Reference to Shakespeare Elsewhere in Text	Imprint
1662	THE / BIRTH / OF / MERLIN / OR, / The Childe hath found its Father. / As it hath been several times Acted / with great Applause	Written by William Shakespear, and / William Rowley.	No	London: Printed by Tho. Johnson for Francis Kirkman, and Henry Marsh
1663	Mr. William Shakespeares comedies, histories, and tragedies. Published according to the true original copies. The third impression. (The Third Folio - first issue, F3a)	'Mr. William Shakespeares'	Yes – paratexts reprinted from F1 and F2	London: for Philip Chetwinde
1664	Mr. William Shakespeare's comedies, histories, and tragedies. Published according to the true original copies. The third impression. And unto this impression is added seven playes, never before printed in folio. Viz. Pericles Prince of Tyre. The London Prodigall. The history of Thomas Ld. Cromwell. Sir John Oldcastle Lord Cobham. The Puritan Widow. A York-shire tragedy. The tragedy of Locrine. (The Third Folio - second issue, F3b)	'Mr. William Shakespear's'	Yes – paratexts reprinted from F1 and F2	London: for P[hilip]. C[hetwinde]
1673	Macbeth: / A / TRAGEDY. / ACTED / At the / DUKES-THEATRE	None	No	London: for William Cademan
1675	VENUS / AND / ADONIS (2 editions)[75]	None	Dedication 'To the right Honourable, HENRY WRIOTHESLY Earle of SOUTHAMPTION and Baron of TICHFIELD' is signed 'WILL SHAKESPEARE'	London: Printed by Elizabeth Hodgkinson, For F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, and J. Clark.
1676	THE / TRAGEDY / OF / HAMLET / Prince of Denmark. / As it is now Acted at his Highness the / Duke of York's Theatre. (2 editions)	'BY / WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE'	No	London: By Andr. Clark, for J. Martyn, and H. Herringmann[76]

[75] Murphy notes that 'two editions [appeared] in the same year, with minor variations in title-page epigraph and imprint' (*Shakespeare in Print*, p. 308).

[76] As Murphy notes, the reprint differs from the first 1676 printing in that its imprint is five lines long rather than four (*Shakespeare in Print*, p. 308).

Figure One: Frontispiece to *The Wits* (1662) showing the prominence given to the characters of Falstaff and the Hostess (sig. A1^{v}).

Chapter Two

Shakespeare and the Exclusion Crisis:

The Decision to Alter his Works

Having charted Shakespeare's low status in the first two decades of the Restoration and observed that the practice of altering his plays lost impetus after the late 1660s, I now wish to explore reasons behind the renewed interest in Shakespeare's plays as source material in the years 1678 to 1682. These years marked the most sustained period of rewriting since Shakespeare's death, with ten radically altered versions of his plays appearing on stage at the two licensed theatres in Restoration London, the Duke's Theatre, Dorset Gardens, and the King's Theatre, the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. I claim that the Exclusion Crisis had a detrimental impact on the theatre market: it resulted in a combination of low attendance figures and exceptionally strict, and multifarious dramatic censorship. The Crisis also ushered in a market for plays offering direct engagement with contemporary politics. I argue that this climate made alteration of a previous playwright's work, particularly Shakespeare's, especially appealing.[1] As he was an old playwright whose works were relatively unknown, Shakespeare's plays could be billed as new or novel, while his name could be used to sneak radically altered plays past the various censorial agents within the theatre. His plots and characters additionally offered ready-made parallels deemed capable of attracting audiences. Shakespeare's plays therefore provided playwrights with topical plots and characters

[1] I share Christopher Spencer's view that Shakespeare appealed to playwrights of the late 1670s and early 1680s due to his 'strong sense of order, loyalty, obedience, and the dangers of Civil War' (*Nahum Tate* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1972), p. 68). See also Spencer, *Five Restoration Adaptations of Shakespeare* (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1965).

that could be exploited and appropriated, while his name served to 'support', in John Crowne's word, their plays against censorship.[2]

First and foremost, Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis must be seen as commodities, produced by playwrights and theatre managers seeking financial gain during some of the harshest conditions in seventeenth-century theatre history. Shakespeare was in fact the most frequently altered playwright of the Crisis. As Table 5 (pp. 98-101) indicates, alterations of his plays made up almost one fifth of all new plays produced between 1678 and 1682. This suggests that his plays took on unique significance in the wake of the Popish Plot and the mounting calls for a policy of Exclusion. Rather than a continuation of the practice of Shakespeare alteration begun in the 1660s, or a sign of progressive interest in Shakespeare's plays, Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis mark a period of renewed and more intense engagement with his works. This revival of interest was directly linked to the material conditions affecting dramatic production in the years 1678 to 1682, and to the resonance of Shakespeare's plays in contemporary politics. These two causes explain, as I argue in this chapter, why the period of the Exclusion Crisis became one of the most significant points in Shakespeare's authorial afterlife.

The chapter has a tripartite structure. It begins by documenting the kinds of plays produced during the four theatrical seasons of the Crisis, indicating that alterations and history plays dominated the new-plays repertory between 1678 and 1682. I then consider the material and censorship conditions that made alteration of an older play or story appealing. This is followed by an exploration of the plot and character parallels found between the Shakespeare plays selected for alteration and the events and personalities of the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis.

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[2] See the preface to his *Henry the Sixth, The First Part* (1681). He claims to have used Shakespeare's name to 'support [his play] on the stage' (sig. A3^{v}).

The chapter concludes with analysis of the model of alteration offered by Shadwell's *Timon of Athens, or the Man-Hater* (1678), a play that bridges the gap between Shakespeare alterations produced between 1660 and 1677 and those produced from 1678 to 1682. I suggest that Shadwell's alteration, a financial success, demonstrated ways in which a Shakespearean source play might be altered in order to resonate with the politics and events of the 1670s.[3] I wish to suggest that, like the successful operatic alteration of John Dryden and William Davenant's *The Tempest, or The Enchanted Island* produced in the mid-1670s, Thomas Shadwell's alteration of *Timon of Athens* probably influenced theatre managers and playwrights.

The New-Plays Repertory, 1678-1682

As Table 5 (pp. 98-101) shows, approximately forty-nine new plays, which include altered plays, were performed in the four seasons of the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis: 1678-1679, 1679-1680, 1680-1681, and 1681-1682.[4] In the first season, the Duke's Company performed five new plays to the King's Company's three, four if we

[3] I by no means wish to suggest that Shakespeare alterations produced between 1660 and 1677 were apolitical. On the contrary, critics including Michael Dobson, George Guffrey, Nancy Klein Maguire, Jean I. Marsden, Katharine E. Maus, Barbara Murray, and Matthew H. Wikander have offered astute analyses of the politics found in alterations produced between 1660 and 1677. I instead wish to emphasise the fact that the Exclusion Crisis led to a cluster of topical alterations. See: Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Authorship, 1660-1769* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992); Dobson, '"Remember / First to Possess His Books": The Appropriation of *The Tempest*, 1700-1800', *Shakespeare Survey*, 43 (1991), 99-108; Guffrey, 'Politics, Weather, and the Contemporary Reception of the Dryden-Davenant *Tempest*', *Restoration*, 8 (1984), 1-9; Maguire, *Regicide and Restoration: English Tragicomedy, 1660-1671* (CUP, 1992); Marsden, *The Re-Imagined Text: Shakespeare, Adaptation, & Eighteenth-Century Literary Theory* (Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1995); *The Appropriation of Shakespeare: Post-Renaissance Reconstructions of the Works and the Myth*, ed. by Marsden (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991); Maus, 'Arcadia Lost: Politics and Revision in the Restoration *Tempest*', *Renaissance Drama*, 13 (1982), 189-209; Murray, *Restoration Shakespeare: Viewing the Voice* (London: Associated University Presses, 2001); and Wikander, '"The Duke My Father's Wrack": The Innocence of the Restoration *Tempest*', *Shakespeare Survey*, 43 (1991), 91-98.

[4] The premiere dates in Table 5 are based on Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume's additions to the information provided in *The London Stage*. See: 'Dating Play Premières from Publication Data, 1660-1700', *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 22 (1974), 374-405, and *The London Stage, 1660-1800, Part One: 1660-1700*, ed. by William Van Lennep and others, 5 parts in 11 vols (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1960-68), I (1965). I have also consulted Susan Owen's helpful discussion of Exclusion Crisis premiere dates in *Restoration Theatre and Crisis* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), pp. 300-11.

include *The Massacre of Paris*.[5] Thereafter, the distribution of new plays appears to have become less even, with the Duke's Company staging twelve and the King's Company only two. The evidence points to the King's Company producing four plays and the Duke's Company eight in 1680-1681, and the King's Company five and the Duke's nine in 1681-1682, this being the final season before the two companies merged to form the United Company.[6]

In terms of the types of plays performed during these four seasons, comedies were not unheard of (*The London Cuckolds*, for example), but the trend seems to have been for tragedies, histories, and what might be termed pseudo-histories.[7] For example, some plays exploited links between 'Troy-novant' (London) and Trojan history.[8] These included John Banks's *The Destruction of Troy* and Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida*. Other plays used Roman history as a means of commenting on rebellion and tyranny. Examples include John Bancroft's *The Tragedy of Sertorius*,[9] with its portrayal of the eponymous Roman hero's rebellion against tyrannical Sulla and his subsequent

[5] I have included *The Massacre of Paris* in Table 5 as it was designed for these seasons, even if censorial intervention delayed its first performance until 1689.

[6] The need to merge the two companies, or rather the need for the Duke's Company to incorporate the failing King's Company from 1682 onwards, was in part due to the expenses the latter had incurred following the destruction of their Bridges Street theatre by a fire in January 1672. As I outline below, it was also the result of a number of years of theatrical recession that were arguably intensified by the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis. See, *The London Stage, Part One*, pp. 185, 313.

[7] For more on plays of the late 1670s and early 1680s, see: Laura Brown, *English Dramatic Form, 1660-1700: An Essay in Generic History* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1981); J. Douglas Canfield, 'Royalism's Last Dramatic Stand: English Political Tragedy, 1679-89', *Studies in Philology*, 82 (1985), 234-63; Robert D. Hume, *The Development of English Drama in the Late Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), Chs. 7 and 8; Odai Johnson, *Rehearsing the Revolution: Radical Performance, Radical Politics in the English Restoration* (Cranbury: Associated University Presses, 2000); John Loftis, 'Political and Social Thought in the Drama', in *The London Theatre World, 1660-1800*, ed. by Robert D. Hume (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1980), pp. 253-85; Jessica Munns, *Restoration Politics and Drama: The Plays of Thomas Otway, 1675-1683* (Newark: U of Delaware P, 1995); Allardyce Nicoll, 'Political Plays of the Restoration', *Modern Language Review*, 16 (1921), 224-42; Owen, *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*; Owen, *Perspectives on Restoration Drama* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2002); Owen, 'Interpreting the Politics of Restoration Drama', *The Seventeenth Century*, 8 (1993), 67-97; Owen, 'Drama and Political Crisis', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre*, ed. by Deborah Payne Fisk (CUP, 2000), pp. 158-73; Susan Staves, *Players' Scepters: Fictions of Authority in the Restoration* (Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1979); and George W. Whiting, 'Political Satire in London Stage Plays, 1660-83', *Modern Philology*, 28 (1930), 29-43.

[8] See the prologue to Banks, *The Destruction of Troy* (London, 1679), sig. A4^{r}. Elliott Visconsi identifies a '"Trojan moment" on the London stage' during the Exclusion Crisis, adding that Banks's play 'might have been accordingly titled "The Destruction of Troynovant"' ('Trojan Originalism: Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida*', in *The Age of Projects*, ed. by Maximillian E. Novak (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2008), pp. 73-90 (p. 75)).

[9] This play does not appear to be indebted to Pierre Corneille's *Sertorius* (Rouen, 1662).

overthrow by Perpenna, and Lee's dramatization of the rape of Lucretia and the expulsion of the Tarquins in *Lucius Junius Brutus*. Events such as the Saint Bartholomew Day Massacre (1572) were also dramatized in line with anti-Catholic sentiments, as were the lives of notorious figures such as Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex in Queen Elizabeth's reign (*The Unhappy Favourite*),[10] and the female Pope, Pope Joan (*The Female Prelate*). It therefore seems that historical models or legends with topical plot parallels were in vogue during the theatrical seasons of the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis.

An additional trend that appears when surveying the four theatrical seasons of the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis is the number of plays that were substantially based on earlier works. The source texts consulted can be loosely classified as classical, French (often based on English translations thereof), and as derived from the works of pre-1642 writers. The 1678-1679 season most likely began with an alteration, Dryden and Lee's *Oedipus*, acted in c. September 1678. As the play's prologue and epilogue indicate, *Oedipus* was indebted to Pierre Corneille's *Oedipe* (Paris, 1659) and to the classical story as dramatized by Sophocles and Seneca.[11] Crowne's *Thyestes* is an alteration of Seneca's play of the same name, which had been translated 'by J.W.' and printed in 1674, with an 'added Mock-Thyestes, in burlesque'.[12] John Genest notes that Settle's *Fatal Love* is 'founded on the [Greek] romance of Clitophon and Leucippe',[13] and the English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC) lists *Fatal Love* as an alteration of Achilles Tatius's *Clitophon and Leucippe*, which had been translated into English 'by W[illiam]. B[urton].' (1597) and Anthony Hodges (1638). Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* (1590) does not seem to have functioned as the source for Saunders's

[10] As has been noted, Banks's play also invited links with the Earl of Essex of Charles II's reign who voted in favour of Exclusion, and who 'was dismissed from the Privy Council a few months before the play was produced' (Owen, *Theatre and Crisis*, p. 268). See also Ronald Hutton, *Charles the Second, King of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), p. 398.
[11] See my discussion of the prologue below.
[12] See the ESTC.
[13] *An Account of the English Stage from 1660 to 1830*, 10 vols (Bath: H. E. Carrington, 1832), I, 276.

Tamerlane the Great, but Saunders does mention 'Tamerlane and Asteria', a French novel, in his preface.[14] Southerne's *The Loyal Brother* is also taken from a French source, a novel entitled *Tachinas, Prince of Persia*, translated by P. Porter (1676) and, as Malcolm Kelsall has noted, Otway's *Venice Preserv'd* is based on César Vischard, l'Abbé de Saint-Réal's *La conjuration des Espagnols contre la République de Venise* (1674), which had been translated into English as *A Conspiracy of the Spaniards Against the State of Venice* (1675 and 1679).[15]

As for native source-texts, Otway's *The Orphan* is an alteration of Roger Boyle, the Earl of Orrery's *English Adventures* and may also be indebted to the works of other earlier writers.[16] *The Revenge*, which has been assigned to Aphra Behn,[17] is an alteration of John Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan* (1605),[18] and, like *The Rover* (1677), Behn's *The Second Part of the Rover* is an alteration of Thomas Killigrew's *Thomaso, or The Wanderer*.[19] Behn's *The Round-Heads* is an alteration of John Tatham's *The Rump* (1660), and her unpublished play, *Like Father, Like Son* (1682), is thought to have been altered from Randolph Thomas's *The Jealous Lovers* (1632).[20] Without wishing to underestimate the intertextuality found in all plays of all periods, I would thus argue

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[14] 'I drew the design of this Play, from a late Novell, call'd Tamerlane and Asteria', sig. A2^{v}. This was *Astérie ou Tamerlan* by Anne de La Roche-Guilhen, according to the ESTC.

[15] 'Introduction', Thomas Otway, *Venice Preserved*, Regents Restoration Drama Series (Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1969), p. xv.

[16] See Jessica Munns, *Restoration Politics and Drama: The Plays of Thomas Otway, 1675-1683* (Newark: U of Delaware P, 1995), pp. 20-21; *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, VIII, 182; *The Works of Thomas Otway*, ed. by Montague Summers, 3 vols (London: Nonesuch Press, 1926), II, 157.

[17] For an overview of the evidence supporting the attribution of *The Revenge* to Behn, see *Aphra Behn: An Annotated Bibliography of Primary and Secondary Sources*, ed. by Many Ann O'Donnell, 2nd edn (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 264.

[18] See Leo Hughes and Arthur H. Scouten, 'Some Theatrical Adaptations of a Picaresque Tale', *University of Texas Studies in English* (1946), 98-114.

[19] For discussion of Behn's alteration of *Thomaso*, see Helen M. Burke, 'The Cavalier Myth in *The Rover*', in *The Cambridge Companion to Aphra Behn*, ed. by Derek Hughes and Janet M. Todd (CUP, 2004), pp. 118-34.

[20] See Janet Todd, *The Secret Life of Aphra Behn* (London: André Deutsch, 1996), p. 462n. See also *Aphra Behn: An Annotated Bibliography*, p. 59; and Hume and Milhous, 'Lost English Plays, 1660-1700', *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 25 (1977), 5-33 (p. 22).

that, in the years 1678-1682, the new-plays repertory drew heavily on older works in altered forms.[21]

What is striking about the theatrical seasons of 1678 to 1682 is not just the number of plays that might be deemed alterations but the percentage of alterations based on the works of Shakespeare. Nine Shakespeare alterations were produced in the four theatrical seasons of the Exclusion Crisis. This number rises to ten if we consider the calendar years 1678-1682. In order to understand why an unprecedented number of plays were altered in the same seasons, we must turn to the material conditions and the harsh censorship that made alteration – of Shakespeare's plays in particular – an appealing option for professional playwrights from 1678 to 1682.

Material Conditions: Writing for the Exclusion Crisis Stage

> The very best of Plays now find but a cold Reception in comparison of the kinder entertainment they met, at the King's first Returne. For players and Plays came then upon the Stage like Columbus into America, they brought new Faces, and almost a New Language into our World; and what betwixt Novelty and Surprise they won Spectators Hearts so easily […] that like Him they could traffick even with beads and Baubles: But Time and Conversation has made the critical Audiences like the Wise Indians; and he that would please 'em now must

[21] Other plays have identifiable sources but are less easily classed as alterations, or as heavily indebted, and some plays are merely new plays on similar themes. For example, Todd recognises that Behn 'borrowed bits from the pre-Interregnum playwrights, Philip Massinger [*The Guardian*] and Thomas Middleton' and that '*The City-Heiress* primarily followed the latter's *A Mad World, My* Masters' but rightly adds that it is 'not an adaptation like *The Roundheads*' (*The Secret Life of Aphra Behn*, p. 282). Thomas Heywood's *The Late Lancashire Witches* (London, 1634) and Ben Johnson's *Masque of Queens* (London, 1609) also appear to have been consulted as sources for Shadwell's *The Lancashire Witches*, but I find too much originality to deem this play an alteration. Albert S. Borgman offers detailed comparison of Shadwell's play with Heywood and Johnson in *Thomas Shadwell: His Life and Comedies* (New York: New York UP, 1928), Ch. 14. As for new plays, it should be noted that neither Lee's *The Massacre of Paris* nor his and Dryden's *The Duke of Guise* appears to be indebted to Christopher Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris* (London, 1594). For discussion of the three plays, see Paulina Kewes, 'Otway, Lee and the Restoration History Play', in *A Companion to Restoration Drama*, ed. by Susan J. Owen (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), pp. 355-77 (pp. 371-74).

> purchase their Applause with Solid and Elaborate Sense, and bring more than Glass to barter for their Gold.[22]

Settle uses an extended metaphor, based on Christopher Columbus's experience in the Americas, in order to compare the theatrical climate of the 1660s with that of the 1680s. He suggests that the power and bartering strength held by plays and playwrights in 1660 had shifted to audiences by the 1680s, with playwrights and theatre managers now struggling to make a return from theatrical productions. In order to make money from the theatre, playwrights not only had to get a play staged, but had to get it staged at least three times. Making a living from the theatre became especially difficult during – and as a direct result of – the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis. Only playwrights who were contractually linked to a specific company would have received a fixed wage in exchange for play scripts, but these posts were rare, and the companies were paying for their right to first refusal of the script, with no guarantee that the play would actually be performed.[23] Playwrights were entitled to the third night's profit, but the run of unsuccessful plays ended before the third night. This is an important consideration if 'to be assured of eating a playwright pretty much needed to get a new play successfully staged every year'.[24] Even if playwrights managed to get their plays successfully staged, their income would be dependent on the number of paying customers on the third night. Hume calculates that 'Dorset Garden and Drury Lane, constructed in the early 1670s, had a normal maximum gross of about £105 (with serious crowding)', so 'subtracting

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[22] Epistle Dedicatory to *Fatal Love* (London, 1680), sig. A2^{v}.

[23] See Kewes, who adds that there was little difference between attached and unattached playwrights beyond 'the cash retainer', as 'members of both of them composed uncommissioned scripts. And, as the few recorded instances of commissions for plays demonstrate, the company which issued the commission felt in no way compelled to bestow it on a house playwright' (*Authorship and Appropriation: Writing for the Stage in England, 1660-1710* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), p. 18). John Dryden was contracted to the King's Company from 1668 to 1678, John Crowne was contracted to the Duke's Company, and Thomas Durfey was under contract with the King's Company at some point during the mid-1670s (Peter Holland, *The Ornament of Action: Text and Performance in Restoration Comedy* (CUP, 1979), p. 75).

[24] Robert D. Hume, 'The Economics of Culture in London, 1660-1740', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 69 (2006), 487-533 (p. 501).

the customary house charges of £25, the playwright might receive as much as £80 - if the play was staged at all, and before a full house'.[25] There is strong evidence to suggest that the playhouses were far from full during the Crisis, and that playwrights had great difficulty making a living from the stage.[26]

The Exclusion Crisis had a profound impact on the theatre market, with the two theatres struggling with low audience numbers and harsh censorship. The Crisis appears to have been a key factor in the financial collapse of the King's Company in 1682:

> The King's Company was already in dire straits at the start of the Popish Plot, and matters rapidly worsened. In the 1679-80 season they produced two new plays, only one successful […] Hotson prints details of a lawsuit for default of rent against the King's Company in the spring of 1681: theatre 'rent' alone was £5. 14*s*. per acting day, but several times the takings fell below £4 – less than 20 per cent of the amount needed for bare subsistence.[27]

Low profits and attendance figures were partly a result of the 'great decline in the number of performances attended by the King after the start of the Popish Plot', as the monarch's presence seems to have had considerable appeal.[28] The situation deteriorated even further when the theatre had to sporadically close as a result of poor management. For example, Drury Lane was 'shut up and no Plays […] acted' following 'several discords and dissentions' between 'Master Partners' in 1678 and 1679.[29]

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[25] Hume acknowledges that the amount 'playwrights actually earned from authors' benefits before 1714 is almost entirely unknown' but the methodology he uses make his estimates convincing (Hume, 'The Economics of Culture', p. 501).
[26] Hume, 'The Economics of Culture', p. 501.
[27] Hume, *The Development of English Drama*, p. 341. See also: Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of Restoration Drama, 1660-1700* (CUP, 1923), p. 296; and George W. Whitingsource, 'The Condition of the London Theatres, 1679-83: A Reflection of the Political Situation', *Modern Philology*, 25 (1927), 195-206.
[28] Milhous and Hume, 'Dating Play Premières', p. 382.
[29] Leslie Hotson, *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard UP, 1928), p. 262.

The King's Company may have suffered most, but the Duke's Company also felt the full effects of the renewed fears over popery and arbitrary government. *True News; or, Mercurius Anglicus* reports a disturbance in February 1680 that was directly related to hostility towards the King's mistress, the French Catholic Duchess of Portsmouth, Louise de Kérouaille. The drunken disturbance led to the closing of the theatre. The report states that:

> On Munday night last happened a great dispute in the Duke's Play-house, some Gentlemen in their Cupps entring into the Pitt, flinging Links at the Actors, and using several reproachfull speeches against the Dutchess of P.[ortsmouth] and other persons of Honour, which has occasioned a Prohibition from farther Acting, till his Majesties farther pleasyre.[30]

Judith Milhous and Hume quote a letter that may refer to the same event or to a similar disturbance involving supporters of the Duke of York's rival to the throne, the Duke of Monmouth. The letter mentions 'abominable disorders amongst us, calling all the women whores and the men rogues in the playhouses – throwing candles and links [. . .] and all ended in "God bless his Highness, the Duke of Monmouth. We will be for him against the world"'.[31] Staging a play in such conditions was surely no mean feat.

The difficulties facing actors and playwrights are frequently voiced in prologues, epilogues, and prefaces to contemporary plays. The prologue to Aphra Behn's *The Feigned Curtizans* (1679) is perhaps the most famous example of such a complaint, where the 'cursed plotting Age' is said to have 'ruin'd all our plots upon the Stage' (sig. A4^{r}). The prologue to John Crowne's *Henry the Sixth, The First Part* (1681) laments

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[30] February 4-7. Cited in Hume and Milhous, 'The Prologue and Epilogue for *Fools Have Fortune; or, Luck's All* (1680)', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 43 (1980), 313-21 (p. 317), and *The London Stage, Part One*, p. 284.

[31] The Dowager Countess of Sunderland to Henry Sidney, cited in Hume and Milhous, 'The Prologue and Epilogue for *Fools Have Fortune*', p. 317, and *The London Stage, Part One*, p. 284.

that 'Play-Houses like forsaken Barns are grown' (sig. A2^{r}), while the epilogue to his *The Ambitious Statesman* (1679) announces that 'Ladies […] may spare' their 'journeys to Hide Park' as the 'empty Play-House has enough fresh Air' (sig. N4^{v}). Shadwell attributes the failure of his *A True Widow* (1679) to the 'Calamity of the Time, which made People not care for Diversions', and to 'the Anger of a great many, who thought themselves concern'd in the satyr', thereby pointing to the impact the period's increased political sensitivity had on the theatre market (sig. A2^{r}). Naturally, paratextual comments need to be taken with a pinch of salt, but, coupled with the documentary evidence cited above, they do suggest that theatre proprietors and playwrights found it hard to make a living from the stage in the late 1670s and early 1680s. These conditions, I wish to suggest, made the alteration of an earlier play an appealing option.

Versions of little-known plays will have appealed to theatre managers as they could bill them as new or novel and thereby attract more patrons and charge higher ticket prices.[32] Alterations of little-known plays would have enabled theatre managers to raise the usual prices of '4*s*. in the boxes, 2*s*. 6*d*. in the pit, 1*s*. 6*d*. in the first gallery, and 1*s* in the second gallery'.[33] Playwrights were given third night's benefit whether the play was new or an alteration, provided the play had been sufficiently altered,[34] and the alteration of a pre-existing play was arguably a less time consuming task than the production of an entirely new play. Altering an old play would thus likely result in increased ticket sales and more money for both the company and the altering playwright.

The data in Table 6 (p. 102) implies that the Shakespeare plays selected for alteration between 1678 and 1682 will have been unfamiliar to audiences and readers. Only two of them, *Romeo and Juliet* and *King Lear*, had been performed since the

[32] Tiffany Stern notes that 'new plays had a particular *cachet* and cost more to see' (*Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (CUP, 2009), p. 58).
[33] Hume 'The Economics of Culture', pp. 500-01.
[34] For a discussion of playwrights receiving pay for alterations of earlier plays, see Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation*, pp. 106-07.

theatres reopened. None of the plays selected for alteration had appeared in a single-play edition since the third Folio of 1663/4, three had never appeared in single-play editions, and only one play, *King Lear*, had been printed in a single-play edition since the closing of the theatres in 1642. The catalogue of plays appended to *Tom Tyler and his Wife* (London, 1661) and *Nicomède* (London, 1671) may list the Shakespeare plays selected for alteration, along with other Shakespeare plays and apocryphal plays, but it is important to remember that both catalogues list all the plays 'that were ever yet printed and published' that patrons 'may either buy or sell' at the shops listed.[35] The catalogue merely details texts that had appeared in print at some point; it offers no guarantee that any of the plays were still freely available from late seventeenth-century bookshops. It thus seems likely that the majority of audiences will not have known the Shakespeare texts altered between 1678 and 1682. The relative anonymity of Shakespeare's plays will have offered theatre managers and altering playwrights the opportunity to bill their rewritten plays as new, thereby attracting larger audiences.

Censorship Conditions

Further impetus for the unprecedented alteration of Shakespeare that took place between 1678 and 1682 may have come from the protection Shakespeare's name offered during a period of intense theatrical censorship. Michael Dobson has stated that Shakespeare could be used as a 'Trojan horse', to smuggle polemic onto the stage.[36] Maximillian Novak has observed that, because 'in order to survive, the stage was forced to become an arena for political statement, authors might find some protection from factional revenge […] by claiming to be merely revising an old play'.[37] This view of Shakespeare as a shield capable of protecting plays from censors is also expressed in the dedication to Crowne's second Shakespeare alteration, *Henry the Sixth, the First Part*. Crowne

[35] From the catalogue appended (hence new signatures) to *Tom Tyler*, sig. A1^{r}.
[36] *The Making of the National Poet*, p. 73.
[37] *The Works of John Dryden*, p. 500.

makes reference to the political turbulence affecting stage plays before telling Sir Charles Sedley that he uses Sedley's 'Name to guide [his] Play through the Press, as [he] did Shakespear's to support it on the Stage' (sig. A3^{v}). As Calhoun Winton has stated, 'old plays […] were not as a rule objects of suspicion to the censor',[38] which is why playwrights may have chosen to stress the origins of plays with classical or pre-1642 source-texts.

The idea of using an older playwright or source to deflect attention from a play's politics is found in theatrical paratexts to a number of plays performed during the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis. The prologue to Banks's *The Destruction of Troy* uses the age of the play's Trojan subject matter as a means of depicting the material to be performed as 'plain' and 'homely'; it is but 'a Christmas Tale [that] has oft been told / Over a Fire by Nurse, and Grandam old' (sig. A4^{r}). The prologue to *Oedipus* also seems to detract from the novelty of Dryden and Lee's offering by stressing the play's age and its origin in the work of Greek writers. Audiences are told that

> When Athens all the Grecian State did guide,
> And Greece gave laws to all the World beside,
> Then Sophocles with Socrates did sit […]
> Then, Oedipus, on Crowded Theatres,
> Drew all admiring Eyes and listning Ears. (sig. A4^{r})

The play, or at least the story's origins, is thus shown to belong to the distant past. The antiquity of a play's source is also used to persuade audiences to favourably receive the play: when performed in 'Athens', 'the pleas'd Spectator shouted every line' and, by analogy, modern audiences should be pleased too, unless they wish to pass 'for perfect

[38] 'Dramatic Censorship', in *The London Theatre World, 1660-1800*, ed. by Robert. D. Hume (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1980), pp. 286-308 (p. 288).

salvages' (sig. A4[r]). The prologue to Crowne's *Thyestes* similarly hides the play's politics behind references to Greece and Rome, telling audiences that 'To Day […] we try / If we can awe you, with an ancient lye' (sig. A4[r]). This is because, as with *Oedipus*, the audience 'must not dare to pass a doom, / On what has been admir'd in Greece and Rome' (sig. A4[r]). As I argue in Chapter Five, the theatrical paratexts to Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis deployed similar tactics, and Shakespeare's name, like a play's classical origins, appears to have been used to protect plays, playwrights, and actors from theatrical censors.

The need for protection is explained by the censorship conditions during the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis. As Winton has stated, 'only twice during the entire one hundred and forty years [1660-1800] was there a sustained effort at political censorship: during the Exclusion crisis in the early 1680s and shortly after the passage of the Licensing act of 1737'.[39] Indeed, only around eighteen plays were banned from the stage between 1660 and 1710, but at least nine of these were suppressed between 1678 and 1683 (see Table 7, p. 103).[40] The evidence suggests that censorship was exceptionally severe during the Exclusion Crisis.

The primary role of the appointed Restoration censors was, as Matthew Kinservik reminds us, to regulate who could perform what,[41] but it seems that both the censors and their foci multiplied during the Crisis. Performing a play to which the rival company might lay a claim could be extremely costly, as Crowne and the King's Company found out in 1677. Crowne was under contract with the Duke's Company, but

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[39] 'Dramatic Censorship', p. 288.

[40] For an excellent overview of Restoration stage censorship, see Matthew Kinservik, 'Theatrical Regulation during the Restoration Period', in *A Companion to Restoration Drama*, ed. by Susan J. Owen (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), pp. 36-52, esp. 38-9; Janet Clare, '"All Run Now into Politicks": Dramatic Censorship during the Exclusion Crisis, 1678-82', in *Writing and Censorship in Britain*, ed. by Neil Sammells and Paul Hyland (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 46-59; Susan J. Owen, *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*, pp. 11-13; Winton, 'Dramatic Censorship', pp. 286-308; Arthur White, 'The Office of Revels and Dramatic Censorship During the Restoration Period', *Western Reserve University Bulletin*, 34 (1931), 5-45. See also: *A Register of English Theatrical Documents, 1660-1730*, eds. by Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, 2 vols (Edwardsville: Southern Illinois UP, 1982).

[41] As discussed in Chapter One, the question of which company had the rights to perform certain Shakespeare plays was clearly defined.

they were not interested in his play, *The Destruction of Jerusalem*, probably because they had staged a play on a similar theme, Thomas Otway's *Titus and Bernice*, in late 1676.[42] Crowne therefore took his play to the King's Company, which led the Duke's Company to demand that their rivals offer them payment for 'all the pension [Crowne] had received from them Amounting to one hundred & twelve pounds […] Besides nearly forty pounds he the said Mr Crowne paid out of his owne Pocket'.[43] *The Destruction of Jerusalem* was 'a dazzling success' for the King's Company, but the repercussions of performing a play to which their rivals held a legal claim seem to have been very costly indeed.[44]

The Master of the Revels during the Crisis was Charles Killigrew (1677-1725), and the office of Lord Chamberlain was occupied by Henry Bennet, the first Earl of Arlington, who had occupied the position since September 1674,[45] but the people who exerted the 'regulatory pressures' to which the two Restoration theatres were subject also included Charles II, 'London municipal judges and grand juries, and private citizens'.[46] Punitive measures appear to have ranged from the Lord Chamberlain's emendation of lines to outright bans, imprisonments, and violent attacks on actors and playwrights.[47] A number of cases highlight how costly the different forms of censorship could be for actors, playwrights and theatre managers. Aphra Behn and the actress Mary Slingsby were arrested in August 1682 for criticising the Duke of Monmouth in an epilogue.[48] Several Restoration actors were violently assaulted for disparaging

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[42] Don-John Dugas posits such a view. See 'Elkannah Settle, John Crowne and Nahum Tate', in *A Companion to Restoration Drama*, ed. by Susan J. Owen (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), pp. 378-95 (p. 388).
[43] James M. Osborn, *John Dryden: Some Biographical Facts and Problems* (New York: Columbia UP, 1940), p. 189, cited in Deborah Payne Fisk, '"Betwixt two Ages cast": Theatrical Dryden', in *Enchanted Ground: Reimagining John Dryden*, ed. by Maximilliam E. Novak and Jayne Elizabeth Lewis (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2004), pp. 226-43 (p. 229).
[44] Dugas, 'Elkannah Settle, John Crowne and Nahum Tate', p. 388.
[45] See Alan Marshall, 'Bennet, Henry, first earl of Arlington (bap. 1618, d. 1685)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2104> [accessed 12 December 2010].
[46] Kinservik, 'Theatrical Censorship', p. 36.
[47] Kinservik, 'Theatrical Censorship', pp. 36-9.
[48] Behn provided, and Lee delivered, a prologue and epilogue for the anonymous play, *Romulus and Hersilia* in 1682. See *The London Stage, Part One*, p. 311; Janet Todd, 'Behn, Aphra (1640?–1689)', in

influential figures; for example, Sir Charles Sedley is reported to have had the actor Edward Kynaston beaten for impersonating and mocking him on stage.[49] Dryden was possibly beaten up for the prologue he wrote to Nahum Tate's *The Loyal General* and,[50] as discussed below, Crowne was reportedly attacked for producing a satirical representation of the (by then late) Earl of Rochester. It therefore seems that playwrights and actors needed to appease not only those officially appointed to regulate plays but also a range of other censors, and that punitive measures extended beyond legal intervention.

By examining a selection of the plays suppressed between 1678 and 1682, one gains insight into the complicated censorship climate in which playwrights had to operate. It was not simply a case of Tory or Royalist plays gaining licences, while opposition plays were banned: plays designated both Whig and Tory suffered the wrath of a dizzying range of stage censors.[51] Some plays were banned outright, some merely delayed; some had lines emended by the Lord Chamberlain, while others were accused of libel or stopped at the request of influential figures. Getting a play licensed was, it seems, only the first hurdle, and a licence was no guarantee that the play would make it onto the stage,[52] let alone to the author's benefit night. Added to this was the threat that, regardless of a play's commercial success, offended individuals might subsequently decide to avenge suspected impersonations with serious consequences for the playwright and actors responsible.

Theatre censorship does not appear to have conformed to a standard pattern. Lee's pro-Republican play, *Lucius Junius Brutus*, was licensed by Killigrew but then stopped by the Lord Chamberlain who found it to contain 'very Scandalous Expressions

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Oxford Dictionary of National Biography <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1961> [accessed 12 December 2010].

[49] See Joseph Wood Krutch, *Comedy and Conscience after the Restoration* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1967), pp. 34-5.

[50] See Owen, *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*, p. 303n.

[51] Owen, *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*, p. 12.

[52] As Owen notes, many plays were initially granted a licence (*Restoration Theatre and Crisis*, p. 12).

& Reflections vpon y[e] Government'.[53] Lee's *The Massacre of Paris*, by contrast, was 'stopt, by the interposition of [the French] *Ambassador*, who was willing to save the Credit of his Country, and not to have the Memory of an Action so barbarous reviv'd', according to Dryden.[54] The events of the 1572 massacre were topical and cited as a parallel to the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis.[55] Lee's play was not only full of anti-French and anti-Catholic sentiments, but also featured a monarch named Charles (Charles IX) who is complicit in the deaths of his Protestant subjects.[56] The play's content certainly makes Dryden's claim plausible, but there is the added possibility, suggested by J. M. Armistead, that Killigrew banned Lee's play in retaliation for his move from the King's to the Duke's Company.[57]

Lee's other censored play, *The Duke of Guise*, produced in collaboration with John Dryden, was not so much banned as delayed. As Owen notes, it was 'simply held up for a few months, almost certainly to avoid making a political provocation at a sensitive time when the government was trying to engineer a Tory victory in the City of London', and was instead 'put on in the autumn after the elections were passed'.[58] The play drew strong opposition from the King's illegitimate son, the Duke of Monmouth, and his supporters, presumably because *The Duke of Guise*'s plot contained deliberate

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[53] Public Record Office, LC 5/144, 28, as quoted in 'Introduction', Lee, *Lucius Junius Brutu*s, ed. by John Loftis (Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1967), p. xii. See also, Arthur F. White, 'The Office of Revels', p. 36.
[54] *The Vindication, or The Parallel* (London, 1683), sig. F1[r].
[55] John Miller, *Popery and Politics in England, 1660-1688* (CUP, 1973), p. 89.
[56] The extent to which this play is anti-monarchy or simply anti-Catholic has been a matter of scholarly debate, with Susan Staves taking the latter view, J. Douglas Canfield and Richard E. Brown seeing it as 'clearly anti-Catholic, but not so clearly anti-monarchist', Candy B. K. Schille finding both the King's final speech and the play's ending unconvincing, and Susan J. Owen stressing the fact that Lee's hero is a 'Loyal Protestant' first and foremost, one who is prepared to take 'up arms to safeguard Protestantism and force a Protestant foreign policy on the king'. See: Susan Staves, *Players' Scepters: Fictions of Authority in the Restoration* (Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1979); J. Douglas Canfield, 'Royalism's Last Dramatic Stand: English Political Tragedy, 1679-89', *Studies in Philology*, 82 (1985), 234-63 (esp. p. 247); Richard E. Brown, 'The Dryden-Lee Collaboration: *Oedipus* and *The Duke of Guise*', *Restoration,* 9 (1985), 12-25 (p. 22); Candy B. K. Schille, 'Reappraising "Pathetic" Tragedies: *Venice Preserv'd* and *The Massacre of Paris*', *Restoration,* 12 (1988), 33-45 (p. 38); Owen, *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*, pp. 243-44. See also, Brown, 'Nathaniel Lee's Political Dramas, 1679-83', *Restoration,* 10 (1986), 41-52.
[57] *Nathaniel Lee* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979), p. 23.
[58] *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*, p.12.

parallels with the succession crisis raging in London, while the character of Guise invited comparison with Monmouth.[59]

Crowne's *City Politiques* was held up rather than banned, 'illustrat[ing] the narrowness and initial uncertainty of Tory victory',[60] but this is not the only form of censorship the play invited: *The London Stage* reports that friends of the late Earl of Rochester attacked Crowne in January 1683 because they thought Rochester had been impersonated in the play.[61] The most likely character parallel is Florio, described in the 'Dramatis Personae' as 'A Debauch, who pretends to be Dying of the Diseases his Vices brought upon him, and penitent', who is likely to have invited links with the rakish Earl's death-bed penitence and conversion.[62] Crowne's play, whose performance was delayed until 'the frenzy of the nation' began 'to cure', offers to show 'for half a crown' a very partial account of 'the sums the [Exclusionists'] Cause has cost [London] town' (sig. A4^{r}). The play 'flourish[es] the colours after victory', as Crowne put it in his dedication to the reader, satirising the Whigs and celebrating the defeat of the policy of exclusion (sig. A4^{r}).

The banning of a play before its premiere is exemplified by Thomas Shadwell's *The Lancashire Witches*. The Master of the Revels studied Shadwell's work twice. Killigrew initially granted a licence, having made only minor alterations, but the play's

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[59] For critical discussion of these parallels, see Kewes, 'Dryden and the Staging of Popular Politics', in *John Dryden: Tercentenary Essays*, ed. by Paul Hammond and David Hopkins (OUP, 2000), pp. 57-91 (p. 74); and John M. Wallace, 'Dryden and History: A Problem in Allegorical Reading', *English Literary History*, 36 (1969), 265-90 (p. 280). A pamphlet entitled *Sol in Opposition to Saturn* (1683), with a subtitle announcing a response to 'a late Tragedy call'd The Duke of Guise', identified Lee and Dryden's Guise as a model for the Duke of Monmouth and urged Monmouth not to be 'offended by the Silly Stage', advising that 'True Adversaries Seldom warning give, / Like that which in this Play, thou dost receive'. The two-sided pamphlet asks: 'Heaven [to] preserve great Monmouth [and] Let him live safe tho' Murther'd on Stage' (London: Printed for H. Jones, 1683). I am indebted to Kewes for bringing this pamphlet to my attention ('Dryden and the Staging of Popular Politics', esp. pp. 74-85).

[60] Owen, *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*, p. 99.

[61] *Part One*, p. 318.

[62] Sig A4^{v}. Robert D. Hume and Anthony Kaufman also see Florio as the most likely candidate, while John Harold Wilson and Susan Owen instead argue for Artall, also described in the 'Dramatis Personae' as 'a debauch'. See Robert D. Hume, The *Development of English Drama in the Late Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), p. 367; Kaufman, 'Civil Politics-Sexual Politics in John Crowne's *City Politiques*', *Restoration,* 6 (1982), 72-80; *City Politiques*, ed. by John Harold Wilson (Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1967); Owen, *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*, p. 100n.

content is said to have met with significant opposition from influential Tories, prompting Killigrew to recall the play for further consultation and omit a significant amount of Shadwell's text. This is the version of events given in the dedication to the printed play, where Shadwell reports hearing that 'great opposition was design'd against the Play (a month before it was acted)' (sig. A2^{r}). Shadwell claims that *The Lancashire Witches* is printed as he 'first writ it' with 'all that was expunged […] Printed in the Italic Letter' (sig. A2^{r}).[63] The fact that he was able to do so attests to the unequal levels of stage and print censorship at the time.[64]

Two Shakespeare alterations were also censored. *Henry the Sixth*, as its author, Crowne put it, 'pleas'd the best Men of England, but displeas'd the worst; for e're it liv'd long, it was stifled by command'.[65] The popularity of Crowne's play is reflected in Gerard Langbaine's report that, although it was 'oppos'd by the Popish Faction', it was 'well receiv'd by the Rest of the Audience'.[66] The features of Crowne's play that would have offended 'the Popish Faction' are summed up in the prologue's claim that the playwright has added 'A little Vinegar against the Pope' (sig. A2^{r}). Crowne's play depicts an illegitimate Cardinal who abuses his position to manipulate men into murdering Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. The Cardinal not only tells the murderers that they will be acting in the service of the Church but also assures them that heaven

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[63] For more on Shadwell's play, see: Jessica Munns, 'The Golden Days of Queen Elizabeth: Thomas Shadwell's *The Lancashire-Witches* and the Politics of Nostalgia', in *Thomas Shadwell Reconsider'd: Essays in Criticism*, ed. by Judith Bailey Slagle, Special issue of *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660-1700,* 20 (1996), 195-216; Slagle, 'Thomas Shadwell's Censored Comedy, *The Lancashire Witches*: An Attack on Religious Ritual or Divine Right?', *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theatre Research,* 7 (1992), 54-63; Christopher J. Wheatley, *Without God or Reason: The Plays of Thomas Shadwell and Secular Ethics in the Restoration* (Lewisburg: Bucknell UP, 1993). For discussion of Shadwell's use of source-texts, particularly his use of Thomas Heywood and Richard Brome's *The Late Lancashire Witches* (1634) and Ben Jonson's *The Masque of Queens* (1609), see: Albert Stephens Borgman, *Thomas Shadwell: His Life and Comedies* (New York: New York UP, 1928), esp. pp. 193-202; Brian Corman, 'Thomas Shadwell and the Jonsonian Comedy of the Restoration', in *From Renaissance to Restoration: Metamorphoses of the Drama,* ed. by Robert Markley and Laura Finke (Cleveland: Bellflower Press, 1984), pp. 127-52.

[64] For more on print regulation during the Crisis, see Timothy Crist, 'Government Control of the Press after the Expiration of the Printing Act in 1679', *Publishing History*, 5 (1979), 49-78; Mark Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678-81* (CUP, 1994), pp. 156-84; and Owen, *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*, pp. 159-60.

[65] *The English Fryar* (London, 1690), sig. A3^{v}.

[66] *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets* (Oxford, 1691), sig. F8^{v}.

will reward their deed. Crowne's play, which I discuss in more detail in Chapter Three, therefore contained material that Catholics may well have deemed offensive.

Another Shakespeare alteration that appears to have had a successful run interrupted by stage censorship is Nahum Tate's *The History of Richard II*. Tate's play offers one of the most complicated and arguably the most severe examples of Exclusion Crisis censorship. What exactly happened to Tate's play remains somewhat mysterious, but the most probable sequence of events begins with *The History of Richard II* being refused a licence, before appearing with a new title and locale: *The Tyrant of Sicily*.[67] It is thought that the renamed play was then performed without a licence and stopped on benefit night, thereby causing the King's Company to close from 19-29 January as punishment.[68] Tate's Epistle Dedicatory confirms that his play was 'supprest, first in its own Name […] and after in Disguise […] it was Silenc'd on the Third Day' (sig. B3^{v}). *The Newdigate Newsletters* add that 'the Poet put the name Tyrant of Sicily upon' a play ('K. Richd ye 2.d') that had been 'forbid acting att y^{e} K^{s} house', and that the play was 'acted twice this weeke' under its new name until 'the Cheate being found out it was forbid acting againe'.[69] Tate's play thus seems to have been popular with audiences but too controversial for stage censors.

Tate has been attacked in almost every scholarly response to his *Richard II*. Hume writes that 'to suppose that this subject could be made to pass in the midst of the Exclusion Crisis must require either disingenuousness or plain stupidity', Barbara

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[67] On the censorship of Tate's *Richard II*, see Leticia Alvarez-Recio, 'Nahum Tate's *The History of Richard the Second* (1681): Politics and Censorship during the Exclusion Crisis', *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theatre Research*, 24 (2009), 17-30; Odai Johnson, 'Empty Houses: The Suppression of Tate's *Richard II*', *Theatre Journal*, 47 (1995), 503-16; Robert Müller, 'Nahum Tate's *Richard II* and Censorship during the Exclusion Bill Crisis in England', in *Poetic Drama and Poetic Theory*, ed. by James Hogg (Salzburg: Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, 1975), pp. 40-51; Timothy Viator, 'Nahum Tate's *Richard II*', *Theatre Notebook,* 42 (1988), 109-17.

[68] Viator sees the King's Company's decision to stage the banned play as an act of desperation directly linked to their movement towards bankruptcy ('Nahum Tate's *Richard II*').

[69] *The Newdigate Newsletters* were issued by the Secretary of State's Office and ran from 1674-1715. Tate's play is discussed in an issue dated 20 January 1681, cited in *The London Stage, Part One*, p. 294. Hume suggests that the play was 'refused a license in December 1680 [and] was staged a month later under the wildly inappropriate title, *The Sicilian Usurper*' (*The Development of English Drama*, p. 222).

Murray that it was 'a fundamentally silly idea' to produce a play about Richard II's 'usurpation and assassination', and Dobson that Tate's decision to alter Shakespeare's *Richard II* at this time was 'tactless'.[70] What these critics seem to overlook, however, is the strong evidence to suggest that Tate was on his way to receiving the author's benefit. His *Richard II* was a politically sensitive play, but it was also, and surely not fortuitously, a money-spinner. Tate took a gamble; it may not have paid off, but it came very close to doing so.

The example of Tate's *Richard II* suggests that playwrights needed to walk a thin line, providing enough spectacle and political commentary to make their plays appealing to audiences without incurring the displeasure of the censors, whose interventions could result in serious financial loss. This, as I go on to suggest, helps to explain why Shakespeare's plays enjoyed not only renewed but unprecedented popularity as source-texts during the Exclusion Crisis: they contained topical parallels, while his name could be used to divert attention away from the altered play's politics. It is to the ready-made parallels in Shakespeare's plays that I now wish to turn.

The Topicality of Shakespeare's Plots and Characters

The Shakespeare plays selected for alteration between 1678 and 1682 were predominantly taken from his histories and tragedies. The plays feature scenes and characters that would have resonated with the events and figures at the centre of the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis.[71] I wish to suggest that Shakespeare's appeal during

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[70] *The Development of English Drama*, p. 222; *Restoration Shakespeare*, p. 145; *The Making of the National Poet*, p. 70.

[71] For Dobson, altering playwrights of the Exclusion Crisis recognised Shakespeare's 'mastery of pathos, and his creation of a body of plays specifically concerned with British history'; Jean I. Marsden also describes Shakespeare's plays as 'ripe for political reinterpretation' during the 1670s and 80s; John M. Wallace argues that Shakespeare's plays were altered during the Crisis because of their concern with 'banishment or exclusion'; and Wikander also views the alteration of Shakespeare's plays between 1678 and 1682 as 'primarily a political activity'. See Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet*, p. 64; Marsden, *The Re-Imagined Text: Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Eighteenth-Century Literary Theory* (Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1995), p. 41; Wallace, 'Otway's *Caius Marius* and the Exclusion Crisis', *Modern Philology*, 85 (1988), 363-72 (p. 363); Wikander, 'The Spitted Infant: Scenic Emblem and

the Crisis was based on his dramatization of succession debates, usurpation, civil unrest, the need to put public duty ahead of private love (or lust), and highly topical monarchical reigns. Altering playwrights found plays that resonated with their troubled present and the conflicts of their recent past. [72]

Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens* may have appealed to Shadwell on account of the play's relation to the economic concerns affecting Charles II's reign in the 1670s. Shakespeare's *Timon* depicts a man who gives and gives until he has no money left, only to find his beneficiaries ungrateful and unwilling to assist him when he requires aid. Financial or property concerns had dominated Restoration politics from the outset, with many who had lost money and land in support of the monarchy in the 1630s and 40s feeling that Charles II was 'more anxious to appease old enemies than to reward old friends'.[73] Conversely, like Timon, Charles II 'appears to have been personally generous, liberally handing out to royalists peerages, baronetcies, knighthoods, offices, estates and pensions, to the dismay of his Lord Treasurer'.[74] By the late 1670s, excessive spending meant that the Lord Treasurer 'presided over a huge floating debt', leading to 'a severe retrenchment programme on the King's household, wardrobe, chamber and privy purse expenditure'.[75] It is therefore likely that Shadwell found in Shakespeare's *Timon* subject matter that spoke to current affairs.

Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* and *King Lear* most probably appealed because of their explicit interest in the problems associated with succession. *Titus* opens with a

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Exclusionist Politics in Restoration Adaptations of Shakespeare', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 37 (1986), 340-58 (p. 341).

[72] For discussion of possible source copies, see *The History of King Lear*, ed. by James Black (Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1975), p. 99; Sonia Massai, 'Nahum Tate's Critical "Editing" of his Source-Text(s) for *The History of King Lear*', *Textus*, 9 (1996), 501-22 (p. 503); and Massai, 'Nahum Tate's Revision of Shakespeare's *King Lear*', *Studies in English Literature*, 40 (2000), 435-50. For the idea of Tate as an editor or 'perfector' of Shakespeare's texts and the Fourth Folio, see Massai, *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor* (CUP, 2007), Ch. 6. Playwrights, particularly Dryden and Tate, had knowledge of a number of Shakespeare's plays. I am therefore inclined to believe that they had access to a Shakespeare Folio. (In addition to the three plays he altered, Tate demonstrates knowledge of *Anthony and Cleopatra*, *Julius Caesar*, *3 Henry VI*, *Richard III*, and *Troilus and Cressida*.)

[73] N. H. Keeble, *The Restoration: England in the 1660s* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), p. 82.

[74] Keeble, *The Restoration: England in the 1660s*, p. 83.

[75] Mark Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678-81* (CUP, 1994), p. 20. See also, C. D. Chandaman, *The English Public Revenue 1660-1688* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975), p. 250.

power vacuum and uncertainty as to who should next lead Rome, with Saturninus and Bassianus debating the rights of succession. Saturninus urges his followers to 'plead [his] successive title with [their] swords', using primogeniture as the basis for his claim to the throne: 'I am his first-born son that was the last / That wore the imperial diadem of Rome'.[76] Bassianus's response more closely fits the views of Exclusionists, as he urges his friends to 'let desert in pure election shine' and 'fight for freedom in [their] choice' (1.1.16-17). This succession debate is echoed in Chiron and Demetrius's arguments over Lavinia: Chiron protests that it is 'not the difference of a year or two / Makes [him] less gracious, or [Demetrius] more fortunate', and insists that he is 'as able and as fit […] to serve, and to deserve' Lavinia as his brother (1.1.530-33). The encroachment on the rights of a pretender to the throne is important to the play, as exemplified by Aaron's 'why, lords, and think you not how dangerous it is to jet upon a prince's right?', which further adds to the play's topical appeal for a playwright of the late 1670s (1.1.562-3). Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* easily lent itself to the topics and debates of the late 1670s and early 1680s.

Shakespeare's *King Lear* also focuses on succession and rightful inheritance, with the Gloucester sub-plot offering material likely to resonate with Exclusion Crisis audiences. The tragedy's plot is driven by King Lear's decision to divide his kingdom 'where nature doth with merit challenge', according to the Folio, or 'where merit most challenge it', according to the Quartos.[77] The idea of allowing love, natural bonds of affection, and merit to dictate succession was strongly opposed by Charles II and the Duke of York's supporters. As a pamphleteer put it, 'No Human Power can hinder the Descent upon the Right Heir of the Crown', and, as another argued, 'no Law, no Fault

[76] William Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus*. The Arden Shakespeare, ed. by Jonathan Bate (London: Routledge, 1995), 1.4.5-6. All quotations are taken from this edition.
[77] Shakespeare, *King Lear*. The Arden Shakespeare, ed. by R. A. Foakes (Walton-on-Thames, Surrey: Thomas Nelson, 1997) 1.1.53. All quotations are taken from this edition.

or Forfeiture can alter' the legal line of succession.[78] The notion of a monarch electing a successor before his or her own death had also been debated by pamphleteers such as Robert Ferguson, who stated that 'Q. Elizabeth would never positively name her Succesour, though often importtned [sic] by Parliaments so to do; for she very well understood, that if this had been once done, she should afterwards Reign only by his courtesie, and owe the remain of her Life, and the Peace of the Government to his Grace and Favour whom she had published for presumptive Heir'.[79] King Lear's naïve reliance on his daughters' hospitality and favour would for these reasons have had immediate relevance for audiences of the late 1670s and early 1680s.

The sub-plot of Shakespeare's *King Lear* features an illegitimate son with designs on inheriting his father's title and lands, as Edmund plots to incriminate his brother, 'Legitimate Edgar' (1.2.16), and usurp his birth-right: the title and lands of Gloucester. Edmund's 'Thou Nature' soliloquy, with its emphasis on the inheritance claims of natural sons, is reminiscent of the debates over the claim to the throne of Charles II's illegitimate son, the Duke of Monmouth. The Duke of York's supporters accused those who believed in a Popish Plot of attempting to scaremonger in order to undermine the Duke of York's claim to the throne, just as Edmund's lies about Edgar succeed in turning the play's other characters against him. More extreme exclusionists were, like Edmund, rumoured to be planning rebellions that would 'top the legitimate [and] stand up for bastards!' (1.2.21-2).[80] It thus seems that Tate found topical material in the sub-plot and the main plot of Shakespeare's play.

Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* and *Romeo and Juliet* depict factional and political division while dramatizing the predicted consequences of exclusion. Shakespeare's

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[78] E. F., *A Letter from a Gentleman of Quality in the Country to His Friend* (London, 1679); and Humfrey Gower, *The Speech of Doctor Gower, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, to his Sacred Majesty* (Edinburgh, 1681), both cited in Tim Harris, *Restoration: Charles the II and his Kingdoms* (London: Penguin, 2005), p. 225.
[79] Robert Ferguson (?), *A Letter to a Person of Honour Concerning the Black Box* (1680), sig. A3^{r}.
[80] Harris, *Restoration*, p. 200.

Romeo and Juliet emphasised the disastrous consequences of rival factions, thereby speaking to fears that the succession crisis would lead to renewed civil war. *Coriolanus* depicts exactly what some Tories predicted would happen, should James, Duke of York, be excluded from the legal line of succession. It was claimed that, if excluded, the Duke of York would 'descend upon the people of England with an army to recover his rights',[81] as he would be 'at liberty to recover his Right by secret or open Violence, Foreign or Domestic'.[82] Coriolanus's return to 'ungrateful Rome' at the head of a Volscian army thus probably spoke to such fears,[83] particularly so as the close proximity of the Volsci to Rome could have suggested James's loyal supporters in the neighbouring kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland.[84]

Whereas *Titus Andronicus*, *King Lear*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Coriolanus* invited parallels with Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis politics, *Troilus and Cressida* and *Cymbeline* may have suggested ways of dramatizing late seventeenth-century concerns over effeminacy. As Owen has stated, '"effeminacy" in the Restoration sense of enslavement to women and sexual desire was seen as one of Charles II's major faults'.[85] *Cymbeline*'s portrayal of a king who is heavily influenced by his ambitious Queen, and *Troilus and Cressida*'s emphasis on the need to privilege public concerns over private, and particularly romantic ones, will have struck a chord with concerns over Charles II's high profile affairs. This is seen in Troilus's unwillingness to fight because of his internal, emotional 'battle' over Cressida,[86] in Achilles passing 'Upon a lazy bed the livelong day' with Patroclus (1.3.147) rather than focusing on the military campaign and, of course, in the wars themselves, fought over Paris's abduction of Helen. The idea of putting love before duty was found in satiric portrayals of Charles II, such as

[81] Harris, *Restoration*, p. 238.
[82] Cited in Harris, *Restoration*, p. 238.
[83] Shakespeare, *Coriolanus*. The Arden Shakespeare, ed. by Philip Brockbank (London: Methuen, 1976), 4.5.131. All quotations are taken from this edition.
[84] Harris, *Restoration*, p. 240.
[85] *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*, p. 9.
[86] Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*. The Arden Shakespeare, ed. by David Bevington (Walton-on-Thames, Surrey: Thomas Nelson, 1998), 1.1.2-3. All quotations are taken from this edition.

Rochester's 'Sceptre-Prick' lampoon, according to which 'the Isle of Brittain' had 'The easiest King and best bred Man alive'.[87] Readers of *Troilus and Cressida* may have been reminded of Charles being accused of putting lust before duty and thereby risking the 'Safety' and 'Religion' of his country.[88]

Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* may also have appealed to the Duke's Company as a way of reusing material purchased for a production of Banks's *The Destruction of Troy*, staged at Dorset Gardens in the autumn of 1678. In the play's preface, Dryden refers to discussing his alteration of *Troilus and Cressida* with the company's manager and lead actor, Thomas Betterton (sig. B1^{r}), and the two plays would call for similar scenery, such as scenes depicting the Greek and Trojan camps and tents, and costumes. It would therefore have made commercial sense to attempt another Trojan play.

The decision to alter Shakespeare's *Richard II* and his Henry VI plays can be explained by the fact that these reigns, and the Wars of the Roses more generally, were repeatedly cited in political writings of the late 1670s and early 1680s,[89] as they offered examples of deposed kings and usurpation. As one pamphlet put it, 'The unfortunate Reigns of Henry III. Edward II. Richard II. and Henry VI. ought to serve as Land-marks to warn succeeding Kings; from preserring [sic] secret Councils to the wisdom of their

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[87] 'A Satyr on Charles II' (lines 4-13), in *The Complete Works of John Wilmot Earl of Rochester*, ed. by David M. Vieth (New Haven: Yale UP, 1962), pp. 60-61. As Paul Hammond has demonstrated, poets depicted 'the King's own sexual body […] to indicate how the private body has tyrannized over the body politic'. See 'The King's Two Bodies: Representations of Charles II', in *Culture, Politics and Society in Britain, 1660-1800*, ed. by Jeremy Black and Jeremy Gregory (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1991), pp. 13-48 (p. 27), and Rachel Weil, 'Sometimes a Sceptre is only a Sceptre: Politics and Pornography in Restoration England', in *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500-1800*, ed. by Lynn Hunt (New York: Zone Books, 1993), pp. 125-56.

[88] As Rochester's poem put it, 'Though safety, law, religion, life lay on't', Charles's penis would 'break through all to make its way to cunt' (lines 18-19), *The Complete Works of John Wilmot*, p. 61.

[89] Shakespeare's play had gained oppositional associations after the Earl of Essex's supporters allegedly financed a performance of *Richard II* on the eve of the abortive rebellion he led against Elizabeth in 1601. As Stanley Wells states, 'a play about Richard II, almost certainly Shakespeare's, was used as an instrument in the political struggle [now known as the Essex rebellion]. A performance at the Globe theatre by the company of players to which Shakespeare belonged was arranged and paid for by Essex's supporters, apparently as a gesture of encouragement and defiance […] The Essex supporters attended the performance on 7 February 1601. On the following day, Essex led his abortive rebellion'. 'Introduction', *King Richard the Second.* New Penguin Shakespeare. Revised edn (London: Penguin, 1997), p. 13.

Parliaments'.[90] Another, printed in 1681, had it that 'King Henry the Sixth […] occupied the Realm of England and Lordship of Ireland, and exercised the Governance thereof, by unryghtwyse [sic], intrusion, usurpation, and no otherwise',[91] while *A just and modest vindication of His Royal Highness the Duke of York* (1680) was keen to stress the punishment that befell Parliament and Henry IV's deposition of Richard II: continual 'War, [and] Rebellions great and frequent' (sig. B3^{v}). Not only did Henry IV die 'with much concern and perplexity of mind' over the 'question whether […] the people of England could remove his Cousin and give him the Crown', but his actions also plagued his heirs, Henry V and Henry VI. The former's life was 'short' and ended full of 'troubles', while the latter was 'the visible unfortunate Object of God's justice for the sins of his Grandfather' (sig. B3^{v}). Shakespeare's *Richard II* and his Henry VI plays thus provided altering playwrights with an ideal opportunity to contribute to current debates over succession, and historical precedents for interfering with it.[92]

Shakespeare's *Richard II* was already a controversial play in its own time, with the deposition scene in 4.1 probably omitted from the three editions printed during Elizabeth I's reign, and not restored until after her death.[93] Charles II and his supporters are likely to have been perturbed by the play's content for the same reasons as Elizabeth, who famously observed the links between her own reign and that of Richard II.[94] Both Elizabeth I and Charles II failed to produce legitimate heirs, thereby precipitating succession crises. Elizabeth and Charles could be further compared to

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[90] Edmund Bohun is here citing (and then refuting) claims made in a previous tract. See Bohun's *Reflections on a Pamphlet Stiled, A Just and Modest Vindication of the Proceedings of the last two Parliaments* (London, 1683), sig. J4^{r}. Bohun references the claim as being made on p. 18 of the earlier pamphlet but claims that the other work has since been suppressed.

[91] Robert Brady, *A True and Exact History of the Succession of the Crown of England* (London, 1681), sig. J1^{v}.

[92] Susan Owen notes that Richard II's reign was cited 'as a legal precedent for parliamentary alteration of the succession' but, as I have suggested, it is important to recognise the way in which the reign was reclaimed and reappropriated by Tory writers (*Theatre and Crisis*, p. 224).

[93] It has also been argued that this scene was not omitted from the first three editions but was written later and thus added to the Fourth Quarto printing. See Wells, 'Introduction', *King Richard the Second*, pp. 12-14. See also Janet Clare, 'The Censorship of the Deposition Scene in *Richard II*', *The Review of English Studies*, 41 (1990), 89-94.

[94] See Wells, 'Introduction', *King Richard the Second*, p. 13.

Richard II in terms of their high profile and unpopular favourites. Shakespeare's play had lent itself to parallels between Richard and Elizabeth, Bolingbroke and Essex. Reused in the 1680s, it invited similar links between Richard and Charles, Bolingbroke and Monmouth. It therefore seems that Shakespeare's plays will have appealed to playwrights hoping to offer crowd-pleasingly topical plots and characters that resonated with the events and key figures of the late 1670s and early 1680s.

An additional explanation for the decision to turn to alteration of Shakespeare's plays may have been patronage, as it seems that a small but influential market for Shakespeare alterations opened up around the same time as the Exclusion Crisis. It is important to distinguish between this exclusive market, represented by only a handful of patrons, and the mass theatre market, represented by audience members unlikely to have been exposed to Shakespeare's plays, let alone his name in relation to his plays. Patronage is an economic consideration that is usually discussed solely in relation to print, but it is important to remember the potential reward to be gained from a satisfied patron's presence at the author's benefit night. Hume claims that, in order to assist a playwright on his or her benefit night, 'a patron could pay any sum for a ticket, and might not even use it'.[95] It is perhaps significant, then, that Tate, the prime producer of Shakespeare alterations during the Exclusion Crisis, points to the requests of external agents as an impetus for interacting with Shakespeare's works. In the address to Edward Taylar printed with *The Loyal General* of 1680 Tate refers to Taylar's 'strong desire […] to see the Common Places of our Shakespeare, compar'd with the most famous of the Ancients' (sig. A4^{r}). In the dedication to Thomas Boteler in *The History of King Lear*, Tate states that Boteler advised him to 'attempt the Revival of [Shakespeare's *Lear*] with Alterations', pointing to 'the Power of [Boteler's] Perswasion' as a primary

[95] Hume, 'The Economics of Culture', p. 501.

motive for the 'Undertaking' (sig. A2^{r}). If the market for a particular type of play had already been identified, then it made good sense to exploit it.

Thomas Shadwell's *Timon of Athens, or the Man-Hater* (1678)

I would like to suggest one final explanation for the decision to alter Shakespeare's plays on an unprecedented scale between 1678 and 1682. I endorse Arthur S. Borgman's view that Shadwell's alteration of *Timon of Athens* 'seems to have set the fashion for a series of rewritings of Shakespearean tragedies and historical plays'.[96] In 1674 Shadwell had already enjoyed 'tremendous success' with his operatic version of the Dryden and Davenant *Tempest*:[97] no 'succeeding Opera got more Money'.[98] It is possible that he and the Duke's Company staged a Shakespeare alteration in the 1677-1678 season with the hope of matching the *Tempest*'s success. John Downes reports that Shadwell's *Timon of Athens* was 'very well Acted, and the Musick in't well Perform'd', adding that 'it wonderfully pleas'd the Court and City'.[99] It was another popular play, and the financial return was probably recognised by the two theatre managers and a number of playwrights.

Shadwell's *Timon* provides a useful bridge between Shakespeare alterations produced between 1660 and 1677 and those produced from 1678 to 1682. Although staged before Titus Oates's accusations of a Popish Plot in the autumn of 1678, Shadwell's *Timon* still reflects the conflicts and concerns that took centre stage during the Exclusion Crisis. As argued in my introduction, the Popish Plot and the policy of exclusion were not created *ex nihilo*; they had their origins in the Reformation and

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[96] *Thomas Shadwell: His Life and Comedies* (New York: New York UP, 1928), p. 32.
[97] See John Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus, or An Historical Review of the Stage*, ed. by Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume (London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1987), p. 72. For a similar point regarding the influence the Dryden and Davenant *Tempest* had on later Shakespeare alterations see Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet*, pp. 59-60.
[98] *Roscius Anglicanus*, ed. by Hume and Milhous, p. 74. It has also been noted that Shadwell's *Tempest* 'seems to have been relatively inexpensive (though fancily staged), which helped make it more profitable', and that it 'was the most popular work on the London stage prior to *The Beggar's Opera* in 1728' (See Hume and Milhous's note to *Roscius Anglicanus*, p. 74).
[99] *Roscius Anglicanus*, ed. by Hume and Milhous, p. 78.

Counter-Reformation debates which had divided the three kingdoms for over a century, in the blow the crisis of the 1630s and 1640s had delivered to national unity, and in the more recent events and movements of the 1670s.[100] I would therefore argue that Shadwell's *Timon* is a Shakespeare alteration that resonates with contemporary politics without yet offering the kind of political allegiance found in alterations produced in the wake of autumn 1678 and the three Exclusion Parliaments of 1679, 1680 and 1681.

Shadwell emphasised the theme of ingratitude in Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens* by modifying the loyalty displayed by existing characters, and by adding contrasting female characters.[101] Flavius, now called Demetrius, is no longer a faithful steward. He is governed by self-interest, as indicated in his reflection on Timon's bankruptcy: 'would I were gently turn'd / Out of my Office; lest he shou'd borrow all / I have gotten in his service' (sig. F2^{r}). Needless to say, this steward does not follow Timon into the woods to offer aid. Shadwell further joined the plot strands concerning Timon and Alcibiades by adding two new female characters: Timon has a faithful long-term mistress called Evandra, but he has since fallen in love with a shallow, self-interested woman named Melissa, to whom he is now engaged. Alcibiades is also romantically linked to Melissa, whose interest in the two men fluctuates according to their changing personal fortunes. Having abandoned Alcibiades for Timon when he was banished from Athens, Melissa turns her back on Timon once his bankruptcy is made public. She then reverts to Alcibiades on his return to Athens only to desert him once more when she receives word that Timon, by this point in exile, has discovered gold. Timon finally sees

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[100] For further comparison between the 1630s and 40s and the 1670s and 80s, see Jonathan Scott, *Algernon Sidney and the Restoration Crisis, 1677-1683* (CUP, 1991), p. 63.

[101] There has been debate among scholars as to Shadwell's sources for the new female characters, and the characters may well show signs of Shadwell's debt to other, non-Shakespearean dramatists. There certainly seem to be grounds for linking Melissa to Olivia of William Wycherley's *The Plain Dealer*, and Melissa and Evandra to Molière's Célimène and 'la sincère Éliante' respectively. For the Wycherley parallels, see P. F. Vernon, 'Social Satire in Shadwell's *Timon*', *Studia Neophilologica*, 35 (1963), 221-26. For the Molière parallels, see John Edmonds, '*Timon of Athens* Blended with *Le Misanthrope*: Shadwell's Recipe for Satirical Tragedy', *Modern Language Review*, 64 (1969), 500-07. See also A. S. Borgman, *Thomas Shadwell: His Life and Comedies* (New York: New York UP, 1928); and J. Wilcox, *The Relation of Moliere to Restoration Comedy* (New York: Columbia UP, 1938).

through Melissa and repudiates her in favour of loyal Evandra (who assumes Flavius's role in the woods), and Alcibiades in turn rejects her when his successful invasion of Athens prompts yet another love-conversion. Evandra's loyalty provides not only contrast with Melissa – who claims to be 'always true / to interest and to [her] self' (K3^{v}) – but also one of the play's clearest moral points: Evandra kills herself, having failed to persuade Timon to live, and the report of their deaths leads Alcibiades to lament that it was 'smiling, flattering Knaves [who] devour'd [Timon], / And murder'd [him] with base ingratitude', declaring Evandra a representation of a 'Miracle of Constancy in Love' (sig. M3^{v}). Ingratitude and self-interest are thus key themes of Shadwell's play.

Much has been made of the fact that Shadwell dedicated the play to Buckingham, whom he daringly addressed as 'the Most Illustrious Prince' (sig. A2^{r}).[102] It has been argued that Shadwell's *Timon* is a play 'in which a rebellious faction not only surges to victory but by doing so cleanses a corrupt system and brings liberty to the people', thereby 'suggesting a parallel between Alcibiades' attacks on the Athenian Senate and the Duke of Buckingham's attacks on what Whigs saw as a corrupt government'.[103] Gary Taylor also believes that Shadwell's Alcibiades suggests parallels with 'the reforming Duke of Buckingham's attacks on the English House of Commons'.[104] Charles II prorogued parliament on 22 November 1675 and did not call it again in 1676, thereby prompting Buckingham to protest, when parliament next met in February 1677, that 'the prorogation had *ipso facto* rendered parliament dissolved, since

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[102] Montague Summers suggests that Buckingham was a fan of Shakespeare's works and that he introduced Shadwell to *Timon of Athens* and encouraged him to alter it, but he does not offer any evidence to support his claim (*The Complete Works of Thomas Shadwell*, ed. by Montague Summers, 5 vols (London: The Fortune P, 1927), pp. cxlv-cxlvi). Rather than appreciation of Shakespeare's play, the Epistle Dedicatory suggests that Buckingham enjoyed Shadwell's *Timon* when he saw it performed and that Shadwell thus dedicated the printed version of the play to him: 'I am now to present your Grace with this History of Timon, which you were pleased to tell me you liked' (sig. A2^{v}).

[103] Marsden, *The Re-Imagined Text*, p. 43.

[104] Gary Taylor, *Reinventing Shakespeare: A Cultural History from the Restoration to the Present* (New York: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1989), p. 24. Taylor is following the lead of Gunnar Sorelius in 'Shadwell Deviating into Sense: *Timon of Athens* and the Duke of Buckingham', *Studia Neophilogica,* 36 (1964), 232-34.

there existed two unrepealed medieval statutes decreeing that a parliament be called at least every twelve months'.[105] Parliament had not been decided by election since 1661, and the refusal to dissolve it was seen as tyranny by Buckingham and his supporters.[106]

The traditional critical view of Shadwell's *Timon* is that it is a Whig play, but I would argue that it engages with the politics of the 1670s without necessarily reflecting clearly defined political sympathies.[107] It is true that Shadwell's play encourages condemnation of the senators, but there is no clear indication that we are to celebrate Alcibiades or his cause. The elements of Shadwell's play that critics align with Whig views include the depiction of the corrupt senators, Alcibiades' expulsion of these 'four hundred Tyrants' (sig. M3^{v}), and the people's celebration of Alcibiades as they chant his name at the play's end. Alcibiades claims that 'when a few shall Lord it o're the rest, / They govern for themselves and not the People' (sig. M3^{v}). That we are to condemn the senators is made clear from the ingratitude they show to Timon and in Apemantus's attacks on them (sig. F3^{v}), but the extent to which we are to admire or support Alcibiades and his cause is less apparent. Alcibiades' decision to invade Athens is made in the wake of his arguments with the Senators, but Apemantus predicted trouble as early as the second act, when he warned Timon that Alcibiades' 'foul Riot and his inordinate Lust […] / His selfish Principles [and] / The Rage and Madness of his Luxury Will make the Athenians hearts ake' (sig. E2^{v}). Alcibiades confirms such fears when he tells Melissa that, should the Senators try to uphold his banishment and thereby

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[105] As quoted in Sorelius, 'Shadwell Deviating into Sense', p. 238.

[106] As quoted in Sorelius, 'Shadwell Deviating into Sense', p. 238. According to Sorelius, Buckingham accused those in power of 'look[ing] upon themselves as a *standing Senate*, and as a number of Men pick'd out to be Legislators for the rest of their lives' and insisted that only dissolution and new elections would 'restore to all the People of *England* their undoubted Rights of chusing Men frequently to represent their Grievances in Parliament' ('Shadwell Deviating into Sense', p. 238).

[107] As I have argued in my introduction, politics became increasingly partisan during the Crisis, but it would be some time before political parties with clearly defined policies and sympathies began to emerge. See Alan S. Fisher, 'The Significance of Thomas Shadwell', *Studies in Philology*, 71 (1974), 225-46; and Vernon, 'Social Satire in Shadwell's *Timon*'. For an overview of Shadwell's changes to Shakespeare's *Timon*, see Frederick W. Kilbourne, *Alterations and Adaptations of Shakespeare* (Boston: The Poet Lore Company, 1906), pp. 133-37. Steven Pincus provides a notable exception to the critical trend of reading Shadwell's *Timon* as a Whig play. See 'Shadwell's Dramatic Trimming', in *Religion, Literature and Politics in Post-Reformation England, 1540-1688*, ed. by Donna B. Hamilton and Richard Strier (CUP, 1996), pp. 253-74.

prevent him from seeing her, he will use his army to 'Rifle their houses, deflour their Wives and Daughters, / And dash their brains out' (sig. G2^{v}). This establishes a link between political resistance and self-interest, a link that is reinforced in Apemantus's attacks on Alcibiades later on in the play. Apemantus reminds the victorious would-be hero that, had the Senators not banished him, Alcibiades would not only 'have suffer'd / Wrong still to prosper, and th'insulting Tyrants / to thrive, swell and grow fat with their oppression' but also have 'join'd in them' (sig. M2^{v}). Alcibiades is not a character with whom an audience can wholeheartedly sympathise, even if he is kind to Timon at the play's end.

Equally, while there is no disputing the Senate's corruption, I am not convinced that the alternative rule established at the play's end leaves room for optimism. Alcibiades pronounces that 'the Government shall devolve upon the / People', and the play closes with the people chanting Alcibiades' name and 'Liberty' (sig. M3^{v}), but we must remember that these are the same citizens described as 'the tumultuous Rabble' earlier on in the play (sig. E2^{r}). In fact, when Alcibiades returns to Athens in the fourth act, he is said to do so in secret because he does not 'trust / The Insolence' of the Athenian people (sig. E2^{r}). We are also reminded that the corrupt senate was given power by Alcibiades (sig. M3^{r}), so there is good reason to suspect that he has misjudged once again by handing rule to the Athenian people. The play ends not with a resounding triumph of good over evil, but rather in chaotic, disordered chanting.

The play's moral position therefore seems to lie in Apemantus's condemnation of ingratitude and self-interest, and in Evandra's ability to offer faithful love despite the absence of a marriage contract binding her to Timon. I am for these reasons sceptical as to the extent to which Shadwell's *Timon* can be seen to portray a 'rebellious faction' cleansing 'a corrupt system', and, if Alcibiades was designed to represent Buckingham,

I find little evidence to suggest that he would have been 'flattered by the portrait'.[108] Shadwell's play was not partial in its politics, but it clearly reflected contemporary debates over loyalty, ingratitude and the validity of political resistance. This may well account for its ability to please both the 'Court and City',[109] which John Downes reported, and for the decision of other playwrights to turn to Shakespeare alteration as a means of offering topical plays under the protection of an old playwright's name.

I have suggested that the decision to alter Shakespeare's works after almost a decade without new alterations of his plays was the result of the economic and censorship conditions affecting the theatre market in the late 1670s and early 1680s. I have indicated that this climate made alteration of an old story or play an appealing option, and that Shakespeare was the most altered playwright during the period, accounting for almost twenty per cent of the new-plays repertory between 1678 and 1682. The appeal Shakespeare's plays had for altering playwrights and theatre managers can be explained by their novelty (given his plays' absence from the Restoration book trade and theatre repertory) and topicality in the late 1670s and early 1680s. I have additionally claimed that Shadwell's alteration of *Timon of Athens* in the months leading up to the Popish Plot may well have helped to persuade playwrights and theatre proprietors of the commercial benefits of Shakespeare alteration. The play's economic success and its demonstration of ways in which Shakespeare might be appropriated to offer commercially attractive topical productions may well have made Shadwell's *Timon* influential. It may be described as a play that trims between the rival groups beginning to emerge in the late 1670s. As I go on to argue, the Shakespeare alterations that followed were more explicit in their political outlooks and predominantly Tory in tone. It is to these Shakespeare alterations, produced from autumn 1678 to summer 1682, that I now wish to turn.

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[108] Sorelius, 'Shadwell Deviating into Sense', p. 234.
[109] Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus,* p. 78.

Table 5: New Plays, 1678-1682

Likely Premiere	Playwright(s)	Title	Company	Printed	Printed by / For
September 1678	John Dryden & Nathaniel Lee	*Oedipus*	Duke's	1679	For R. Bentley and M. Magnes
Autumn (by November) 1678	John Banks	*The Destruction of Troy*	Duke's	1679	Printed by A.G. and J.P. and are to be sold by Charles Blount
Autumn 1678	Edward Ravenscroft	*Titus Andronicus*	King's	1687	By J.B. for J. Hindmarsh
March 1679	John Bancroft	*The Tragedy of Sertorius*	King's	1679	For R. Bentley and M. Magnes
March 1679	Aphra Behn	*The Feign'd Curtizans*	Duke's	1679	For Richard Tonson […] and Jacob Tonson
March 1679	John Crowne	*The Ambitious Statesman*	King's	1679	For William Arbington
March / April 1679	John Dryden	*Troilus and Cressida*	Duke's	1679	For Jacob Tonson […] and Able Swall
May 1679	Nathaniel Lee	*Caesar Borgia*	Duke's	1680	Printed by R[obert]. E[veringham]. for R. Bentley, and M. Magnes
1689	**Nathaniel Lee**	***The Massacre of Paris***	**King's**	**1690**	**Printed for R. Bentley and M. Magnes**
September / October 1679	Aphra Behn	*The Young King*	Duke's	1683	Printed for D. Brown […] T. Benskin […] and H. Rhodes
September 1679	Thomas Shadwell	*The Woman Captain*	Duke's	1680	Printed for Samuel Carr

September / October 1679	Thomas Durfey	*The Virtuous Wife*	Duke's	1680	Printed by T[homas].N[ewcomb]. for R. Bentley and M. Magnes
October 1679	Thomas Otway	*Caius Marius*	Duke's	1680	Printed for Tho. Flesher
December 1679	Nahum Tate	*The Loyal General*	Duke's	1680	Printed for Henry Bonwicke
December 1679 / January 1680	John Crowne	*The Misery of Civil-War*	Duke's	1680	For R. Bentley and M. Magnes
January 1680	Lewis Maidwell	*The Loving Enemies*	Duke's	1680	Printed for John Guy
February / March 1680	Thomas Otway	*The Orphan*	Duke's	1680	For R. Bentley and M. Magnes
February 1680		*Fools have Fortune*[110]	Duke's	Not Extant	Not Extant
February / March 1680	William Whitaker	*The Conspiracy*	Duke's	1680	For William Cademan
Spring / Summer 1680	Aphra Behn?	*The Revenge*	Duke's	1680	For W. Cademan
Spring / Summer1680	John Crowne	*Thyestes*	King's	1681	For R. Bentley and M. Magnes
31 May 1680	Elkanah Settle	*The Female Prelate*	King's	1680	For W. Cademan
June 1680	Thomas Otway	*The Soldier's Fortune*	Duke's	1681	For R. Bentley and M. Magnes
September 1680	Elkanah Settle	*Fatal Love*	King's	1680	Printed for William Cademan
September 1680	Nathaniel Lee	*Theodosius*	Duke's	1680	For R. Bentley and M. Magnes

[110] Only a prologue and epilogue survive. See Milhous and Hume, 'The Prologue and Epilogue for *Fools have Fortune; or Luck's All* (1680)', *Harvard Library Quarterly*, 43 (1980), 313-21; Milhous and Hume, 'Lost English Plays, 1660-1700', *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 25 (1977), 5-33.

November 1680	John Dryden	*The Spanish Fryar*	Duke's	1681	For Richard Tonson and Jacob Tonson
8 December 1680	**Nathaniel Lee**	***Lucius Junius Brutus***	**Duke's**	**1681**	**For Richard Tonson and Jacob Tonson**
December 1680 / January 1681	**Nahum Tate**	***Richard II / The Sicilian Usurper***	**King's**	**1681**	**For Richard Tonson and Jacob Tonson**
Autumn 1680 / January 1681	Nahum Tate	*The History of King Lear*	Duke's	1681	For T. Flesher to be sold by R. Bentley and M. Magnes
January 1681	Aphra Behn	*The Second Part of the Rover*	Duke's	1681	For Jacob Tonson
January - March 1681	**John Crowne**	***Henry the Sixth, the First Part***	**Duke's**	**1681**	**For R. Bentley and M. Magnes**
March 1681	Charles Saunders	*Tamerlane the Great*	King's	1681	For Richard Bentley and M. Magnes
May 1681	John Banks	*The Unhappy Favourite*	King's	1682	For Richard Bentley and Mary Magnes
Summer / September 1681	**Thomas Shadwell**	***The Lancashire Witches***	**Duke's**	**1682**	**For John Starkey**
Summer / September 1681	Aphra Behn	*The False Count*	Duke's	1682	By M. Flesher for Jacob Tonson
October 1681	Thomas Durfey	*Sir Barnaby Whig*	King's	1681	By A.G. and J.P. for Joseph Hindmarsh
October / November 1681	Edward Ravenscroft	*The London Cuckolds*	Duke's	1683	For Jos. Hindmarsh

October / November 1681	Anon.	*Mr. Turbulent*	Duke's	1682	For Simon Neal
December 1681	Aphra Behn	*The Round-Heads*	Duke's	1682	For D. Brown […] and T. Benskin […] and H. Rhodes
December 1681	Nahum Tate	*The Ingratitude of a Common-Wealth*	King's	1682	By T. M. for Joseph Hindmarsh
23 January 1682	Thomas Durfey	*The Royalist*	Duke's	1682	For Jos. Hindmarsh
February 1682	Thomas Southerne	*The Loyal Brother*	King's	1682	For William Cademan
9 February 1682	Thomas Otway	*Venice Preserv'd*	Duke's	1682	For Jos. Hindmarsh
March 1682	Aphra Behn	*Like Father, like Son*	Duke's	Not Printed / Extant	
11 March 1682	Elkanah Settle	*The Heir of Morocco*	King's	1682	For William Cademan
February / March 1682	Thomas Durfey	*The Injured Princess*	King's	1682	For R. Bentley and M. Magnes
March 1682	John Banks	*Vertue Betray'd*	Duke's	1682	For R. Bentley and M. Magnes
April / May 1682[111]	Aphra Behn	*The City Heiress*	Duke's	1682	For D. Brown […] and T. Benskin […] and H. Rhodes
August 1682	Anon.	*Romulus and Hersilea*	Duke's	1682	For D. Brown and T. Benskin

- Bold typeface indicates that a play was banned.
- Black lines indicate season breaks.

[111] *The London Stage, Part One* notes that 'from 13 May 1682 onward Betterton and Smith received payment for managing both Drury Lane and Dorset Garden; a working union seems to have existed in the summer of 1682', p. 299.

Table 6: Performance and Publication History of Shakespeare Plays Altered, 1678-1682

	Most Recent Single Play Edition	**Last Printed**	**Last Recorded Post-1660 Performance**
Timon of Athens	N/A	F3 (1663/4)	N/A
Titus Andronicus	1611	F3 (1663/4)	N/A
Romeo and Juliet	1637	F3 (1663/4)	1662
Troilus and Cressida	1609	F3 (1663/4)	N/A
Richard II	1634	F3 (1663/4)	N/A
King Lear	1655	F3 (1663/4)	1675
Henry VI, Parts 2 & 3	As a single playbook (Pavier), *The Whole Contention* 1619 Individually 1600	F3 (1663/4)	N/A
Coriolanus	N/A	F3 (1663/4)	N/A
Cymbeline	N/A	F3 (1663/4)	N/A

Table 7: Censored Plays, 1678-1683

Playwright	Title	Company	Suppressed	Printed
Nathaniel Lee	*The Massacre of Paris*	King's	1679?[112]	1690
Nathaniel Lee	*Lucius Junius Brutus*	Duke's	1680	1681
Nahum Tate	*Richard the Second*	King's	1680	1681
John Crowne	*Henry the Sixth, the First Part*	Duke's	1680	1681
John Crowne	*City Politiques*	King's	1682	1683
John Banks	*Cyrus the Great*	King's	1681	1696
Thomas Shadwell	*The Lancashire Witches*	Duke's	1681	1682
John Dryden and Nathaniel Lee	*The Duke of Guise*	King's	1682	1683
John Banks	*The Innocent Usurper*		1683	1694

[112] See Owen, *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*, p. 240.

Chapter Three

The Politics of Shakespeare Alterations of the Exclusion Crisis

Playwrights altered Shakespeare's plays with unparalleled frequency during the Exclusion Crisis, with nine alterations produced and staged in only four theatrical seasons. In Chapter Two I contended that an environment of harsh stage censorship and crippling theatrical recession encouraged playwrights to alter older plays between 1678 and 1682. I also suggested that Shakespeare's plays acquired great topical and commercial appeal at this time. I now wish to examine how they were rewritten during the Exclusion Crisis. I do so by analysing ways in which playwrights used Shakespeare's plays to depict the political tumult in Restoration London, appropriating his histories and tragedies to offer responses to the policy to exclude James, Duke of York, from the succession. I argue that Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis were predominantly Tory in tone and that this is reflected in the dramatization of patriarchal authority and idealised male conduct. I identify three key ways in which Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis interact with the related themes of patriarchal politics and male comportment. Firstly, the alterations advocate political patriarchy and the need for strong, legitimate, male rule. Secondly, the plays offer commentary on ideal male-female relations and late seventeenth-century notions of effeminacy. Thirdly, the alterations dramatise family politics, using the microcosm to emphasise the importance of filial piety and paternal protection. I claim that the presentation of male, and particularly paternal, conduct found in Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis aligns them with Tory publications of the late 1670s and early 1680s, especially with Sir Robert Filmer's *Patriarcha* (1680), while offering important insights into late seventeenth-century sexual politics.

In employing analogies between the family and the state, the altering playwrights continued a tradition begun with Aristotle and more recently associated with Filmer (1588?-1653). Although written earlier, Filmer's *Patriarcha* was first printed in 1680 as part of the Tory propaganda campaign.[1] Filmer advocated the link between family and state, claiming that 'all Kings are either Fathers of their people' or else 'Heirs of such Fathers'.[2] As Michael McKeon has argued, prior to the political crisis of the mid-seventeenth century the analogy, implied in the term 'patriarchy', was both accepted and acted upon without significant contestation, but, following the mid-century upheaval and renewed conflict in the 1670s and early 1680s, what had previously been 'tacit knowledge' needed forceful repetition and reassertion.[3] Filmer's work became an important weapon in the Tory counter-propaganda campaign, and I would argue with McKeon that, rather than marking 'the triumphant ascendancy of patriarchal thought', the appearance of Filmer's works, particularly his *Patriarcha*, instead signalled 'its demise as tacit knowledge', an awareness that it faced a considerable threat.[4] The altering playwrights' emphasis on patriarchal politics thus

[1] There has been much debate as to when Filmer wrote *Patriarcha*. Glenn Burgess claims that 'there is good internal evidence to suggest that the manuscript of the work now in the University of Chicago Library Codex MS 413 was composed before 1631'. See 'Filmer, Sir Robert (1588?-1653)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9424> [accessed 8 May 2011]. On Filmer and the dating of his works, see James Daly, *Sir Robert Filmer and English Political Thought* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1979); Margaret J. M. Ezell, *The Patriarch's Wife: Literary Evidence and the History of the Family* (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1987); Peter Laslett, 'Sir Robert Filmer: The Man Versus the Whig Myth', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 5 (1948), 523-46; Gordon J. Schochet, 'Sir Robert Filmer: Some New Biographical Discoveries', *The Library*, 26 (1971), 135-60; and Johann P. Sommerville, *Sir Robert Filmer: Patriarcha and other Writings* (CUP, 1991).

[2] *Patriarcha, or, The Natural Power of Kings* (London, 1680), sig. A6^{r}.

[3] See 'Historicizing Patriarchy: The Emergence of Gender Difference in England, 1660-1760', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 28 (1995), 295-322 (p. 296). For further discussion of the state/family analogy, see: Susan D. Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), esp. Ch. 2; Gordon J. Schochet, *Patriarchalism in Political Thought: The Authoritarian Family and Political Speculation and Attitudes, Especially in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York: Basic Books, 1975); and Susan Staves, *Players' Sceptres: Fictions of Authority in the Restoration* (Lincoln, Neb.: U of Nebraska P, 1979), esp. Ch. 3.

[4] 'Historicizing Patriarchy', p. 296; Amussen, *An Ordered Society*; Schochet, *Patriarchalism in Political Thought*; Staves, *Players' Sceptres,* Ch. 3.

shows them to be contributing to what J. Douglas Canfield has termed 'royalism's last dramatic stand',[5] while exposing the fragile nature of royalist ideology.

Both sides of the succession debate used representations of the family unit to provide microcosmic displays of political rhetoric. Tories were keen to stress how rebellion and misplaced rule endangered the family unit, while Whigs instead claimed that tyrants, Catholic figures, and arbitrary government led to the destruction of natural bonds of kinship.[6] Within Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis one generally only finds examples of bad fatherhood or leadership in republican settings, or in situations where an illegitimate ruler is in power. The plays also present rebellion and civil war as threats to the state and private families, the suggestion being that, once rightful power is threatened or overthrown, paternal protection in the microcosm is also lost. As Susan Staves has stated, allegiance to fathers and rulers is something which both Whigs and Tories advocated; the point on which they disagreed was whether or not children and subjects owed such allegiance regardless of the patriarch's behaviour, or whether certain conditions existed in which allegiance could be severed and the patriarch's rule resisted.[7] The Tory stance saw no justification for resistance, while Whigs did, given exceptional circumstances. One accordingly finds in Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis great emphasis on filial piety, by which I mean the reverence, obedience and loyalty 'naturally owed to one's relatives [or] superiors' (*OED*).[8] The heroes and heroines of Shakespeare alterations display filial piety even when mistreated by their fathers, and, in doing so, they advocate the Tory code of passive resistance.

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[5] J. Douglas Canfield, 'Royalism's Last Dramatic Stand: English Political Tragedy, 1679-89', *Studies in Philology*, 82 (1985), 234-63.
[6] Susan J. Owen, *Restoration Theatre and Crisis* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), pp. 162-65.
[7] Staves, *Players' Scepters: Fictions of Authority in the Restoration*, Ch. 3; and Rachel Weil, *Political Passions: Gender, The Family and Political Argument in England, 1680-1714* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1999), Chs. 1 and 2.
[8] As James Black writes of Nahum Tate's *The History of King Lear* (London, 1681), the word 'piety' occurs frequently in Shakespeare alterations, but it is seldom used to 'mean religious devotion' ('Introduction', *The History of King Lear* (Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1975), p. xxii).

Male conduct, particularly the behaviour of kings, fathers, and husbands, is closely linked with the family-state analogy. It is for this reason that not only rightful but also assertive male rule is advocated. A tough stance on rebellion ought to be taken as, according to John Crowne's character, Henry VI, a monarch's 'gentleness' is seen as his 'greatest Tyranny'.[9] Passive rule or a ruler's misplaced priorities tend to be condemned as they place the lives of innocent subjects or children in jeopardy. Royal effeminacy, which can be defined as 'subordination to unruly passions and excessive preoccupation with women',[10] was often cited as justification for opposing the Duke of York's claim to the throne. Like Charles II, James was accused of putting his libertine ways and his choice of (a Catholic) wife above the nation's security,[11] while Charles had produced numerous illegitimate children but no legal heirs to succeed him. One way in which criticism of the Stuart brothers' sexual conduct is undermined in Shakespeare alterations is by celebrating royal virility and by portraying exclusionists or the crown's adversaries as jealous hypocrites who lack the manly prowess that enables men of superior birth to attract women. Equally, instead of emphasising royal lust, the alterations portray rebels and faction mongers as would-be-seducers of the multitude, while inviting parallels between a monarch's rule of a country and his consensual, loving relationship with his wife. As Rachel Weil observes, the notion of the king as husband to his country had been used in propaganda celebrating the return of the monarchy in 1660, where the Restoration 'was likened to a nuptial union between the

[9] John Crowne, *The Misery of Civil War* (London, 1680), sig. G2^{v}
[10] Owen, *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*, p. 165.
[11] See Paul Hammond, 'The King's Two Bodies: Representations of Charles II', in *Culture, Politics and Society in Britain, 1660-1800*, ed. by Jeremy Black and Jeremy Gregory (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1991), pp. 13-48; Owen, *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*; Harold Weber, *Paper Bullets: Print and Kingship under Charles II* (Lexington: The UP of Kentucky, 1996); Weber, *The Restoration Rake-Hero: Transformations in Sexual Understanding in Seventeenth-Century England* (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1986); Weber, 'Carolinean Sexuality and the Restoration Stage: Reconstructing the Royal Phallus in Sodom', in *Cultural Readings of Restoration and Eighteenth-Century English Theater*, ed. by J. Douglas Canfield and Deborah C. Payne (Athens: U of Georgia P, 1995), pp. 67-88; Weil, *Political Passions*; and Weil, 'Sometimes a Sceptre is only a Sceptre: Politics and Pornography in Restoration England', in *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500-1800*, ed. by Lynn Hunt (New York: Zone Books, 1993), pp. 125-56.

bride, Britain, and her husband, the king'.[12] Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis therefore emphasise the need for strong male rule, while celebrating male virility, caring fathers, and loving husbands. In doing so, they can be seen to use male conduct in order to offer microcosmic and macrocosmic displays of political patriarchy.

The emphasis Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis place on male ideal comportment deserves further study. Jean I. Marsden has observed how Shakespeare's female characters were rewritten in Restoration alterations in order to resonate with the female behaviour advocated in contemporary conduct manuals,[13] but, as Laura J. Rosenthal has lamented, 'while historians have long acknowledged the significant social changes during the [Restoration], and changes in constructions of the feminine, too often masculinity has been understood as something that transcends history'.[14] Susan Owen has made inroads by analysing the portrayal of effeminacy found in John Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida* and Exclusion Crisis drama more generally,[15] while Paul Hammond, Weil, and Harold Weber have analysed representations of masculinity, and the sexual conduct of Charles II found in Restoration literature. I wish to build on existing scholarship in order to suggest that

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[12] 'Sometimes a Scepter is only a Scepter', p. 137. See also, Hammond, 'The King's Two Bodies'.

[13] See 'Rewritten Women: Shakespearean Heroines in the Restoration', in *The Appropriation of Shakespeare: Post-Renaissance Reconstructions of the Works and the Myth*, ed. by Marsden (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), pp. 43-56; Marsden, 'Pathos and Passivity: D'Urfey's *The Injured Princess* and Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*', *Restoration*, 14 (1990), 71-81; Marsden, 'Rape, Voyeurism and The Restoration Stage', in *Broken Boundaries: Women and Feminism in Restoration Drama*, ed. by Katherine M. Quinsey (Lexington: The UP of Kentucky, 1996), pp. 185-201; Marsden, 'Spectacle, Horror and Pathos', in *The Cambridge Companion to Restoration Drama*, ed. by Deborah Payne Fisk (CUP, 2000), pp. 174-90; Marsden, *The Re-imagined Text: Shakespeare, Adaptation, & Eighteenth-Century Literary Theory* (Lexington: The UP of Kentucky, 1995); and Marsden, *Fatal Desire*: *Women, Sexuality, and the English Stage, 1660-1720* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2006). Paul Hammond has analysed the ways in which seventeenth-century versions of Shakespeare's plays and poems 'carefully erase any homosexual implications from [the] texts, clarifying their language of ambiguities and purging male relationships from any possible imputation of homosexual desire' (*Figuring Sex Between Men from Shakespeare to Rochester* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2002), p. 3).

[14] 'Masculinity in Restoration Drama', in *A Companion to Restoration Drama*, ed. by Susan Owen (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), pp. 92-108 (p. 92).

[15] Owen, *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*, pp. 157-82 (p. 171); and Owen *Perspectives on Restoration Drama* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2002), Ch. 6.

during the Exclusion Crisis, Shakespeare's plays were rewritten in ways that resonate with Tory ideals of male conduct.[16]

Reading the Politics of Shakespeare Alterations

In reading the politics of Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis I intend to historicise the plays' initial reception by adhering to what playgoers are likely to have known about the Shakespeare plays selected for alteration between 1678 and 1682, and the limits live theatrical performances place on an audience's ability to observe changes to a source-text. There are two main ways of approaching Shakespeare alterations. The first is to compare the altered plays with their source texts in order to offer a reading of the impact modifications have on plots and characters,[17] what Linda Hutcheon labels 'fidelity criticism'.[18] The approach often draws on comments playwrights make about their alterations in paratexts to the printed plays.[19] The second option is to consider the altered plays as unified dramatic pieces, not as amalgamations of surviving Shakespearean material, omissions, and new additions, but as plays in their own right.[20] Rather than explore how changes to the source-text reflect and respond to the concerns

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[16] See note 11 above.

[17] Marsden takes such an approach when comparing Shakespeare's heroines with their Restoration counterparts ('Rewritten Women: Shakespearean Heroines in the Restoration'; and 'Pathos and Passivity: D'Urfey's *The Injured Princess* and Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*').

[18] Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation* (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 6. For alternative views of alterations and ways of approaching rewritten texts, see Lynne Bradley, *Adapting King Lear for the Stage* (Farnam: Ashgate, 2010), esp. pp. 1-33; *Adaptations of Shakespeare: A Critical Anthology of Plays from the Seventeenth-Century to the Present*, eds. by Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier (London: Routledge, 2000); Margaret Jane Kidnie, *Shakespeare and the Problem of Adaptation* (London: Routledge, 2009); and Julie Sanders, *Adaptations and Appropriation* (London: Routledge, 2006).

[19] For example, Marsden frequently refers to prefatory comments made by the altering playwrights in *The Re-Imagined Text*.

[20] Christopher Spencer advocates reading Shakespeare alterations as new plays, although it should be noted that he does so not because he wishes to historicise their original reception but rather because he finds the plays 'enjoyable in themselves', because they 'add to our understanding of the age that produced them', and because they 'may broaden and deepen our understanding of Shakespeare' (*Five Restoration Adaptations of Shakespeare* (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1965), p. 32). Articles by Nancy Klein Maguire and Matthew H. Wikander analyse the ways in which alterations and elements of the Shakespeare source plays combine to offer commentary on the politics of the Exclusion Crisis. See Maguire, 'Nahum Tate's *King Lear*: "the king's blest restoration"', in *The Appropriation of Shakespeare: Post-Renaissance Reconstructions of the Works and the Myth*, ed. by Marsden (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), pp. 29-42; and Wikander, 'The Spitted Infant: Scenic Emblem and Exclusionist Politics in Restoration Adaptations of Shakespeare', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 37 (1986), 340-58.

of a specific moment in time, the second approach identifies ways in which the play as a whole resonated with contemporary concerns. While the first approach seeks to reconstruct something that approximates to authorial intention, the second disregards readerly paratexts and attempts to historicize a play's initial reception, especially by audiences attending live theatrical performances. In sum, it might be said that the first approach concerns itself with the politics of alteration, while the second focuses on the politics of alterations. In this chapter I predominantly adopt the second approach; differences between the Restoration alterations and the Shakespearean source plays are not of interest to me in and of themselves but only insofar as they impact how the altered plays interact with contemporary politics.

It is important to recognize what audiences will and will not have known about the source texts in question. As I have demonstrated in Chapter One and Table 6 (p. 102), there is little reason to believe that audiences attending performances of Shakespeare alterations produced between 1678 and 1682 had knowledge of or access to the Shakespeare plays on which their entertainment was based. Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Richard II*, *King Lear*, *Coriolanus*, *Cymbeline*, and his *Henry VI* plays had not been printed individually since before the Restoration, and performance records suggest that, of these, only *Romeo and Juliet* and *King Lear* had been performed since the reopening of the theatres in the 1660s. I accept that some audience members may have been familiar with the Shakespeare plays, and that 'from Shakespeare allusions in playtexts we can be certain that at least a small cadre of people had actually read plays not known to be in the repertory',[21] but these people will have been in the minority. I would further like to

[21] Robert D. Hume, 'Before the Bard: "Shakespeare" in Early Eighteenth-Century London', *English Literary History*, 64 (1997), 41-75 (p. 41). For more on the heterogeneity of the Restoration audience, see: Emmet L. Avery, 'The Restoration Audience', *Philological Quarterly*, 45 (1966), 54-61; Hume and Arthur H. Scouten, '"Restoration Comedy" and its Audiences, 1660-1776', *Yearbook of English Studies*, 10 (1980), 45-69; Hume, *The Development of English Drama in the Late Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976); John Loftis, *Comedy and Society from Congreve to Fielding* (Stanford: Stanford UP,

insist that, just as 'members of an audience cannot stop the actors and puzzle over some difficult expression as they can when reading [a] play',[22] they would also have been prevented from conducting the kind of time-consuming comparative readings that modern textual scholars are able to undertake in the privacy of their offices. I have argued that Shakespeare's plays probably appealed to playwrights of the Exclusion Crisis because of the ready-made parallels they contained (Chapter Two); it would therefore be short sighted to analyse only new material. The playwrights did alter Shakespeare's plays in order to achieve further topical resonance with politics of the late 1670s and early 1680s, but I think it is unrealistic to suggest that they expected audiences to identify changes they had made.

In attempting to historicize the late seventeenth-century audience's knowledge of Shakespeare's plays I recognize that twenty-first-century readers will inevitably have greater knowledge of the Shakespeare plays than the Shakespeare alterations produced between 1678 and 1682. To guide the reader I therefore indicate changes made to the individual plays without suggesting that the relationship between the Shakespeare source-play and the alteration would have impacted on a late seventeenth-century audience's understanding of the play.

Methodological issues become slightly more complicated in the case of the alterations of Shakespeare's history plays as it is possible that Tate and Crowne did intend audiences to recognise and interpret modifications they had introduced not to Shakespeare's plays but to the accounts of Richard II and Henry VI's reigns that were circulating in contemporary political writing. I have for this reason prefaced my

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1959); Howard Love, 'Who were the Restoration Audience?', *Yearbook of English Studies*, 10 (1980), 21-44; Love, 'The Myth of the Restoration Audience', *Komos*, 1 (1968), 49-56; and Love, 'Bear's Case Laid Open: Or, A Timely Warning to Literary Sociologists', *Komos*, 2 (1969-70), 72-80. For views of the Restoration audience as a homogeneous group, see: A. S. Bear, 'Criticism and Social Change: The Case for Restoration Drama', *Komos*, 2 (1969-70), 23-31; K. M. P. Burton, *Restoration Literature* (London: Hutchinson, 1958); and D. R. M. Wilkinson, *The Comedy of Habit* (Leiden: Universitaire Pers, 1964).

[22] Frank Kermode, *Shakespeare's Language* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2000), p. vii.

discussion of these three plays with indications of the ways in which Richard II and Henry VI's reigns had been used to comment on the Exclusion Crisis.

My discussion of the Shakespeare alterations begins with readings of the three history plays produced between 1678 and 1682: Tate's *The History of Richard the Second* / *The Sicilian Usurper* (1680) and Crowne's *The Misery of Civil-War* (1680) and *Henry the Sixth, The First Part, with the Murder of Humphrey Duke of Glocester* (1681). By analysing the importance Tate and Crowne assign to strong patriarchal rule, divine right theory and the virility of royal males, I argue that the first two plays reversed Whig appropriations of the reigns of Richard II and Henry VI and reclaimed them for the anti-Exclusionist cause. Although Crowne's *Henry the Sixth* is more ambiguous in political tone than his *The Misery of Civil-War* or Tate's *Richard II*, all three plays emphasise the need for strong male rule in the public and the private sphere. I then consider the presentation of family politics and male-female relations dramatized in Edward Ravenscroft's *Titus Andronicus, or The Rape of Lavinia* (1687), John Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida, or Truth Found Too Late* (1679), and Thomas Otway's *The History and Fall of Caius Marius* (1680). Tate's *The History of King Lear* (1681), and *The Ingratitude of a Common-Wealth or, The Fall of Caius Martius Coriolanus* (1682), and Thomas Durfey's *The Injured Princess, or The Fatal Wager* (1682) are considered separately in Chapter Four, where I examine the problematic portrayals of manly conduct found in the rape-plots added to these three plays.

Taking Hold of the Reigns: Altering Richard II and Henry VI

As stated in Chapter Two, the reigns of Richard II and Henry VI were topical before Tate and Crowne altered Shakespeare's dramatic accounts of them.[23] Shakespeare's

[23] All quotations are from the Arden editions of these plays: *King Richard II*, ed. by Charles R. Forker (London: Thomson Learning, 2002); *Henry VI, Part 2*, ed. by Ronald Knowles (Walton-on-Thames, Surrey: Thomas Nelson, 1999); and *Henry VI, Part 3*, eds. by John D. Cox and Eric Rasmussen (London: Cengage Learning, 2001).

plays, like the reigns he dramatised, invited parallels with the succession debate raging in the late 1670s and early 1680s. For example, Shakespeare's *Richard II* explored the relationship between private inheritance and regal succession by depicting Richard II's seizure of Henry Bolingbroke's father's lands and Bolingbroke's subsequent usurpation of the titular King's crown. As Charles R. Forker stresses, Richard's seizure of Bolingbroke's lands is a 'violation of the cherished law of inheritance on which the royal title itself depends'.[24] Shakespeare's *Henry VI, Part Two* and *Henry VI, Part Three* dramatise the aftermath of Richard's usurpation in the reign of Bolingbroke's grandson by portraying the various factions that sought to rebel against Henry VI and his Lord Protector, the Duke of Gloucester. The act of usurpation comes full circle in Shakespeare's *Part Three,* when Henry VI's throne is reclaimed by legitimate descendants of Richard II's lineage: Richard of York and his son, Edward (later Edward IV). The reigns of these monarchs therefore offered ways of commenting on precedents for removing a king, and the potential consequences of interfering with the legal line of succession.

Although we today read Tate and Crowne's plays in relation to their Shakespeare source texts, it is possible that late seventeenth-century audiences were more familiar with the accounts of the two reigns found in contemporary political discourse than they were with Shakespeare's history plays. While Whig appropriations of the reigns cited the actions of Richard and Henry as justification for their usurpation, Tory writers instead stressed that rightful monarchs ought to be respected regardless of their behaviour, and that usurpations of any kind would have disastrous consequences for the nation. As stated in Chapter Two, Whigs appropriated the reigns of Richard II and Henry VI in order to offer warnings to 'succeeding Kings [who prefer] secret

[24] 'Introduction', *King Richard II*, p. 22.

Councils to the wisdom of their Parliaments'.[25] Owen has rightly claimed that Richard II's reign was cited 'as a legal precedent for parliamentary alteration of the succession',[26] but it ought to be noted that such arguments were countered by Tory writers. Neither reign was exclusively associated with the Whig campaign. Tories drew upon the reigns in order to claim that any interference with the legal line of succession represented 'unryghtwyse, intrusion [and] usurpation',[27] which would lead to 'War, [and] Rebellions great and frequent'.[28] They also countered Whig exemplification of Richard's usurpation by stating that 'the doing of a thing makes it not lawful',[29] and by insisting that 'the Deposition and Murther [of] Richard the Second [and] the Usurpations and unlawful Actions of Henry the Fourth […] were in their own times condemned by all good Men, even as the Actions of that Parliament began in 1641'.[30] The equation of exclusionists with the Parliamentarians of the 1640s was a powerful weapon often deployed by Tory writers, as was the argument that the true aim of Whig writers was to 'shew that […] Parliaments or Armies may set up whom they please' à la Warwick the kingmaker.[31] The Tory suggestion that Richard's deposition was condemned in his own times was reinforced by the printing in 1679 of comments the Bishop of Carlisle had made about Richard II's usurpation back in 1399.[32] These conflicting accounts of Richard II and Henry VI's reigns may therefore have been familiar to audiences attending productions of Tate and Crowne's alterations.

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[25] Edmund Bohun is here citing (and then refuting) claims made in a previous tract. See Bohun's *Reflections on a Pamphlet Stiled, A Just and modest vindication of the proceedings of the last two Parliaments* (London, 1683), sig. J3^{r}. Bohun references the claim as being made on p. 18 of the earlier pamphlet but affirms that the work has since been suppressed.
[26] *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*, p. 224.
[27] Robert Brady, *A True and Exact History of the Succession of the Crown of England* (1681), sig. H2^{v}.
[28] *A just and modest vindication of His Royal Highness the Duke of York* (1680), sig. B3^{v}.
[29] Brady, *A True and Exact History of the Succession*, sig. J1^{r}.
[30] Brady, *A True and Exact History of the Succession*, sig. J1^{v}.
[31] Brady, *A True and Exact History of the Succession*, sig. J1^{r}.
[32] Thomas Merke, *The Bishop of Carlile's* [sic] *Speech in Parliament, Concerning the Deposing of Princes* (1679), discussed in Tim Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and his Kingdoms* (London: Penguin, 2005), p. 225.

Although, chronologically speaking, Richard's reign preceded Henry VI's reign, I wish to order my discussion of the three plays in line with their probable premiere dates as it is possible that audiences attended performances of more than one of the alterations thereby influencing their reception of the other plays. Crowne's *The Misery of Civil-War* was the first of the altered history plays to appear on stage at the Duke's Theatre.[33] It was staged in late 1679 or early 1680. The alteration was based on Shakespeare's *Henry VI, Part Two* and his *Henry VI, Part Three*: Crowne began his play with a section of Cade's rebellion from 4.2 of *Part Two*, and ended it shortly after Richard kills Henry VI in 5.6 of *Part Three*.[34] Nahum Tate's *The History of Richard The Second* was then staged in December 1680 or January 1681, and Crowne's *Henry the Sixth, The First Part*, appeared on stage between January and March 1681. Crowne's second Shakespeare alteration is heavily reliant on acts 1-3 of Shakespeare's *Henry VI, Part Two*, depicting the various plots against the Duke of Gloucester, Gloucester's death, and Richard of York's manipulation of Jack Cade and his faction to promote his own claim to the throne. Crowne's second Shakespeare alteration ends not with Henry's usurpation but rather with reports of York's arrival at the head of an army. The three alterations therefore appeared in close proximity to one another, so it is possible that audiences attending productions of Tate's *Richard II* and Crowne's second Henry VI play were familiar with not only printed but also dramatic accounts of Richard and Henry's reigns.

I would argue that Crowne's *The Misery of Civil-War* offers a Tory account of Henry VI's reign and his replacement by Richard II's legitimate descendent, Edward

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[33] For further discussion of the premiere dates for these plays, see my Introduction, p. 3. On the politics of Crowne's Henry VI plays, see especially: Canfield, 'Royalism's Last Dramatic Stand'; Nancy Klein Maguire, 'Factionary Politics: John Crowne's *Henry VI*', in *Culture and Society in the Stuart Restoration: Literature, Drama, History*, ed. by Gerald MacLean (CUP, 1995), pp. 70-92; S. Sengupta, 'Shakespeare Adaptations and Political Consciousness: 1678-82', *Mid-Hudson Language Studies*, 4 (1981), 58-67; and Wikander, 'The Spitted Infant'.

[34] *The Misery of Civil War*, first printed in 1680, was reissued in 1681 with a new title page: *Henry the Sixth, the Second Part*. The new title page thereby linked Crowne's first *Henry VI* play to his second one, (confusingly) entitled *Henry the Sixth, the First Part*. See Hazleton Spencer 'A Caveat on Restoration Play Quartos', *The Review of English Studies*, 23 (1930), 315-16.

IV. Crowne does so by advocating the divine right of kings, by celebrating royal virility while exposing the hypocrisy of those who fear royal libertinism, and by stressing the horrors and suffering which ensue when rebellions take hold of a nation. As its title suggests, the play's central concern is not to condemn the King or usurper so much as to emphasise the horrors of civil war and the need for patriarchal protection. As I go on to demonstrate below and in Chapter Four, Crowne's *The Misery of Civil War*, like many of the Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis, is keen to stress that 'all a Nation gets by Civil War' is 'their houses burn'd, / Their Wives and Daughters ravished, their lands seiz'd, / And themselves knock'd o'th' head' (sig. K4^{r}). Crowne's play therefore underlines correct manly conduct while accentuating the need to avoid rebellion and retain legitimate rule.

Crowne departs from Whig accounts of Henry VI's reign by presenting Henry not as a weak king but rather as a 'pious' patriarch whose downfall is due to his grandfather, Henry IV's crime of 'bloudy usurpation' (sig. K2^{v}). Henry is a caring father figure who is reluctant to rule as he worries about the legality of his claim to power and the implications of his grandfather's crime. This is evidenced when he defends his decision to name Richard his successor in place of his son by telling Margaret that he does not 'disinherit' his child because 'what [he] give[s] away is not his [son's] right; / And if [he] should entail another's right on' his son he would 'entail Heaven's Vengeance on his [own child's] head' (sig. E1^{v}). His fatherly concern extends beyond his own son's future to the wellbeing of all his subject-children. This is shown when he says that he 'fear[s] Civil War; / Not for [his] own, but for [his] people's sake' (sig. D4^{r}). Crowne refrains from offering any serious suggestion that Henry's character makes him an unsuitable ruler; Henry loses his crown because his reign was not based on lawful succession. As Edward puts it, Henry does 'not suffer / For [his] own Crimes, but those of [his] usurping / And trayterous Ancestours' (sig. H3^{r}). The play also seems

to assert that, even if Henry were an unfit ruler, resisting a monarch's rule because of his conduct would be a 'confounding principle':

> If Kings may lose their Rights for want of Virtue,
> And Subjects are the judges of that Virtue;
> Then Kings are Subjects, and all Subjects Kings:
> And by that Law that Subjects may destroy
> Their Kings for want of Virtue, other Subjects
> May think those Subjects Rogues, and cut their throats.
> Thus Babel may be builded, but no Kingdom. (sig. I1^{v})

For Tories, the usurpation of a rightful monarch was beyond comprehension. The 'confounding principle' is exactly what Exclusionists were advocating: Whigs argued that a monarch's behaviour *could* be used as justification for interference with the succession. By making Henry blameless and by stressing the fact that it is rightful inheritance and not virtuous conduct that legitimizes kings, Crowne is able to doubly undermine Exclusionists' claims.

In order to wrest Henry VI's reign from the clutches of Whig writers, Crowne emphasized Henry's lack of agency and the divine right of kings. Throughout *The Misery of Civil War* it is suggested that Henry's stars were already cursed, thereby reinforcing the view that heaven dictates the succession; the outcome could never have been otherwise. The idea of Henry's fate being beyond his control is highlighted when the dying (Young) Clifford claims that 'Henry's stars ruine' him (sig. G2^{v}), when Henry fears that his 'thwarting Stars will blast' his country (sig. I2^{r}), and by both Warwick's statement that Henry is 'unfortunate', and his refusal 'To have [Henry's] curs'd Stars among [his] men' when going into battle (sig. J3^{r}). The fact that heaven and not Henry

dictates what happens is made abundantly clear in Crowne's final act when he first has the ghost of Richard II visit Henry in jail, and then has a 'spirit' tell Henry that

> The Crown of England is [made]
> […] of unmingled solid lasting Gold,
> Of Antient Rights, and 'tis the gift of Heav'n,
> Therefore to Heaven only can be forfeited,
> Therefore 'tis call'd Imperial and Sacred,
> And therefore carefully rail'd in by Laws;
> And torn will be his sacrilegious hand,
> Who has no Right to it, and yet dares reach it,
> And dares presumptuously pretend a Right,
> Because he stands upon the peoples heads,
> Such was the bold Ambition of thy Grandfather,
> And heav'n frowns upon his Sins, not thee:
> Then do not think thy self unkindly us'd,
> Religious Henry, that Heaven takes away,
> What is not thine. (sig. K2^{v})

In case it was not abundantly clear that audiences were not to associate Henry VI's downfall with anything other than his grandfather's act of usurpation, the spirit also informs Henry that a better existence awaits him after death. He will lose his life 'Only to exchange it for Eternity' (sig. K2^{v}). Crowne's Henry is thus a good but unlawful king, and his removal from the throne is an act of divine intervention not punishment.

In addition to presenting an almost faultless Henry, Crowne made his rightful monarch, Richard, more appealing than the characters that surround him. Like Henry,

Richard is keen to avoid war and is willing to negotiate with Henry, accepting his offer to resign the crown after his death. Richard's association with the Cade rebellion is minor, with Clifford beheading Cade immediately after his brief appearance in the play's opening scene. Audiences would therefore have had no reason to link the play's true heir with rebellion or violence. In fact, by prefacing Richard's entry with the Cade scenes, and by removing all sympathy from the upstarts, Crowne is able to distinguish Richard's honorable campaign from the self-interested nonsense the rebels spout.[35] Richard is shown to be a loving father, especially in the moving scene in which he is presented with Rutland's dead body. Richard's paternal suffering contrasts with the barbaric behaviour of Young Clifford and Queen Margaret. Rutland's lack of paternal protection is emphasised when he laments that there is nobody to guard him, and his death evokes great pathos while condemning Clifford, as in Shakespeare, for his cowardly killing of a mere child. The suffering of parents and children is further stressed in the following scene by having Queen Margaret offer Richard a napkin soaked in Rutland's blood and urging him to use it to dry his tears before she orders Young Clifford to show Richard his son's corpse (sigs. $E2^{v}$-$E3^{r}$).[36] Crowne therefore makes the moral virtues of his legal heir clear while emphasising the barbaric behaviour civil war unleashes in others.

Following Richard's death, his heir, Edward, is also presented as merciful in his treatment of Henry and his family, thereby highlighting what a caring ruler he will be. Edward orders that Henry be treated with 'all Princely respect and usage' while in prison (sig. $K4^{r}$). He claims to sympathise with him, orders his brothers not to insult Henry's wife (sig. $K2^{r}$), and curses his own brother, Richard, for killing Henry. Edward

[35] For example, Crowne's rebels are especially fond of hangings (sig. $B1^{v}$), and particularly hostile to lawyers. Crowne multiplies Shakespeare's infamous 'let's kill all the lawyers' into a series of obtrusive speeches about killing lawyers (sig. $B1^{v}$). For further discussion of the Cade scenes in Crowne's *The Misery of Civil War*, see Owen, *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*, pp. 77-78, and Maguire, who suggests that 'Crowne identifies the notorious Cade with Oates' ('Factionary Politics: John Crowne's *Henry VI*', p. 74).

[36] In Shakespeare's *Henry VI, Part Two* Margaret offers York the napkin, but Rutland's body is not brought on stage.

is also innocent of the murder of Henry's son, Prince Edward. He merely strikes the child and is horrified when his brothers kill him, demanding to know why they would 'cruelly kill the poor Boy?' (sig. K1^{v}). Edward insists that, although he 'struck him in [his] Choler' he intended Henry's young prince 'No farther harm' (sig. K1^{v}).[37] Unlike Young Clifford and Edward's brothers, Crowne's rightful heir is protective of rather than a danger to children's lives.

Crowne's play contains new scenes in which Edward appears to be distracted by sexual liaisons, and I would argue that Crowne's additions are designed to allow him to both acknowledge and dismiss attacks on James's and Charles's libertinism. As I noted above, Charles and James were accused of effeminacy and often attacked for putting their own lust ahead of the needs of their country.[38] Crowne recognises views of Charles and James's effeminacy by involving Edward with not one but two love interests. These are his dalliances with his mistress, a new character named Lady Eleanor Butler, and his marriage to Lady Grey. [39] Edward eventually abandons Eleanor for Lady Grey and, in doing so, spouts lines which are both characteristic of Crowne's writing, and potentially critical of the Stuart brothers. He tells her that the Pope has given him special dispensation to break oaths. An alternate interpretation of these lines, offered by Owen, is that Edward's abandonment of his lover for a wife reflects repentance and recognition of his 'new responsibility, thereby suggesting that the heir to the throne 'has providentially become worthy of his office'.[40]

Crowne reverses attacks on Edward and the Stuart brothers' libertinism by modifying the role of Lady Grey. Edward's union with Lady Grey, allows Crowne to compare the respective charms of a monarch and an ambitious rebel, while also offering

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[37] Shakespeare's Edward is the first to remorselessly stab and kill Henry's young prince (5.3.38).
[38] For example, 'The Fourth Advice To a Painter', a satire on royal libertinism, states that the 'great Prince' continued to swive as his ships were 'burn'd' and destroyed by the Dutch fleet, and that 'so kind was he in our extremest need, / He would those flames extinguish with his seed' (cited in Weber, *Paper Bullets*, p. 93).
[39] Barbara Murray discusses the addition of Eleanor, a breeches role, in 'Lady Eleanor Butler and John Crowne's *The Misery of Civil War* (1680)', *The Ricardian*, 14 (2004), 54-61.
[40] *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*, p.82.

a crowd-pleasing opportunity for Edward to reject a French suitor. As in Shakespeare (and history), Edward marries Lady Grey, but he now has a love-rival in the form of (Whiggish) Warwick the kingmaker. Warwick pursues Lady Grey as she grieves for her dead husband.[41] His inappropriate, opportunistic behaviour and her clear distress make Warwick appear tyrannical. Warwick's conduct persuades her to turn to Edward for succour. While Warwick uses Lady Grey's destitute position as an opportunity to coerce her into accepting his advances, Edmund honourably returns her husband's lands to her,[42] and she subsequently consents to marry him. As a result of the modified Lady Grey plot, Crowne's Warwick is angry not so much because he has been sent on a humiliating mission to arrange Edward's marriage to the French princess but more so because Edward has seduced the woman he wanted for himself. The rightful monarch is therefore presented as a caring and desirable husband who, unlike Warwick, does not need to rely on forced conquest to marry Lady Grey.

The distinctions Crowne's play makes between royal virility and inferior, ambitious males like Warwick is stressed when the kingmaker ironically tells Lady Grey that 'By kindling in [her] heart love for himself' her late husband 'fir'd a stately Palace, only fit / For hearts of mighty Kings' (sig. D1^{v}). Later on in the play he invites further comparison between rank and the right to possess Lady Grey when he informs her that she is a 'conquer'd Province' of which he 'will have the Government and Tribute' (sig. G4^{v}). On finding Lady Grey married to Edward, Warwick reaffirms her symbolic significance, telling Edward: 'thou with a Crown hast bought a Widow from me; / And bought her with the Kingdom which I gave thee' (sig. I1^{r}). Edward's response highlights Warwick's hypocrisy as he asks: 'Com'st thou to ruin me for love of beauty, / And thou thy self rebel for love of it?' (sig. I1^{r}). Crowne may therefore be seen to reverse attacks on royal libertinism by suggesting that socially inferior

[41] Edward does so in Shakespeare.
[42] In Shakespeare Edward uses the lands to coerce her into being with him.

characters would act the same way, had they been born with the same charms. The Warwick-Edward-Grey love triangle also serves to highlight the Tory stance on right over might. Edward does not owe his crown to Warwick; as a legal heir, Edward's kingdom, like Lady Grey, is 'fit' for him alone.

The double standards of those who attack royal lust are also depicted in a scene in which Edward's men consider abandoning his cause because they suspect he has placed a sexual liaison ahead of securing troops for battle. When Edward returns, his brother, Richard, sees 'a Woman' and is therefore convinced that Edward has 'been with her all […] Night', and that he has let them down (sig. F2^{r}). Edward goes along with their expectations, telling them that he has been 'a happy, but great sinner' (sig. F2^{r}). The audience is also duped as Edward was last seen heading to bed with Elianor. Warwick responds by announcing that he will abandon Edward and 'go make Henry a King' (sig. F2^{r}), and Richard resolves to 'seek the Kingdom' for himself, before Edward reveals that he has 'only made a Tryal' of them and was actually gathering the troops they desired, along with his brother, George (sig. F2^{r}). It therefore appears that Edward was able both to meet with Elianor and to do his duty. One might by extension see this as an indication that Charles and James's revelling did not undermine their ability to rule. As Edward stresses, it was Warwick who almost lost at St. Albans because he was attempting to court Lady Grey, 'a Woman that abhorr'd' him (sig. F4^{v}),[43] and the woman with whom Edward entered was actually Richard's 'poor Whore, / A Peasant's dirty Daughter' with whom he has 'a little tawny Bastard' (sig. F4^{v}). The scene works to make the men (and, by extension, also the audience) repent their hypocrisy and the lack of faith they placed in Edward. It also enables Crowne to refigure attacks on the monarchy as examples of unfounded fears and self-interested hypocrisy.

[43] It should be noted that Edward is not aware of the woman's identity at this stage, and that he marries Lady Grey without knowing that Warwick had designs on her.

I would therefore argue that by presenting Edward as a lady's man Crowne is acknowledging concerns about the Stuart brothers' sexploits only to reverse and thwart them: yes, the monarch likes female company, but so do those who criticize him, and, unlike many of those who wish to condemn him, he is successful with the ladies. The apparent moral of the scene is underlined in Edward's reflection that

> it is unequal usage
> A King shou'd pardon all the faults of Subjects,
> And Subjects pardon nothing in their King;
> When a King's crown'd, he is not deifyed,
> When he puts on the Royal Robes, he does not
> Therefore put of th' Infirmities of man.
> I own I have my faults, and so have you,
> You see I have convinc'd you, and I did it
> That you might leave your faults and pardon mine. (sig. G1^{r})

Crowne's portrayal of Edward therefore seems to fit with Tory championing of aristocratic males' sexual potency while undermining attacks on Charles and James's notorious private lives. Crowne's sexual politics further suggest that those who attack the Stuarts's sexual conquests do so out of jealousy.

I wish to suggest that Tate, as Crowne did with Henry VI's reign, altered Shakespeare's *Richard II* to reclaim Richard's story from Whig propagandists. He did so by stressing Richard's paternal care for his nation, and his relationship with his wife, and by demonising Bolingbroke (now spelt 'Bullingbrook'). Tate has received much criticism for his choice of subject matter, but I believe these attacks to be unjustified. For example, Richard Strier finds the topic of Richard II's reign 'a very odd one for a

Tory to have chosen', suggesting that there is reason to question Tate's status as a Tory writer.[44] Similarly, Owen says that Tate's play 'fails as Tory drama'.[45] I do not think Tate's decision to alter *Richard II* odd or unwise, nor do I find Whig politics in his play. Instead, I believe that Richard's reign provided Tate with highly relevant material and that he appropriated Shakespeare's play in line with Tory accounts of the reign and Tory views of usurpation and rebellion.

In order to align the story of Richard II's reign with Tory arguments, Tate makes a number of alterations to both Shakespeare's play and Whig accounts of the reign. Tate presents Richard as an accountable and caring monarch, refocusing Whig claims that Richard was deaf to advice by having him respectfully listen to Gaunt before telling him that he will not be 'unmindful to redress' his 'States corruption' (sig. C3^{v}). He will also responsibly 'purge the Vanities that Crown'd [his] Court' (sig. C3^{v}), and it is made clear that Tate's Richard is neither implicated in Gloucester's murder, nor committing tyranny when he takes the revenues of Lancaster. He swears that he intends Bullingbook no harm and will 'with Interest restore / The Loan' (sig. E4^{r}). It is therefore a loan that will benefit Bullingbrook and not an act of arbitrary government.[46] Later on in Tate's play, York, the 'Executor' of Gaunt's estate, confirms that Richard has 'Borrow'd [Bullingbrook's] Revenue for a time, /And Pawn'd to [York] his Honour to

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[44] 'Impossible Radicalism and Impossible Value: Nahum Tate's *King Lear*', in *Resistant Structures: Particularity, Radicalism, and Renaissance Texts*, ed. by Richard Strier (Los Angeles: U of California P, 1995), pp. 203-32 (p. 207). On the play's politics see also Michael Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Authorship, 1660-1769* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), pp. 80-81; Murray, *Restoration Shakespeare: Viewing the Voice* (Madison: Farleigh Dickinson UP, 2001), pp. 144-52; Owen, *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*, pp. 220-25; Spencer, *Nahum Tate* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1972), pp. 78-84. For discussion of censorship of this play, see Chapter Two, pp. 83-84

[45] *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*, p. 224. Owen suggests that it is 'as if Tate's very amelioration of Richard is an implicit criticism of Charles' but It should be noted that her reading is based on a mixture of Tate's play and the comments he made in the dedication to the play. Tate's angry comments, made in response to his play's suppression, will not have been available to theatre audiences, and it is important to distinguish between the printed playbook and the onstage performance.

[46] Tate also omitted Shakespeare's 1.4 in which Richard draws attention to his fiscal mismanagement via reference to how the royal 'coffers with too great a court / And liberal largesse are grown too light' (1.4.43-44). In doing so, Tate removed the suggestion that Richard was a poor manager of his finances, an issue that may otherwise have invited unfavourable parallels with Charles II. See my discussion of the economic topicality found in *Timon of Athens* on p. 85.

repay it', adding that he 'as Gaunt Executour allow'd' Richard to do so (sig. D2^{v}).[47] In line with the pamphlets that emphasized Henry IV's usurpation of Richard II as unleashing years of woe on the kingdom, Tate's Richard is also shown to be a caring father concerned for the safety of his subjects. He weeps as he predicts that 'Plagues' will be heaped 'on Children yet unborn' (sig. F2^{r}) and selflessly tries to protect his subject-children to the end. Tate's Richard does not quit 'His Right' because he is weak, but rather 'in pity to his Subjects', because he wishes to prevent civil war and the consequential spilling of his 'Subjects blood' (sig. F4^{r}). One would therefore struggle to find justification for overthrowing Tate's Richard.

Tate portrays his Richard as a wronged monarch and does so by modifying the Queen's role. He adds speeches and a new letter in order to highlight the King's status as both a husband and a monarch. The new scenes depicting the King and Queen's relationship also emphasise links between the private and public sorrow wrought by usurpation. Richard calls his wife his 'Royal Constant Dear' (sig. H1^{v}), points to her 'fair Innocence', and labels her 'the most distrest, most Virtuous of [her] sex' (sig. G4^{v}). In a new exchange, Richard stresses his concern for the impact his usurpation will have on his wife, while the Queen compares the thoughts contained in her heart to the subjects of Richard's realm. Her faithful love offers stark contrast with Bullingbook's usurpation of Richard's throne. The dialogue therefore emphasises links between marital love, and the love and allegiance a nation owes its king:

King: O couldst thou but devorce me from thy Heart!
But oh! I know thy virtue will undoe thee,
Thou wilt be still a faithful constant Wife,
Feel all my Wrongs and suffer in my Fall?

[47] Compare with Shakespeare's play, where Richard tells York 'Think what you will, we seize into our hands / His plate, his goods, his money and his lands' (2.1.201-10).

There is the sting and venom of my Fate,

When I shall think that I have ruin'd Thee.

Queen: I ask no more my Lord, at Fortunes hands

Then priviledge to suffer for your sake!

Who wou'd not share your Grief to share your Love?

This Kingdom yet, which once you did prefer

To the worlds sway, this Beauty and this Heart

Is Richards still, millions of Loyal thoughts

Are always waiting there to pay you homage.

That glorious Empire yields to you alone,

No Bullingbrook can chase you from that Throne. (sig. E4^{r})

As with the distinction Crowne's *The Misery of Civil War* makes between Warwick and Edward's courtship of Lady Grey, Tate's play again stresses that King Richard, and not usurping Bullingbrook, is entitled to the Queen's heart. By underlining the fact that Bullingbrook has no right to the Queen's heart, nor any chance of wresting it from her husband, the speech can be seen to offer a private or microcosmic display of the need to uphold the rights of rightful heirs and rulers: if subjects may betray their rulers then what is to prevent wives from rejecting their husbands?

This view of the analogy between husbands and wives, kings and citizens was wide-spread in social and political thinking of the time, as exemplified by a 1663 court ruling on the case of a wife who left her husband:

> When the wife departs from her husband against his will, she forsakes and deserts his Government; erects and sets up a new jurisdiction; and assumes to govern herself, besides at least, if not against, the law of God and the law of the

> land. Therefore it is but just, that the law for this offence should put her in the same plight in the petit commonwealth of the household, that it puts the subjects for the like offense in the great commonwealth of the realm.[48]

Tate's alterations to the role of the Queen enable him to increase sympathy for Richard while simultaneously indicating the implications usurpation might have for husbands across the country.

If Tate's Richard is a sympathetic character, this is by no means the case for Bullingbrook, who is demonized and associated with the rabble. Knowing that the King has merely borrowed his lands, Bullingbrook's rebellion lacks any possible justification. He is merely an ambitious upstart. As in Shakespeare, York labels Bullingbrook a traitor and disowns him: 'Uncle me no Uncle, / I am no Traytors Uncle, I renounce thee' (sig. $D2^{r}$). However, rather than the entrance of a wronged man who seeks only his inheritance, Bullingbrook's return is presented as that of a violent opportunist: he is accused of 'Frighting [England's] pale-fac't Villages with War' (sig. $D2^{r}$) and, as York makes clear, he returns when 'th'annointed King is hence' (sig. $D2^{r}$). At the start of the play York had already remarked that he 'lik'd not the manner of [Bullingbrook's] departure' as ''twas the very smooth smiling Face of Infant Rebellion' (sig. $C2^{v}$), thereby stressing that Bullingbrook's desire to usurp comes from within and not from external provocations. Bullingbrook confirms York's fears when he claims that 'A Beam of royal splendor strikes [his] Eye' and states that 'Before [his] charm'd sight, Crowns and Scepters fly' (sig. $C2^{r}$). He is thus governed by self-interest and misplaced ambition.

The warning offered by Tate's play, like the Tory responses to Richard's reign cited above, concerns faction and self-interest more than the need for kings to listen to

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[48] Cited in Michael McKeon, *The Secret History of Domesticity: Public, Private, and the Division of Knowledge* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2005), p. 114.

their parliaments. When Bullingbrook incites the rabble in 2.4 (a new scene) he delivers a speech in which the word 'Usurpation' is endowed with positive connotations:

> What you mean by Usurpation,
> I may mistake, and beg to be informed.
> If it be only to ascend the Throne,
> To see that justice has a liberal course,
> In needful Wars to lead you forth to Conquest,
> And then dismiss you laden home with Spoils;
> If you mean this, I am at your disposal,
> And for your profit am content to take
> The burden of the State upon my hands. (sig. D4^{r})

Bullingbrook's manipulation of the 'rabble' seems to associate him with Whig manipulation of crowds.[49] As Tim Harris states, both Whigs and Tories 'wanted to be able to claim that they had the people on their side, [but] they had to be the right sort of people'.[50] In order to undermine their opponents, Tories tried to portray their supporters as 'the "giddy multitude", "Butchers men and other mean fellowes"'.[51] It is arguably appropriate then that the characters found in this scene are lowly men who call for usurpation and hangings without displaying any real principles. Bullingbrook also sends Northumberland to London to 'Summon a Parliament i'th Commons Name, / In Order to the kings Appearance there' (sig. F1^{v}), and the significance of the order is emphasized by Aumerle, who exclaims that 'To call a Senate in King Richard's Name / Against King Richard, to depose King Richard' is 'a Monster of curst usurpation' (sig.

[49] For details of how ordinary Londoners were drawn into political conflicts, see Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration until the Exclusion Crisis* (CUP, 1987).
[50] Harris, *Restoration*, p. 292.
[51] Harris, *Restoration*, p. 292.

F2[r]). Bullingbrook may therefore be seen to deploy the kind of 'rabble-rousing tactics' Tories condemned,[52] seeking to rebel not out of any sense of moral outrage but rather because he has ambitions of grandeur and is able to redefine words and laws to support his own aims.

The play's end also offers criticism of Bullingbrook's usurpation of Richard's throne because he shows excessive cruelty in his treatment of the King. This is seen in the manner of Richard's death. As noted in Robert Howard's account of *The life and Reign of King Richard the Second* (1681), there are various conflicting versions of Richard's death. Howard recounts that 'Some write; That [Richard II] was every day serv'd in with abundance of costly Dishes, but not suffered to touch or tast one of them, and so perished with Famine', adding that 'such barbarous unnatural Cruelty seems wholly fabulous' (sig. Q8[v]). Others, he notes, write that 'Sir Pierce [Exton] entered the [King's] Chamber with eight Armed Men, which King Richard perceiving, [he] slew four of them, but was at last himself knock'd down by Sir Pierce with a Pole-Axe' (sig. Q8[v]). A final suggestion is that Richard, realizing that hope of his restoration had died, resolved to starve himself to death (sig. Q8[v]). Rejecting the least flattering option of suicide, Tate opts to have Richard tortured and murdered. While guards enter to feed Shakespeare's Richard (5.5.94), Tate's King is tantalized by vanishing food. A stage direction indicates that 'A Table and Provisions [are] shewn' (sig. H3[r]). This prompts Richard to ask 'What mean my Goalers by that plenteous Board?' and state that he has not eaten for three days (sig. H3[r]). Far from attempting suicide through starvation, Tate's Richard announces that he will eat, but he is prevented from doing so as 'Going to sit, the Table sinks down' (sig. H3[r]). Tate's admirable Richard resolves to 'smile at this fantastick Cruelty' before Exton kills him, as in Shakespeare (sigs. H3[r-v]). By

[52] Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II*, p. 17.

having Richard starved, tantalized and then murdered, Tate emphasizes both the cruelty of Bulligbrook's actions and the King's resilience in the face of adversity.

Tate's presentation of Bullingbrook's repentance at the close of his play also resonates with Tory accounts of the reign. This is highlighted in Bullingbrook's final speech, where he calls Richard's death 'a Deed of Slaughter fatal for [his] Peace' which they 'and all the Land shall rue' (sig. H4^{r}). Tate's Bullingbrook is overcome with remorse for his actions, exclaiming:

> Wake, Richard, wake, give me my Peace agen,
> And I will give Thee back thy ravisht Crown.
> Come Lords prepare to pay your last Respects
> To this great Hearse, and help a King to Mourn
> A King's untimely Fall: O tort'ring Guilt!
> In vain I wish The happy Change cou'd be,
> That I slept There, and Richard Mourn'd for Me. (sig. H4^{r})

The lack of 'peace' and the future 'rue' would have been witnessed by those who had seen Crowne's *The Misery of Civil War* (1680), in which one observes 'War, [and] Rebellions great and frequent' in Bullingbroke's grandson's reign,[53] and in which the ghost of Richard II returns to remind a distraught Henry VI that his and his people's suffering were the direct result of Bullingbrook's crime.

The Tory tone found in *The Misery of Civil War* and *Richard II* contrasts with the more ambiguous politics found throughout his *Henry the Sixth, the First Part, with the Murder of Humphrey Duke of Glocester*. While in his first Shakespeare alteration Crowne went to great lengths to emphasise divine intervention and deny that Henry VI

[53] *A just and modest vindication of His Royal Highness the Duke of York* (1680), sig. B3^{v}.

was to blame for his fall, his *Henry the Sixth* portrays an impotent king who is surrounded by factious rebels. This Henry is a pious Catholic. Equally, while the Queen's French nationality and the loss of Anjou and Maine are not stressed in *The Misery of Civil War*, they become a central concern in Crowne's *Henry the Sixth*, where anti-French and anti-Catholic references abound.[54] Queen Margaret is active in the defence of her son's birthright in *The Misery of Civil War*, but she is instead motivated by self-interest in *Henry the Sixth*, desiring the crown for herself. She is also clearly having an affair with Suffolk, who is said to have 'injur'd the King's bed' (sig. K1^{v}), a plot-strand invented by Shakespeare that Crowne omitted from his previous *Henry VI* play. Instead of celebrating royal virility as he did with Edward, Crowne instead presents his King as a cuckold. It is this portrayal of a king that prevents Crowne's *Henry the Sixth* from being a straightforward Tory play.

Rather than the victim of Bullingbrook's crime or divine intervention, Crowne's second Henry VI is a weak, Catholic king. Suffolk states that Henry is a 'poor weak King' (sig. C1^{r}), and 'no more but a King's ghost' (sig. C1^{v}), while Margaret calls him 'soft King Henry' (sig. C1^{r}). Henry is said to be married to the heavens (sig. C1^{v}), and to 'kiss Brazen Images, / And Bones, and Sculs of Saints' (sig. F1^{v}), thereby alluding to attacks on Catholic idolatry. The Cardinal suggests that the King and he 'ought to Change offices [for Henry] is more fit to be a priest than [the Cardinal] / And [the Cardinal is] more fit to be a King than [Henry]' (sig. D3^{v}), while the Queen claims that Henry is 'the only subject in the Kingdom, / He obeys all and no one obeys him' (sig. C1^{v}). Crowne's Henry is abundantly aware of the intentions of the plotters around him and their intention to kill Glocester,[55] telling him that 'these great Lords and Margaret your Queen, / Do seek subversion of your harmless life' but his admission that, even as

[54] Crowne's *The Misery of Civil War* reduces many of the other French elements of Shakespeare's plays. For example, King Lewis does not appear in Crowne's play, nor do the scenes set in France.
[55] This is made clear through asides the King delivers (sigs. G1^{v}-G2^{r}).

'King', he 'want[s the] power to save [Glocester] from 'em' seems to sum up aptly his impotency in the face of rebellion (sig. G2^{v}).

Although by no means explicitly Tory, the play, I would argue, does not offer a Whig view of the monarch's reign. This is largely because *Henry the Sixth* seems so nihilistic and neither ends Henry's rule nor offers desirable alternatives to it. Even the legal heir, Richard of York, is depicted as an unpleasant Machiavel who is willing to sit back and let 'good and wise Duke Humphrey' suffer because it will further his own interests (sig. E2^{v}). Rather than rescue the King by emphasising Henry IV's usurpation of Richard II, Crowne's *Henry the Sixth* aligns itself with Tory politics by demonising rebellion and self-interest. This is largely achieved through (further) criticism of Suffolk, Margaret and the Cardinal. Crowne associates the Cardinal's plotting with both his Catholicism and his illegitimacy, and suggests that the nation's suffering is largely caused by a failure to keep female ambition in check.

Glocester appears to be the hero – albeit a martyred hero – of Crowne's play, and it is possible that the plots against Glocester resonated with audiences as his status as next in line to Henry's throne is stressed throughout the play. Owen sees parliamentary 'overtones' in the depiction of Glocester, such as his championing of the people and their desire to avenge his death (they support York and kill Suffolk on the grounds of Humphrey's treatment),[56] while Matthew Wikander argues that Crowne 'takes pains to connect the death of Humphrey with the current scandal of the murder of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey', the magistrate who had died in mysterious circumstances shortly after receiving Titus Oates's evidence of a Popish Plot.[57] The Cardinal's conspiracy to kill Humphrey would certainly have offered parallels with Whig claims that Papists killed Godfrey to avoid further exposure of the alleged Popish Plot.[58]

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[56] *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*, p. 89.
[57] 'The Spitted Infant', p. 347.
[58] See Alan Marshall, *The Strange Death of Edmund Godfrey: Plots and Politics in Restoration London* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999).

Whether associated with the Duke of York, Parliamentarians, or Godfey, what is clear is that Glocester and not King Henry functions as the play's hero.

Crowne demonises rebellion in its various forms. The Cardinal's plotting is directly linked to his illegitimacy and his envy over Glocester's birthright. In a new speech reminiscent of Edmund's 'Thou Nature' soliloquy in *King Lear*, the Cardinal draws links between his illegitimacy and his plots against Glocester:

> I will not rest till I've the Blood of Glocester:
> He must be lord Protector of the Kingdom,
> And lord it over me. He thinks he is
> A better Man, 'cause he is a King's Son,
> And I but Son of the Duke of Lancaster.
> He is the Son of Henry the Fourth,
> And I of Henry's Father John of Gaunt.
> But at my making there it seems did want
> Some Holy Ceremonies, for want of which
> I'm that the Rude Ill-manner'd Law calls Bastard […]
> Law has thrust me out from Succession [but]
> I at the Lord Protectorship will bayt,
> Or I will lye abroad in storms of Blood. (sig. D1^{r})

The illegitimate Cardinal's ambition is further emphasised when King Henry reports that his father, Henry V, had predicted that 'if e'er [Beaufort] were a Cardinal' he would make 'his Cap vye with [his] Prince's Crown' (sig. F4^{v}). The Cardinal may therefore have been designed to invite parallels with the Duke of Monmouth, Charles II's illegitimate son, whom many championed as an alternative heir to the Duke of York.

While Tate uses the relationship between the Queen and Richard to arouse pity and praise constancy and loyalty, Crowne's *Henry the Sixth* uses relationships between men and women in order to align female disobedience with misrule. Two of the most power-hungry characters in the play are Queen Margaret and Glocester's wife, Elianor. Their antagonism is expressed in Eleanor's claim that she will 'undermine' Margaret's 'Royal Glories, / If digging deep as lowest Hell will do it' and 'climb the Throne', or else fall to hell (sig. B4^{v}). Glocester refuses to become embroiled in these 'womanish causes', but his enemies seize on Elianor's pride and ambition and use it against her husband. His wife's subsequent arrest for treason plays right into the conspirators' hands (sig. B3^{v}). Glocester tells Elianor, 'Talk not of ruling Kingdoms, rule your self' (sig. B3^{v}), and, at the start of the play, predicts that her 'Pride, and [his] fond love / To [her], will bring destruction on [them] both' (sig. B3^{v}). Glocester's predictions about his own effeminacy, are supplemented by the Cardinal's attacks on Glocester's failure to control his wife:

> Your good Lady finding
> She governs you, thinks she can rule the Devil,
> And have th'infernal powers at her Command.
> Heaven be prais'd, England's protected well.
> Your Grace is Lord Protector of the Kingdom,
> Your Wife rules you, the Devil is her protector,
> And so the Devil is in England's Lord Protector. (sig. E1^{v})

He further says of Glocester that 'he who was govern'd by so ill a Woman, / Is very unfit to be the Kingdom's Governor' (sig. E1^{v}). The links between effeminacy, misrule and the failure to rule a wife thus seem of vital importance to Crowne's play.

A mixture of effeminacy and Margaret's ambition can likewise be seen to undo Suffolk. As she says, 'it was [her] ambition / Made Suffolk stain his hands in innocent Blood' (sig. K2^{v}). Suffolk, who is having an affair with Margaret, tells her that he did not marry her to Henry but rather to 'the brave kingdom' (sig. C1^{r}). Equally, instead of setting Eleanor up with the sole intention of attacking her husband, Glocester, Suffolk attacks her to please Margaret who tells him that his plots give her 'transporting pleasure' (sig. C2^{v}). The women do not only oppose each other but also the King as they both have designs on rule. Crowne's play therefore seems to underline the consequences of unchecked female power.

The play's presentation of Margaret and Elianor invites parallels with Charles II's unpopular, overly influential, and predominantly French-Catholic mistresses at court. Like Suffolk's lover and Glocester's wife, Catherine of Braganza and the Duchess of Portsmouth were implicated in political plots and were accused of negatively influencing Charles II. It should be recalled that Oates implicated the Queen and her physician in the Popish Plot to kill Charles,[59] while Portsmouth and the Duchess of Orleans were thought to have directly influenced Charles's French policies. As Weil notes, 'it was widely rumoured […] that Charles II had been induced to sign the secret Treaty of Dover in the course of an incestuous encounter with his sister' (Orleans) and Portsmouth is said to have 'plied the king with liquor and charmed him with the sight of three court ladies, who undressed' in a bid persuade him to close parliament.[60] Crowne may therefore have used Elianor's conspiracy with the witches and Margaret's lusty liaison and plotting with Suffolk to invite criticism of Charles's effeminacy and the corrupt nature of the women surrounding him. However, as I noted, it is Suffolk rather than the King that the Queen manipulates, so it perhaps fairer to say that effeminacy and not a specific figure is being criticised.

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[59] See the reference to this branch of Oates's accusations in my Introduction, pp. 10, 5-6.
[60] Weil, 'Sometimes a Scepter', pp. 140-41.

By the end of *Henry the Sixth*, Henry may not have lost his crown, but his inability to control those around him suggests that it will only be a matter of time before his throne is usurped. The King is no tyrant, but he is a weak ruler, and his failure to assert authority, like Glocester and Suffolk's failure to stand up to Elianor and Margaret, has disastrous consequences for his country. The heavens do not intervene to pardon Henry, and the play refrains from establishing any preferred ruler capable of ridding the kingdom of the continuous rebellions that threaten to tear it apart. In his final lines, Henry expresses hope that 'as little Blood [will] be shed as possible', promises to 'mend [his] government', and then acknowledges that 'England may yet Curse [his] unfortunate Reign' (sig. K3^{r}). It seems that we are to view him as good but week, reforming but far too late. He is to be remembered for his failings, and, as the Queen's concluding speech indicates, audiences leaving the theatre are perhaps to remember that kings have a duty to avoid effeminacy and provide strong, assertive rule:

> Men like Buildings
>
> Fall to the Ground, if never Fire burn in e'm
>
> To harden e'm; King's a Royal Building,
>
> That shoul'd have no soft Clay in it at all.
>
> Adversity has always reign'd upon you,
>
> And made you soft; but yield not, Sir, to Rebels.
>
> Royalty like great Beauty, must be chaste,
>
> Rogues will have all, if once they get a taste. (sig. K3^{r})

The play may therefore be read as an appeal for strong monarchical rule and a reminder of the (perceived) need to dominate and control female transgression and effeminacy.

Taken as a group, the alterations of Shakespeare's history plays emphasise the need for strong, legitimate rule while demonising rebellion and misplaced ambition. They also celebrate the virility of royal males, their ability to attract women, and the innate desire of monarchs to care for and protect their subjects. The centrality of these issues to the Exclusion Crisis debates is reflected in the fact that they can also be found in other Shakespeare alterations produced between 1678 and 1682.

Family Politics: Bad Fathers and Pious Children

As noted above, both Whig and Tory plays draw analogies between the family and the state. Whig plays tend to depict arbitrary or Catholic rulers who show a complete disregard for family ties, including marriage bonds. This can be seen, for example, in Nathaniel Lee's *Caesar Borgia*, and in his *Lucius Junius Brutus*. Borgia commits both fratricide and the murder of his wife while, in *Lucius Junius Brutus*, Lucretia's rape and suicide are presented as crimes committed against the community of Rome at large. Whig fears concerning popery and arbitrary government are also found in Elkanah Settle's play, *The Female Prelate*, where the legendary female Pope, Pope Joan, conspires against anyone who stands in her way. She also comes close to raping one of her male subjects as she uses a bed-trick in order to have sex with a virtuous, Protestant man while her male sidekick (who also deploys the bed-trick) violates the man's wife. As in Lee's *Lucius Junius Brutus*, the violated woman commits suicide, and her body is displayed in order to incite revenge and the tyrant's expulsion from power. Whig plays therefore stressed that arbitrary rulers – and Catholic rulers in particular – wilfully exploited and abused their subjects. These plays thus appear to advocate the Whig view that 'the King, Lords and Commons [ought to] have [the] power to dispose of the

succession as they shall judge most conducible to the Safety, Interest, and Happiness of the Kingdom'.[61]

Conversely, in Tory plays such as Crowne's *City Politiques* and Ravenscroft's *The London Cuckolds*, the wives of Whigs are not violated by tyrants but instead seduced by potent Tories. As Canfield has noted, during the Exclusion Crisis, 'comic playwrights turned cit-cuckolding [short for citizen-cuckolding] into a particularly virulent example of the erotics of power'.[62] He states that the plays

> portray cits as silly, cowardly, impotent Whigs who meddle in politics; Cavaliers as handsome, witty libertine, potent Tories who are worthy to dominate; and women as […] naturally attracted to the dominant males. The Cavaliers tup their rivals' women, often in their faces, and force them to accept it.[63]

Ravenscroft's play, *The London Cuckolds*, shows this link between political warfare and sex. Ramble calls Dashwell 'a Blockhead City Attorney; a Trudging, Drudging, Cormuging, Petitioning Citizen' (sig. B4^{v}). The word 'petitioner' – denoting a supporter of parliament and the Exclusion Bill – is a key insult in this exchange. Ramble's companion responds: 'a Petitioner! Cuckold the Rogue for that very reason' (sig. B4^{v}). This establishes a direct link between political allegiance and sexual usurpation, just as Edward and Warwick's rivalry over Lady Grey was settled according to birth distinctions. *The London Cuckolds* also features an epilogue in which we are told that 'every Cuckold is a Cit […] And be it spoke to their eternal Glory's, / There's not one Cuckold amongst all the Tory's' (sig. I3^{v}). The ability to retain and satisfy a woman is thus presented as a key feature of Tory masculine identity.

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[61] Anthony Ashley Cooper, *An Impartial Account of the Nature and Tendency of the Late Addresses* (London, 1681), sig. C3^{r}.
[62] 'Tupping your Rival's Women', p. 115.
[63] 'Tupping your Rival's Women', p. 115.

As noted above, both Whigs and Tories advocated allegiance to a husband, father, or ruler, but the conditions in which one might resist rule were debated. For Tories, passive resistance was called for as nothing could justify the rejection of a lawful monarch or patriarch. For Whigs, by contrast, a monarch could be resisted in certain circumstances. Thus, while Tory writers used the domestic sphere to justify state patriarchy, Whigs were not keen to see their views of the right to resist an unsuitable monarch's rule translated into the domestic sphere.[64] This link is made clear in Crowne's *City Politiques*. When Camillo asks Florio if he is to blame for his wife's infidelity, he is informed that she is 'a true Whig' and has 'revolted' because he failed to satisfy her sexually (sig. L1^{r}). After all, as Florio reminds him, the 'principles' of faction dictate that

> He is not to be regarded who has a right to Govern, but he who can best serve the ends of Government. I can better serve the ends of your Lady than you can, so I lay claim to your Lady. (sigs. L1^{r-v})

The passage uses the microcosm of the family to emphasise the implication Whig arguments would have for husbands across the country, just as Tate's dialogue between Richard and his Queen suggests that usurpation in the public sphere may well lead to husbands being replaced in the private sphere.

Another prominent feature of Tory plays is the portrayal of civil war, rebellion, and ambition as fatal to family bonds. For example, Crowne's *The Ambitious Statesman* features a rebel torturing his own child, whilst *The Misery of Civil-War* contains a scene, taken from Shakespeare, depicting a son who has unknowingly killed his father and a father who has unknowingly killed his son. The 'horrid errours and unnatural ills'

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[64] Staves, *Players' Sceptres*, pp. 185-86, 116-17; and Rosenthal, 'Masculinity in Restoration Drama', p. 93-4.

which such a 'horrid and unnatural war produces' are emphasized as the son laments how he has 'ta'ne his life who gave me mine' and the father how he has 'killed he for whom [he] wou'd have died' (sigs. G2^{r-v}). The pathos of the scenes is further augmented by the men's concerns about the impact their 'unnatural' acts will have on the wider family. It is significant that the man has killed his 'only' son. By specifying the fact that a family has lost its 'only' son, Crowne is not simply making the loss appear more tragic; with the removal of sons to continue a family name, he is highlighting the fatal threat which rebellion and civil war hold for families.

An additional aspect of the family politics of Exclusion Crisis alterations is the depiction of bad fathers. The issue of fatherhood was at the heart of the Exclusion Crisis because the problem that arose in the late 1670s and early 1680s was not simply James's Catholicism, but the fact that Charles had failed to produce a legitimate child to inherit his throne and preserve the Protestant line of succession. Otway's alteration of *Romeo and Juliet* into *The History and Fall of Caius Marius*, first performed in around October 1679 and first printed in 1680, portrays bad fathers who place personal and political rivalries ahead of the duty of care they owe to Rome and their children. The play depicts both a foreign war against King Mithridates, and civil war in Rome between the faction of 'base born' Marius Senior (Caius Marius) and that led by Metellus and the patricians in support of Sylla. As is indicated in the very first speech of the play, Rome is a 'wayward State' (sig. B1^{r}). Metellus asks:

> When will the Tut'lar Gods of Rome awake,
> To fix the Order of our wayward State,
> That we may once more know each other; know
> Th' extent of Laws, Prerogatives and Dues;
> The Bounds of Rules and Magistracy. (sig. B1^{r})

The absence of 'Magistracy' and the lack of clarity over 'who / Ought first to govern, and who must obey' (sig. B1^{r}), and the resulting factious divisions drive the tragic action of the play.

Otway drew on Shakespeare for the love-plot between Marius Junior and Lavinia, and on Plutarch's *Lives* for his portrayal of the conflict between Sylla and Caius Marius.[65] The rivalry between Lavinia's father, Metellus (Capulet), and Marius Junior's father, Marius Senior (Montagu), is evident from the play's opening. It is also clear that we are not supposed to side with either faction as both seek to outdo each other in acts motivated not by care for Rome but by self-interest and a thirst for power.[66] Otway's republic is depicted as a place where patriarchal care is but a vain and empty promise used to attract voters, and where might presides over rights to rule and consent to be ruled. Marius modifies the terminology he uses as he addresses the crowd, selecting words and labels for their resonance rather than through any real conviction in their meaning or significance:

> Countrymen,
>
> And Fellow-citizens, my Brethren all,

[65] See Jessica Munns, *Restoration Politics and Drama: The Plays of Thomas Otway, 1675-1683* (Newark: U of Delaware P, 1995), p. 98. Munns adds that 'Otway may also have drawn on Sallust's *The Jugurthine War* for aspects of Caius Marius' character' (p. 228n). Kerstin P. Warner finds Otway's combination of source texts hard to 'fathom', but I think Munns is right to state that the different parts of the play are actually rather well 'harmonized'. See Warner, *Thomas Otway* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982), p. 92; Munns, '"The Dark Disorders of a Divided State": Otway and Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, *Comparative Drama*, 19 (1985/6), 347-62 (p. 347). For additional discussion of Otway's source material, see Barbara Murray, 'Otway and Lucan: Source of the Sources for *The History and Fall of Caius Marius* (1680)?', *Notes and Queries*, 42 (1995), 38-40; *The Works of Thomas Otway: Plays, Poems, and Love-Letters*, ed. by J. C. Ghosh, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1932) I ; and *The Complete Works of Thomas Otway*, ed. by Montague Summers, 3 vols (London: Nonesuch Press, 1926), II.

[66] I am not convinced by readings that suggest direct character parallels. See, for example, Warner, and Hazel Batzer Pollard's readings of links between Caius Marius and the Earl of Shaftesbury. Warner, *Thomas Otway*; and Pollard, 'Shakespeare's Influence on Otway's *Caius Marius*', *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*, 39 (1969), 533-61. For further discussion of the play's politics, see especially: Robert D. Hume, *The Development of English Drama in the Late Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), pp. 321-22; Murray, 'The Butt of Otway's Political Moral in *The History and Fall of Caius Marius* (1680)', *Notes and Queries*, 36 (1989), 48-50; Owen, *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*, pp. 163-4; John M. Wallace, 'Otway's *Caius Marius* and the Exclusion Crisis', *Modern Philology*, 85 (1988), 363-72; and Wikander, 'The Spitted Infant', pp. 349-51.

> Or, if it may be thought a dearer name;
>
> My Sons, my Children, glory of my Age. (sig. D3^{v})

Marius's follower, Granius, highlights just how hollow claims to care for Rome and her people are in this play when he says he would rather

> See Rome but one Funeral pile,
>
> And all her people quitting her like Bees,
>
> Driven by Sulphur from their Hives;
>
> Much rather see her Senatours in Chains
>
> Dragg'd through the Streets to death, and Slaves made Lords,
>
> Then see [Sylla] that vain presumptuous Upstart's Pride
>
> Succeed to lead the Armies [Marius] bred. (sig. B4^{r})

There is nothing he would not sacrifice for the sake of political rivalry. Granius's hatred for Sylla is such that he would prefer to see the destruction and desertion of Rome and the total reversal of the very hierarchies on which society is based rather than witness Sylla gain power. In Otway's version of *Romeo and Juliet* then, 'Confusion's Night' has fallen on Rome, there are no legitimate patriarchs to guide the people, and the metaphor is used to stress how, in the 'dark Disorders / Of a Divided State, men know not where / Or how to walk, for fear they lose their way' (sigs. B2^{v}-B3^{r}).

Just like the Romans Marius disingenuously labels 'Children', the actual children of the factious leaders are little more than pawns in their fathers' power games. We are told that Marius Senior tried to establish peace with his rival (before the action proper of the play) by using their children to unite the two families. This plan was thwarted, but the love the gesture kindled in their children remained. Having caused his

son to love Lavinia, Marius Senior now hates her because 'there's Metellus in her' (sig. B4^{v}). He protests that 'In every Line of her bewitching Face, / There's a Resemblance tells whose Brood she came of' (sig. B4^{v}). He would rather see his son 'in a Brothel trapt, /And basely wedded to a Ruffian's Whore' than allow him to 'taint [his] generous Bloud' by marrying Lavinia (sig. B4^{v}).[67] Metellus recalls the match Marius Senior proposed between their children but adds that for the 'Wrongs' Marius Senior has done him, he intends that Lavinia and the best part of his fortune shall be Sylla's, attempting to mount Sylla simply to 'crush the Pride' of his rival (sig. B2^{v}). Lavinia urges her father to 'think a little […] How miserable [she is] like to be' if he forces her into 'a lawful Rape' and 'hatefull Bonds, which never can grow easy' (sig. C3^{v}), but his only response is that he will banish her if she fails to comply. The two fathers therefore knowingly put their rivalry before their children's happiness.

The parents' blind hatred and ambition is in stark contrast with the filial piety and innocent love their children embody. Marius reminds his father that his love of Lavinia stems from obedience to his order that Lavinia 'is She / That must give Happiness to [him] and Rome', but agrees, nonetheless, to try to 'obey' his father's latest wishes and name her no more (sig. C1^{r}). Lavinia and Marius Junior go on to marry in secret, as in Shakespeare, but the latter informs his father, and Lavinia joins her husband's family in exile. Captured and forced to return to Rome to marry Sylla, Lavinia drinks a potion to help her fake death, but, as in Shakespeare, her lover believes her genuinely dead and so kills himself. Marius Junior's dying speech evokes great pity as he contrasts hellish life in faction-torn Rome with a heavenly future with Lavinia. He imagines that the gods have 'in pity sent' her 'to redeem [him] from this vale of Torments, / And bear [him] with [her] to those Hills of Joys' (sig. J4^{r}), telling her that 'cruel Parents [and] oppressing Laws' shall no longer part them (sig. J4^{r}). The two

[67] Marius Senior is also devoid of pity when it comes to orphans, ordering for a child to be 'mount[ed] on a Spear' in act five (sig. I2^{r}).

lovers are ignorant of the kind of rage and hatred that drives their fathers, and it seems it is only in death that they can hope to find peace.

One of the most scathing attacks on fatherhood in *Caius Marius* occurs when Marius Senior shows ingratitude to Lavinia who, although the daughter of his rival, showed great compassion in caring for him in exile.[68] Marius Senior kills Lavinia's father, thereby prompting her to remind him who she is and what she did for him. As Marius Senior acknowledges, Lavinia was

> next the Gods [his] onely Comfort.
> When [he] lay fainting on the dry parcht Earth,
> Beneath the scorching heat of burning Noon,
> Hungry and dry, no Food nor Friend to chear [him]. (sig. K1^{r})

Like an 'Angel sent' by the gods, Lavinia showed him compassion and saved his life, but he has now forgotten all she did for him and has 'butcher'd' her father, 'The onely Comfort [she] had left on Earth' (sig. K1^{r}). Lavinia is consequentially driven to 'Dispair' and suicide, another victim of 'cruel parents' (sigs. K1^{r}, J4^{r}). The impact bad fatherhood has on families is stressed as she tells Marius Senior to look on the body of his dead son before plunging a sword 'yet reeking with [her own] Father's Gore' into her breast (sig. K1^{r}). Otway's play seems to echo the message found in Marius Senior's final speech:

> Be warn'd by me, ye Great ones, how y'embroil
> Your Country's peace, and dip your Hands in Slaughter
> Ambition is a Lust that's never quencht,

[68] For similar observations, see Owen, *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*, p. 163; Wallace, 'Otway's *Caius Marius* and the Exclusion Crisis'; and Munns, 'Dark Disorders'.

Grows more inflam'd and madder by Enjoyment. (sig. K1^{v})

The despair faction brings is total, and neither the guilty nor the innocent will survive.

John Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida*, like Otway's *Caius Marius*, offers contrasting portrayals of a selfish father figure and a pious child. In fact, the key themes of Dryden's play are those I have identified as being present in the majority of Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis, and each is in some way linked to the play's tragic outcome.[69] Dryden's play was probably staged between March and April 1679 and printed the same year. His version of *Troilus and Cressida* stresses the view that 'since from homebred Factions ruine springs' a nation's 'Subjects [ought to] learn obedience to their Kings' (sig. K3^{r}) by showing the Greek campaign to be weakened as a result of infighting and a lack of respect for the 'Supremacy of Kings' (sig. B1^{v}). The play also condemns Paris's effeminacy and the way in which his country's safety was put at risk for the sake of a woman while simultaneously depicting the tragic consequences bad fatherhood has on young lovers. Cressida is not 'False', but manipulated and misunderstood. She feigns love for Diomedes at her father's request and later commits suicide in order to demonstrate her constancy to Troilus. An additional feature of Dryden's play, which I discuss in more detail below, was to present a handful of characters as torn between love for a woman and their martial duty, and to have Hector offer moralising speeches on the need to avoid such effeminacy.

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[69] For political readings of Dryden's play, see especially: Jennifer Brady, 'Anxious Comparison in John Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida*', in *Enchanted Ground: Reimagining John Dryden*, ed. by Maximillian E. Novak and Jayne Lewis (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2004), pp. 185-202; W. W. Bernhardt, 'Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* and Dryden's *Truth Found Too Late*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 20 (1969), 129-41; Janet Dawson, 'Searching for Peace: John Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida or Truth Found too Late*', in *Back to Peace: Reconciliation and Retribution in the Postwar Period*, ed. by Aránzazu Usandizaga and Andrew Monnickendam (Notre Dame: U of Notre Dame P, 2007), pp. 119-45; Lewis D. Moore, 'For King and Country: John Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida*', *College Language Association Journal*, 26 (1982), 98-111; Owen's chapter on 'Shakespeare Adapted: John Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida*', in *Perspectives on Restoration Drama* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2002), pp. 147-69 ; and Elliott Visconsi, 'Trojan Originalism: Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida*', in *The Age of Projects*, ed. by Maximilian E. Novak (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2008), pp. 73-90.

The bad patriarch of Dryden's play is Cressida's father, Calchas, who, as in Shakespeare, is a 'fugitive / Rogue Priest' (sig. G1^{r}), a 'Canonical Rogue' (sig. H1^{v}), and has deserted his native Troy to join the Greeks.[70] Cressida, by contrast, is 'exemplary', to quote Marsden's evaluation of her conduct.[71] She makes Troilus promise that 'the holy Priest / Shall make them one for ever' (i.e. to agree to marriage) before they have sex (sig. E3^{v}). In essence, Dryden switches the virtues of Shakespeare's father and daughter. Calchas's self-interest and his disregard for his daughter's happiness lead to her separation from Troilus and ultimately prompt her to kill herself.[72] Having deserted his native country and left his daughter behind, Dryden's Calchas mirrors Shakespeare's in deciding that he now wishes Cressida to join him in Greece. This instigates the trade-off between the two camps whereby the Trojans will release Cressida in exchange for Antenor, a wise Trojan said to be of great significance to the Trojan campaign. Following Hector's appeals for the need to put the country's best interests ahead of his private love for Cressida,[73] Troilus eventually submits to 'A King, and a Father's will' (sig. F3^{r}). Cressida also reluctantly agrees to go to Greece and the suffering the separation brings her and Troilus emphasises Calachas's whimsical and arbitrary manipulation of his 'vertuous child' (sig. H1^{v}).

The actions of Dryden's Cressida are dictated by a desire to please both her father and her husband. She feigns love for Diomedes, rather than being genuinely

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[70] Moore reads Calchas as a representation of Titus Oates, but this reading seems a little forced. See 'For King and Country', p. 102.
[71] 'Rewritten Women', p. 51.
[72] As G. Douglas Atkins has argued, the Priest figure is instrumental in the play's tragic outcome. See 'The Function and Significance of the Priest in Dryden's troilus and Cressida', *Texas Studies in Language and Literature*, 13 (1971), 29-37 (p. 32).
[73] Shakespeare has Aeneas, who 'scarce [has] time to salute' Troilus hurriedly inform Troilus that Cressida is to be sent to the Greeks (4.2.61). All quotations are taken from the Arden edition of Shakespeare's play, edited by David Bevington (Walton-on-Thames, Surrey: Thomas Nelson, 1998), and subsequent citations will appear in the text. By giving Aeneas's message to Hector, Dryden instead seizes an opportunity for Hector and Troilus to reflect at length on the allegiance owed to brothers and friends. For more on Dryden's presentation of 'idealized friendship' in *Troilus and Cressida*, see Owen, *Perspectives on Restoration Drama*, p. 159.

tempted by him,[74] and does so out of duty to her father and in the hope that she will be reunited with Troilus. Calchas persuades her to feign love for Diomedes, telling her that she

> must dissemble love to Diomede still:
> False Diomede, bred in Ulysses School,
> Can never be deceiv'd,
> But by strong Arts and blandishments of love:
> Put 'em in practice all; seem lost and won,
> And draw him on, and give him line again.
> This Argus then may close his hundred eyes
> And leave our flight more easy. (sig. H1^{v})

Cressida responds by asking how she can remain loyal to both her father and her lover, a dilemma that marks her piety as both daughter and wife, but she agrees to do as Calchas asks in order to gain Diomedes' protection for her father. Cressida's noble motives are revealed when she later addresses Troilus and urges him not to kill Diomedes:

> my return to you
> Wou'd be cut off for ever by his death;
> My father, treated like a slave and scorn'd;
> My self in hated bonds a Captive held. (sigs. K1^{v}-K2^{r})

[74] Shakespeare's Cressida is 'tempt[ed] to folly', and is governed by the 'fault[s]' of her 'poor sex' (5.2.115).

Cressida therefore goes against her own wishes in order to serve better her father and lover. Unable to persuade Troilus of her virtue and loyalty to him, she kills herself in front of him. As with Lavinia's suicide in *Caius Marius*, I would therefore argue that Cressida's death is directly related to her father's misconduct.

Bad parents and suffering children are once more found in Edward Ravenscroft's *Titus Andronicus, or The Rape of Lavinia*, another Shakespeare alteration with a republican setting. Ravenscroft's *Titus* was probably first performed at the height of the Popish Plot in autumn 1678. He does not radically alter the structure of *Titus Andronicus*; his main changes include the modification of Lavinia's role, which I discuss in Chapter Four, the increased prominence given to plotting, the augmentation of the role of young Lucius (now called 'Junius'), and added emphasis on the negative influence of female figures. As Wikander has argued, by 'emphasising familial disruptions at the end of the play', Ravenscroft additionally offered a reading of Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* that was 'heavily influenced by divine right political theorists', and that 'drew explicit analogies between family and state'.[75]

In his alteration of *Titus Andronicus*, Ravenscroft intensifies the theme of suffering children he found in Shakespeare's play. As in Shakespeare, the children of Tamora and Titus are killed soon after the play begins and, by the end of the play they have each lost three more children. Moreover, Ravenscroft augments the role of Young Junius, and in doing so evokes pathos while stressing the suffering faction unleashes on innocent children. Young Junius assists the Andronici in their revenge plot but he is clearly too young to fully understand the gravity of the situation in which he finds himself. He is used to ensnare Chiron and Demetrius, who plan to kill him after they have stolen the gold he shows them. His innocence contrasts with their self-interest, while the danger he faces underscores Titus's irresponsible conduct.

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[75] 'The Spitted Infant', p. 343.

In his final scene, Ravenscroft spotlights the play's infanticide by having a series of savage acts occur in quick succession. Titus's murder of Lavinia is swiftly followed by the presentation of the bloody remains of her rapists, Chiron and Demetrius, and Titus orders their mother, Tamora, to observe 'their heads, their hands, and mangl'd Trunks' (sig. H3^{v}), before alerting her to the 'hearts and Tongues' she has eaten (sig. H3^{v}). The unnaturalness of the scene is emphasised first when Tamora labels Titus an 'Inhumane villain' and when she asks for her only remaining child, the baby she had with Aron, to be brought to her (sig. H3^{v}). Tamora insists that she 'shou'd / Be kind' to the baby and give it a parting kiss, but immediately contradicts both the audience's expectations and the natural motherly behaviour she has identified by stabbing the baby (sig. H4^{r}). The horror of her actions is highlighted by Aron (of all characters), who exclaims that she has 'out-done [him] in Murder [and] Kill'd her own Child' (sig. H4^{r}). Not to be outdone, he therefore asks to be given the baby, claiming that he will 'eat it' (sig. H4^{r}).[76] Young Junius is used to evoke yet more pathos when he announces that he 'cannot speak more for tears', and the hyperbolic scene eventually closes with '*flames about the Moor*' (sig. H4^{v}). The scene thus confronts spectators with an inescapably barbaric display of the horrors caused by faction and succeeds in undermining everything an audience might hold sacred.

Whereas attacks on bad fathers featured in plays with republican settings, quite the opposite was found in plays with monarchical, and particularly English, settings. In *The Misery of Civil-War* Crowne's Henry offers a lesson on the need for strong kings and obedient subjects:

> Oh you, who when you suffer by your Kings,
>
> Think to mend all by War, and by Rebellion!

[76] According to Derek Hughes, 'the image of [a] parent eating [a] child […] occurs four times in Exclusion Crisis drama' and is 'a signally pessimistic representation of authority' (*English Drama, 1660-1700* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), p. 265).

> See here, your sad mistakes! How dreadfully
>
> You scourge your selves! Learn here the greatest Tyrant
>
> Is to be chose before the least Rebellion.
>
> And Oh you Kings, who let your people rule,
>
> Till they have run themselves into confusion,
>
> See here your gentleness is greatest Tyranny! (sig. G2^{v})[77]

The answer Crowne offers to the problems of rebellion appears to be that citizens ought not to resist rightful monarchs and that kings need to step up to the mark and quash any challenges to their authority. A similar remedy is also suggested in the prologue to the play, which states that 'The English Nation, like a Russian Wife, / Is to a gentle Husband always curst / And loves him best, who uses her the worst' (sig. A4^{r}). Both kings and husbands ought thus to rule with an iron 'Rod' and take decisive action to prevent civil strife (sig. A4^{r}).

Rebellion renders fathers impotent, incapable of protecting their offspring, as indicated in the 'Orchard for the Devil' that is unveiled in 3.3 of *The Misery of Civil War*. Like Ravenscroft's closing scenes, Crowne's provides an evocative image, this time of the consequences of civil war: 'the Scene is drawn, and there appears Houses and Towns burning, Men and Women hang'd on Trees, and Children on the tops of pikes' (sig. F2^{v}). We do not have access to the stage scenes used in Crowne's play, but the description brings to mind 'The Hanging' (*La Pendaison*), one of Jacques Callot's engravings in *The Great Miseries of War* (*Les Grandes Misères de la guerre*, 1633), based on images of the Thirty Years' War (see figure two, p. 157). The carnage is such that the trees are 'almost all bespoke' (sig. F2^{v}), and whole generations of families appear to have been wiped out. The situation seems a fit illustration of the play's

[77] Shakespeare's Henry VI simply describes himself as a 'woeful king' after observing the domestic consequences of civil war (2.5.123).

statement that 'a high road for vast destruction's made' when 'dirty Traytours […] climb the Royal Rights, and Thrones invade' (sig. K2^{v}). The fathers of the scene cannot protect their children because there is no legitimate patriarch to care for the nation.

The Politics of Effeminacy: Male-Female Relations

I have thus far discussed the ways in which Exclusion Crisis alterations of Shakespeare dramatised patriarchy and divine right theory in the macrocosm and the microcosm. I would like to conclude this chapter by suggesting ways in which the theme of effeminacy I identified in alterations of Shakespeare's history plays was dramatized in Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida* and Ravenscroft's *Titus Andronicus*. I wish to suggest that, like Crowne in his *Henry the Sixth*, Ravenscroft links preoccupation with women to the downfall of male characters, while Dryden presents his male characters with dilemmas to overcome in order to advocate the need to uphold male honour and suppress effeminacy for the greater good of one's country.

Ravenscroft demonises effeminacy in two ways. First of all, he presents Saturninus as being excessively influenced by Tamora (even more so than his Shakespearean counterpart), and emphasises the fact that he has been cuckolded. Secondly, Ravenscroft modifies the bait Aron uses to lure Titus's sons into his trap in order to link their downfall to unchecked lust for the opposite sex. Whereas in Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* Aaron uses the promise of literal game, animals to be hunted, in order to tempt Quintus and Martius into a pit, Ravenscroft's villain instead lures the brothers into a vault, and he does so by playing on their effeminacy. The brothers receive a letter telling them to 'attend a while at the Mouth of the Vault which is called the Serpents-Den, where once the mighty Snake was found' (sig. D4^{r}). Here they will be met, the letter claims, 'with the Company of two Ladies' who are young and beautiful (sig. D4^{r}). Rather than question the origins of the letter or show any

concern over the invitation's obvious allusions to the fall of man, the two are swept up in their lust. Martius states that he is 'all on fire' to see the women, and tells his brother to 'Be Quick-sighted as the Hungry Hawk, / That's watching for a Morning-Prey', lest anything 'like a Goddess scape [his] Eye' (sig. D4^{r}). As in Shakespeare, the brothers then discover Bassianus's body and are implicated in his murder. The moral of the episode is summarised in Aron's amused celebration of the success of his plot:

> Ha, ha, ha, Poor easy loving fools,
> How is their Amorous Expectation cross'd,
> Death wayted for their coming here, not Love,
> How Easily men are to confusion hurl'd,
> 'Tis gold and women that undo the world. (sig. E1^{v})

Aron may have tricked Quintus and Martius, but it was their effeminacy that left them off guard and prone to attack, just as Glocester of Crowne's *Henry the Sixth* was left vulnerable as a result of his love for Elianor.

Saturninus is also left exposed as a result of his love for Tamora and her skill in persuading him to allow Aron to infiltrate his government and this situation may have had increased topicality in the late 1670s. As previously stated, contemporary satires claimed that Louis XIV influenced Charles's political decision making by planting spies, particularly female spies, in his court. In a departure from Shakespeare's text, Tamora implores her husband to 'Receive [the] worthy Moor to [his] esteem' (sig. C1^{v}), adding:

> First, be the place he holds in Trust and Confidence,
> His head in Counsell, and his hand in Warr

Will never fail to do you service. (sig. C2^{r})

By consenting to his wife's request, Saturninus effectively enables Aron to influence his ability to rule while invading his marital bed. This simultaneous usurpation is emphasised in a Shakespearean speech in which Aron's relationship with Tamora is depicted as an invasion that is both sexual and political:

> Now climeth Tamora Olimpus top,
> Safe out of Fortunes shot, and sits on high,
> Secure of Thunder crack, or Lightning flash […]
> Then Aron, Arm thy heart and fit thy thoughts
> To mount aloft with thy Imperial Mistress. (sig. C4^{r})

The double entendre conveyed by the word 'mount' portrays Tamora as a framework Aron can use both 'for the purpose of sexual intercourse' and 'to ascend to a higher level in rank' (*OED*). The equation of the political and the sexual is repeated at the play's end when Aron reports that he has been 'Confederate with the Queen' (sig. H4^{r}), with 'confederate' indicating that he was allied with her in both a conspiratorial and a sexual sense (*OED*).[78] The negative impact Tamora has on her husband's rule, already stressed in Shakespeare, is thus augmented in Ravenscroft's play, where it may have encouraged audiences to draw links between Saturninus's effeminacy and contemporary concerns over Charles and James's ability to suppress feminine influence and rule responsibly.

[78] Shakespeare's Aaron also uses the word 'confederate' to describe his union with Tamora. 'Confederate' occurs earlier on in Shakespeare's play, where it again carries the dual meaning of sexual alliances and conspiratorial affiliation. When discussing what has happened to Lavinia (i.e. her rape) Marcus takes his niece's signs to indicate that 'more than one was / Confederate in the fact' (4.1.39).

Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida* engages with the theme of effeminacy by portraying it as a problem that men — and leaders in particular — need to overcome, while indicating that it is neither exclusively associated with contemporary royals, nor something that need prevent a man from performing his duties. Paris is not present in Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida*, but he is severely criticised for endangering his nation's security for the sake of a woman, and his countrymen insist that they fight not for Helen but rather for their Trojan honour. Helen, who is also absent from Dryden's version of the play, is described by Thersites as having the 'pox', and Priam describes his son, Paris, as 'Like one besotted on effeminate joys' (sigs. $D3^{v}$, $C2^{r}$). Hector stresses the crime his brother has committed in terms that recall the Tory equations of marriage rights with monarchical rights that I discussed in relation to Tate's *Richard II*:

> if this Hellen be anothers wife,
> The Morall laws of Nature and of Nation's
> Speak loud she be restor'd: thus to persist
> In doing wrong, extenuates not wrong,
> But makes it much more so: Hectors opinion
> Is this, is in way of truth: yet ne'retheless
> My sprightly Brother I encline to you
> In resolution to defend her still:
> For 'tis cause on which our Trojan honour
> And common reputation will depend. (sig. $C2^{r}$)

By fighting for their country even when they disagree with the cause of war, Hector and the other Trojan warriors show themselves to be loyal to their country above all else.

Both Hector and Troilus must overcome internal battles between love and martial duty or honour. Dryden has Hector (and not Aeneas) persuade Troilus of the need to give Cressida up for 'the general state', 'the public' (sig. F3^{r}), and Hector tells his brother that he needs to bear the loss of Cressida 'like a man' (sig. F2^{v}). Hector is tempted to avoid his battle with Achilles because Andromache's tears leave him 'struggling in [his] manly soul (sig. I1^{v}). Andromache is initially praised for the way she encourages her husband to prioritise war over love, but, as in Shakespeare, she is influenced by superstition. Abandoning war out of 'fondness for a Wife' is, according to Troilus, a 'more unpardonable ill' than superstition (sig. I2^{v}). After listening to Troilus and (correctly) fearing that their sister, Polyxena, has persuaded her lover, Achilles, not to fight him,[79] Hector is spurred into action and the temporary lapse in his manly valour is overcome. By showing Hector's relationship with Andromache, in essence his private world (the domestic scenes are new), Dryden presents a similar argument to that made by Crowne in his *Misery of Civil-War*. He seems to acknowledge royal effeminacy but undermines the force of attacks on the Stuarts by levelling the playing field and suggesting that it is a widespread issue that affects men of all walks of life – even Hector, the most famous of all warriors.

Like Crowne's Edward, who is wrongly suspected of putting lust ahead of duty, Dryden's royal heroes are able to fulfil their obligations while enjoying loving and successful relations with women. Owen's observations about Hector's manliness being a 'marker of true royalty' may be extended to Troilus, another prince.[80] She is right to state that Hector is 'the soul of manhood',[81] but, like his brother, Troilus too overcomes effeminacy in order to enter the battle at the play's start, and again when he agrees to release Cressida so that she can be exchanged for Antenor. When Aeneas asks him why he is not fighting, Troilus realises that it is 'Womannish' for him not to be in battle and

[79] She now does so in the form of a letter, 'taxing, and ingaging [him] to keep / An Oath' (sig. H1^{r}).
[80] *Perspectives on Restoration Drama*, p. 161.
[81] *Perspectives on Restoration Drama*, p. 161.

leaves his internal flight for that of the battlefield (sig. B3^{v}). Troilus is additionally celebrated for his achievements as a lover. Shakespeare's play contains bawdy remarks after Troilus and Cressida's first sexual encounter, but Dryden extends these in order to celebrate Troilus's ability to sexually please his lover. This is achieved by having Pandarus and a servant discuss noises coming from the room where Troilus and Cressida have spent the night and by making them confirm that both parties are very much 'alive' and satisfied (sig. F1^{r}). It therefore seems that Dryden's play uses the theme of effeminacy to advocate the same need for strong, male rule Crowne expressed in his *Henry the Sixth*. Although the presentation of effeminacy and particularly royal effeminacy may suggest that the Stuart brothers were being criticised by extension, it should be remembered that Dryden's heroes overcome the obstacles placed in their way and manage to place public duty ahead of private affairs.

In exploring their macrocosmic and microcosmic displays of family politics and male-female relations, I have suggested that Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis resonated with Tory views of the need for not only rightful and legitimate but also strong and caring rule. I have argued that civil war and the absence of rightful monarchs are shown to leave the nation devoid of protection and exposed to devastating acts of violence and cruelty. The related evil of rebellion also results in the destruction of the family unit and opens the floodgates to the unnatural suffering of innocent children. I have illustrated how the monarchical reigns of Richard II and Henry VI were reclaimed from Whig propagandists and have suggested that the plays advocate strong rule in the public and the private sphere. The alterations of Shakespeare's plays produced between 1678 and 1682 may therefore be seen to offer insight into both the politics of the family and the gender politics circulating at the time.

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Figure Two: Jacques Callot, 'The Hanging' (*La Pendaison*), in *The Great Miseries of War* (*Les Grandes Misères de la guerre*), 1633

Chapter Four

The Politics of Rape in Shakespeare Alterations of the Exclusion Crisis

In Chapter Three I observed the way in which Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis emphasised the need for strong, legitimate, male rule in both the public and the private realms. This, I suggested, was directly related to the views of political patriarchy voiced in Tory propaganda, such as Robert Filmer's works, which were revived during the Exclusion Crisis. I also indicated that the absence of legitimate patriarchal rule was associated with rebellion and civil war and that both had catastrophic consequences for the nation – the argument being that once legitimate, patriarchal rule has been abandoned, and, as a result, patriarchal protection is also lost, all hell breaks loose. In outlining the way in which relations between men and women are presented in Exclusion Crisis drama, I noted how Tory plays contained celebrations of aristocratic male potency while mocking Whig men's inability to compete for female attention. It is these concepts of ideal masculine behaviour that one finds expressed in disturbing new ways in the rape-plots added to a number of Shakespeare plays during the Exclusion Crisis. Of the ten Shakespeare plays altered between 1678 and 1682, three featured significant new rape-plots: Nahum Tate's *The History of King Lear*, his *The Ingratitude of a Common-Wealth, or the Fall of Caius Martius Coriolanus*, and Thomas Durfey's *The Injured Princess, or the Fatal Wager* (*Cymbeline*). Another play, Edward Ravenscroft's *Titus Andronicus, or the Rape of Lavinia* had its existing rape-plot re-appropriated as an 'Invasion on a Princes Right' (sig. C4^{v}), and a further four Shakespeare alterations used rape scenes or allusions to the crime of rape as short-hand for rebellion and tyranny. These were Thomas Shadwell's *Timon of Athens*, John Crowne's *The Misery of Civil War*, Thomas Otway's *The History and Fall of Caius Marius*, and Tate's *The History of King Richard the Second*. The threat of rape and the

need to conform to politically prescribed gender roles pervade these plays. I therefore offer a reading of the politics of the rape-plots and the alterations made to Shakespeare's female characters, without losing sight of the statements they simultaneously make about the crime of rape and relations between the sexes. I wish to suggest that the threat of rape found in Shakespeare alterations is Tory in tone, and that rape is associated both with rebellion and an absence of strong paternal care. This usually comes as the result of a character or nation rejecting the patriarch's protection. In plays featuring attempted rather than completed rape, I wish to suggest that it is used in order to provide parallels with the unnatural and illegitimate claims of rivals to the Duke of York's birthright.

I believe that the recurrent interest in rape in Exclusion Crisis drama is a political rather than an aesthetic phenomenon. Jean I. Marsden has claimed that 'the proliferation of rape scenes' on the Restoration stage 'coincides with the appearance of actresses on the British stage',[1] and Elizabeth Howe has made reference to 'the actress's body being offered to the audience as a piece of erotic entertainment'.[2] While I do not wish to deny that actresses and the exposure of their bodies offered crowd-pleasing scenes of 'titillation', as Howe puts it, I am far more persuaded by Derek Hughes's view that there was no such 'proliferation' of rape scenes on the Restoration stage and that, when they did occur, they instead coincided with crises of authority: 'the Exclusion Crisis, the Revolution, and the aftermath of the Assassination plot'.[3] This is exemplified in Whig and Tory tracts of the late 1670s and early 1680s. Although I adhere to Hughes's point about the relationship between rape plays and political crises I do not share his narrow definition of rape-plots. Hughes includes only plays in which rape is achieved, but attempted rape is also of paramount importance to the rape rhetoric found

[1] 'Rape, Voyeurism, and the Restoration Stage', in *Broken Boundaries: Women & Feminism in Restoration Drama*, ed. by Katherine M. Quinsey (Lexington, 1996), pp. 185-200 (p. 85). See also: *Fatal Desire: Women, Sexuality and the English Stage, 1660-1720* (Cornell UP, 2006); 'Spectacle, Horror and Pathos', in *The Cambridge Companion to Restoration Drama*, ed. by Deborah Payne Fisk (CUP, 2000), pp. 174-190.

[2] *The First English Actresses: Women and Drama 1660-1700* (CUP, 1992), p. 5.

[3] 'Rape on the Restoration Stage', *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation*, 46 (2005), 29-40. This article provides a highly useful survey of rape plays on the Restoration stage.

in Tate's *King Lear* and *Coriolanus*, and Durfey's *Cymbeline*. I therefore read Exclusion Crisis rape-plots as containing conscious political arguments and believe that attempted and achieved rape are not only of equal significance but directly related to a play's politics, with Tory plays generally deploying attempted rape, and Whig plays presenting achieved rape.

The chapter begins with consideration of the ways in which rape rhetoric functioned in Whig and Tory arguments of the late 1670s and early 1680s. I here identify distinct ways in which rape was used to comment both on fears over rape and arbitrary government and on rebellion and unlawful claims to power. This is followed by an account of the rape allusions and narratives found in Shadwell, Ravenscroft, Otway, and Crowne's Shakespeare alterations. I then offer a reading of what may be termed the politics of failed rape in Tate's version of *King Lear* and *Coriolanus*, before suggesting that echoes between Tate's rape narratives and the rape scene added to Durfey's version of *Cymbeline* may offer new insights into the politics of this ambiguous alteration.

Whig and Tory Rape Rhetoric

Rape allusions and narratives abound in Whig and Tory writing of the late 1670s and early 1680s. In Whig tracts rape and invasions of property are associated with the rule of a Catholic or tyrannical monarch who disregards the consent of his people and parliament in the same way that rape disregards the sexual consent of women. Tory accounts instead tend to depict royal males as sexually alluring, and conversely associate lust and the illegal desire to rape with illegitimacy and unlawful claims to power. Women's bodies and their perceived chastity are of paramount importance in

both Whig and Tory accounts, and they are frequently transformed into battlegrounds on which the succession Crisis is fought out.[4]

The association of Catholic rule with rape can be seen, for instance, in *Popery Display'd in its Proper Colours*, a 1681 pamphlet detailing the alleged horrors of Mary Tudor's reign (1553-58). It is not only the rule of a Catholic but also the reduction in male prowess that the pamphlet sees as causing these atrocities. The author, 'J.S.', suggests that Catholicism has the ability to remove a man's bravura, stating that 'English men, when they embrace Popery and reject Protestancy […] lose their courage, (like our English Mastiffs when sent beyond the Seas) and in lieu thereof receive all manner of Villany' (sig. B4^{v}). He adds that the proof of this may be found through 'Reading the Transactions of the last time when Popery Reign'd', when 'our Divines were butchered by the Name of Heretick Dogs, our Houses plundered, our Wives and Daughters ravished' (sig. B4^{v}). The association the author invites between Catholicism and such horrors is clear, but there is also an implied link between the crimes and the absence of strong, masculine figures to protect women and property.

This link between 'Popery' and rape is also made in a broadside, entitled *England's Calamity, Foreshewn in Germanie's Misery* (London, 1681), which clearly builds on the fears of French Catholic invasion generated during the Popish Plot. The pamphlet's author recounts alleged Catholic crimes against Protestants in the 1630s, including rape and 'smashing the heads of little children against walls'. Readers are presented with images depicting these crimes, and are confronted with description of how Catholic soldiers not only 'ravish[ed] Virgins' but also 'Child-bed women', of how 'Ladies and Gentlewomen' were 'forc'd into the Woods, in Frost and Snow [and] there stripped and ravish'd', and even of how 'the Privy parts [of] women [were] stuff'd with

[4] As Susan J. Owen has demonstrated, the use of dramatic rape-plots became a key way of indicating one's political allegiance during the Exclusion Crisis. I am indebted to her astute reading of the relationship between rape and politics of the late 1670s and early 1680s. See *Restoration Theatre and Crisis* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), pp. 174-76.

Gun-powder and fired!' The author seems both to fetishize and condemn such crimes against women. The victims are, significantly, unambiguously innocent women who neatly fit into patriarchal society.[5]

Whigs often cited Lucretia's rape in Rome and the subsequent revolution and expulsion of the Tarquins as justification for political resistance. Parallels between Tarquin's rule and that of Charles II could be found in their failure to consult the advice of their parliaments or senates and in their portrayal as lusty royals.[6] An example of Whig appropriation of Lucretia's rape is Nathaniel Lee's 1681 play, *Lucius Junius Brutus*. Following her rape, Lee's Lucrece commits suicide, as in most accounts of her rape. Lee's Brutus later draws attention to the body of Lucrece as he accuses Tarquin of 'Invading fundamental right and justice, / Breaking the ancient customs, statutes, laws, / With positive power and arbitrary lust' (sig. $D2^{r}$). The act of rape is thus presented as an assault on the rights of Romans, and as a failure to respect the private property embodied in the female victim. It is further used to justify the decision to 'drive proud Tarquin out [of Rome] with Sword and Fire' and renounce monarchical rule (sig. $C3^{r}$). The Romans swear 'never to suffer [the Tarquins], / Nor any other King, to Reign in Rome' (sig. $C3^{r}$). The example of Lee's dramatisation of Lucretia's rape in Rome therefore shows how existing rape narratives were cited during the Exclusion Crisis as a precedent for rejecting a monarch whose conduct threatened the lives and liberties of his subjects.[7]

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[5] The broadside also recounts how a captain's wife (unsurprisingly) died in childbirth, as 'in her Womb was a Boy as big as one of three years old, having an Helmet and a Breast-plate on, and great Boots after the French fashion'.

[6] According to Livy, Tarquin was 'the first [king] to break with the custom handed down by his predecessors, of consulting the senate on all occasions, and [he] governed the nation without other advice than that of his own household' (Cited in John Loftis, 'Introduction', Nathaniel Lee, *Lucius Junius Brutus*, p. xvn). As Julia Rudolph and Ian Donaldson have noted, 'the same parallel between the Stuarts and the Tarquins had been made by commonwealthmen like Marchamont and Milton in the 1650s'. See 'Rape and Resistance: Women and Consent in Seventeenth-Century English Legal and Political Thought, Journal of British Studies, 39 (2000), 157-84 (p, 159); and Donaldson, *The Rapes of Lucretia: A Myth and its Transformation* (OUP, 1982), p. 112.

[7] As Rudolph notes, Lee's choice of subject matter, like that of Filmer discussed below 'is indicative of the enduring importance of the Lucretia tradition and the more general tradition of the tyrant rapist in political thought' ('Rape and Resistance', p. 160).

A very different position to Whig appropriations of Lucretia's rape was taken in Sir Robert Filmer's work, which was reissued as part of the Tory propaganda campaign. Filmer questioned Lucretia's chastity in order to explain the expulsion of the Tarquins not as justified resistance, but as the result of 'the Wantonness, and Licentiousness of the people of Rome'.[8] In his *Observations on Aristotles Politiques*, reissued in 1679, Filmer sought to deny that any rape – and thus violation of the people's rights – had taken place. He also advocated the need for subjects to leave rule and the punishment of wrongdoing to the monarch. Filmer argued that

> Whereas it is said, that Tarquin was expelled for the Rape committed by his Son on Lucrece; it is unjust to condemn the Father for the Crime of his Son; it had been fit to have petitioned the Father for the Punishment of the Offender: The Fact of young Tarquin cannot be excused, yet without wrong to the Reputation of so chaste a Lady as Lucrece is reputed to be, it may be said, she had a greater Desire to be thought chaste, than to be chaste; she might have died untouched, and unspotted in her Body, if she had not been afraid to be slandered for Inchastity; both Dionysius Halicarnasseus, and Livie, who both are her Friends, so tell the Tale of her, as if she had chosen rather to be a Whore, than to be thought a Whore. (sig. K1^{v})

Filmer's response to Lucretia's rape is thus one of erasure: he simply claims that there was no rape. He alludes to the fact that Lucrece had the choice between being slandered for adultery and submitting to Tarquin's lust. In most accounts of the story, Tarquin threatens to kill Lucretia and stage her naked body alongside that of a slave, thereby

[8] Filmer's *Observations upon Aristotles Politiques Touching Forms of Government* was first printed in London in 1652. It was then reissued as part of his *The Freeholders Grand Inquest* (London, 1679), sig. K1^{v}.

enabling him to suggest that he murdered her after discovering her crime of adultery.[9] Filmer overlooks the precarious situation Lucretia faced and, as Julia Rudolph has observed, he 'criticizes her refusal to suffer passively the violence of the ruler's will'.[10] The Lucretia of Filmer's account emerges at worst as a fornicator and at best as an agent of premeditated rebellion. In order to account for what he sees as the illegality of the expulsion of the Tarquins, Filmer advocates passive resistance. He states that, as the rapist was Tarquin junior and not Tarquin senior, the matter of retaliation or punishment, if any, ought to have been left to the lawful patriarch. In sum, Lucretia could have died 'untouched' and, regardless of what happened to Lucretia, the people had no right to avenge the matter.[11]

Tory writers often responded to Whig rape rhetoric by reversing the opposition's claims and by changing the locales in which rape took place from monarchical settings to those in which royal rule had been overthrown. This is seen in Roger L'Estrange's reply to Charles Blount's *Appeal from the Country to the City* (London, 1679).[12] Blount paints a dystopian picture in which 'Popery prevails', asking readers to imagine the alleged consequences of Catholic rule: 'fancy, that amongst the distracted Crowd, you behold Troops of Papists, ravishing your Wives and Daughters [and] dashing your little Childrens brains out against the walls' (sig. A2^{v}). L'Estrange notes that Blount's *Appeal* has 'made a mighty noise about the Town', but protests that 'this way of Incentive, to the Multitude is only the Old story new furbish'd'. In other words, it is a rehashing of the propaganda used by 'regicides' earlier in the century, and L'Estrange therefore proposes to 'match [Blount's] dismal prospect of Imaginary Calamities to come, [by offering] a Parallel in a brief Summary of what this Nation has really suffer'd' (sigs.

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[9] See Donaldson, *The Rapes of Lucretia*. In Lee's *Lucius Junius Brutus*, Lucrece states that Tarquin told her that 'If [she] Refus'd him he would give [her] death / And swear [he] found [her] with [a] swartty slave / Whom he would leave there murder'd by [her] side' (sig. C2^{v}).
[10] 'Rape and Resistance', p. 160.
[11] Filmer, *Observations*, sig. K1^{v}.
[12] *An Answer to the Appeal from the Country to the City* (London, 1679), sigs. B1^{r-v}.

B1[r-v]). The section detailing the rape of readers' wives and daughters is thus presented as the 'same Schismatical and Republican Malice which embroil'd [the country] before' (sig. B2[v]), with readers asked to remember past events, rather than 'fancy' or imagine future ones: 'Phansie Decemb. 1659, once over again; whole droves of Coblers, Draymen, Ostlers, upon Free quarter with you, till some of your Wives and Daughters are forc'd to Prostitute themselves for Bread' (sig. B2[v]). Instead of popery and arbitrary government, for Tory writers it is therefore rebellion that leaves women and children in desperate situations.

The emphasis in these pamphlets is repeatedly on a husband or father's inability to protect his wife and children, as a result either of popery and arbitrary government, or of the overthrow of legitimate patriarchal power. The inability of private patriarchs to protect their families is conveyed in tracts where wives and daughters are raped in front of their husbands and fathers, an image that is also found in Tate's *Coriolanus* and Durfey's *The Injured Princess*. The impotency facing these men is exemplified by *An Accompt of the bloody massacre in Ireland* (London, 1678), which alleges that a 'Sir Patrick Dunstan*'s* Wife [was] ravished before him', after which Dunstan was himself penetrated by 'a red hot iron' (sig. A4[v]). The same text also reports that 'Protestant Ministers' were stripped and bound to trees before seeing their 'Wives and Daughters ['ravish'd'] before their faces […] with the baseft Villains they could pick out' (sig. A4[v]). Again, the idea of having a 'base' character rape a woman in order to make the crime more horrific is found in Durfey's alteration of *Cymbeline*, where Cloten announces that he will have his 'footman ravish' Pisanio's daughter, Clarina (sig. F1[r]). Rape is therefore presented as a threat that is directly related to the political and religious conditions affecting the nation.

The rape rhetoric deployed in contemporary tracts can also be found in Exclusion Crisis drama. The rape plays produced between 1678 and 1682 are dominated

by Shakespeare alterations. Examples of other rape plays performed during the Crisis include John Dryden and Lee's *Oedipus* (1679); Tate's *The Loyal General* (1680); Aphra Behn's *The Young King* (published 1683, although written earlier); Elkanah Settle's *The Female Prelate* (1680); Behn's *The Rover, Part II* (1681); Shadwell's *The Lancashire Witches* (1682); Otway's *Venice Preserv'd* (1682) and an anonymous play entitled *Romes Follies, or, The Amorous Fryars* (1681).[13] Dryden and Lee's *Oedipus* adds to existing versions of the story by means of a subplot featuring a virtuous Princess, named Eurydice, who is in love with the equally virtuous young prince, Adrastus. Eurydice is betrothed to Oedpius's brother, Creon (who becomes a villain in Dryden and Lee's play), thereby establishing a love triangle. Creon conspires to overthrow his brother and attempts to 'insinuate / Kind thoughts of [himself] into the multitude' so that he can 'Lay load upon the Court [and] gull 'em with freedom' (sig. $B2^{v}$). Creon and his conspirators consider the idea of him raping and murdering Eurydice in a temple (sig. $E1^{v}$) and as Owen argues, 'by having the rebel leader contemplate' such crimes in a holy place, 'the authors associate sacrilege and sexual disorder with disorder of the social order'.[14] The portrayal of rebels and illegitimate, pretender princes as attempted rapists and variations on this theme is also to be found in Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis, and it is to these plays that I now wish to turn.

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[13] The title page of this play, which is dedicated to the Earl of Shaftesbury, states that it was 'Acted at a Person of Qualitie's House'. For discussion of the rape found in these plays, see especially Owen, '"He That Should Guard my Virtue has Betrayed it": The Dramatization of Rape in the Exclusion Crisis', *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theatre Research*, 9 (1994), 59-68; Owen, '"Partial Tyrants" and "Freeborn People" in *Lucius Junius Brutus*', *Studies in English Literature*, 31 (1991), 463-82; Owen, '"Suspect my loyalty when I lose my virtue": Sexual Politics and party in Aphra Behn's Plays of the Exclusion Crisis, 1678-1683', *Restoration*, 18 (1994), 37-47; Anita Pacheco, 'Rape and the Female Subject in Aphra Behn's *The Rover*', *English Literary History*, 65 (1998), 323-45; and Craig M. Rustici, 'Gender, Disguise, and Usurpation: The Female Prelate and the Popish Successor', *Modern Philology*, 98 (2000), 271-98.

[14] *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*, p. 205.

Rape and Rebellion

As noted above, four Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis used rape as shorthand for rebellion, while another refigured an existing rape-plot in order to offer analogous commentary on the succession crisis. It is important to note that rape and rebellion are equated in republican settings or when lawful monarchical rule has been usurped. This can be seen in Otway's *Caius Marius*, where Marius and his supporters respond to banishment by vowing to 'ravish' all the Virgins of Rome' (sig. F2^{v}), and in Shadwell's *Timon of Athens*, where rape is similarly presented as a violation that goes hand in hand with rebellion and warfare. Alcibiades threatens to avenge banishment with open conflict, stating:

> I've an Army will
> Toss [the senators'] usurious bags about their ears,
> Rifle their Houses, deflour their Wives and Daughters,
> And dash their brains out of their doating heads. (sig. G2^{v})

Shadwell's Apemantus also suggests that rape is associated with corrupt governments when he complains that the senate suffers

> Matrons to turn incontinent;
> And Magistrates to pimp for their own Daughters.
> Ruine of Orphans, treachery, murther, rapes,
> Incests, adulteries and unnatural sins. (sig. F4^{v})

As argued in Chapter Two, Shadwell's *Timon* seems to criticise both the corrupt senators and Alcibiades' uprising. The association of both sides with rape reinforces the fact that neither is to be favoured.

Tate's *Richard II* also contains a rape allusion, this time voiced by one of the rabble in his 2.4. When his fellow conspirators turn on him and bay for his hanging the first man insists that Bullingbrooke and the other 'Nobility Rascals' will hold them 'in Slavery, seize [their] Houses over [their] heads, hang [their] Sons and ravish [their] Daughters' (sig. D4^{r}). It is by now a familiar formulation: freedom, property, the continuation of a family line (represented by sons), and the integrity of a family line (threatened by the possibility of conception from rape) are all at risk. The frequent inclusion of rape in lists of crimes suggests that, although key to political scaremongering, it is horrible not because of the female suffering it entails but rather because of the property and male honour it threatens.

Like Shakespeare's play, Edward Ravenscroft's *Titus Andronicus, or the Rape of Lavinia* is also given a republican setting. Rather than simply use rape in order to condemn the Goth rebellion, Ravenscroft refigures the rape-plot he found in Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* in order to present it as 'An Invasion on a Prince's Right' (sig. C4^{v}), thereby stressing links between Chiron and Demetrius's rape of Bassianus's wife and Whig calls to invade the Duke of York's birthright.[15] Ravenscroft also modifies Shakespeare in order to stage his symbolic representation of rape in a locale suggestive of Restoration London. As in Shakespeare's version of the play, Lavinia is often equated with the city of Rome that the Goths seek to invade and dominate, and her rape is presented as both a private injury and a public wound inflicted on the city.

[15] For a similar view of Ravenscroft's rape-plot, see Owen, '"He That Should Guard my Virtue has Betrayed it", pp. 64-65.

I believe that Ravenscroft was influenced not only by political responses to the Exclusion Crisis, but also by the rape rhetoric circulating in the 1670s and 1680s. In particular, I would argue that Ravenscroft was conscious of the attitude to rape victims reflected in Filmer's discussion of the rape of Lucretia. As noted above, Filmer denies Lucretia's rape in order to suggest that the expulsion of the Tarquins was illegal and unjustified. I here diverge from my usual approach by reading Ravenscroft's play in parallel with Shakespeare's. I do so in order to claim that Ravenscroft tried to stress Lavinia's innocence before and during her rape by Chiron and Demetrius. I wish to suggest that Ravenscroft produces a Lavinia who is both more silent and more pious than Shakespeare's character.[16]

Shakespeare's Lavinia was already invested with political meaning. Chiron and Demetrius are said to 'thrash the corn'[17] when they rape Lavinia, and Marcus later promises to 'knit again […] into one mutual sheaf, / These broken limbs into one body' (5.3.69-70).[18] Lavinia's mutilated body is thus metaphorically linked to the 'scattered corn' of the Roman body politic. This has prompted David Willbern to view Lavinia as the 'symbol of female Rome' that needs protecting from the act of rape.[19] Lavinia's symbolic significance is stressed in Ravenscroft's play when, during their discussion of the plot to rape Lavinia, Chiron points to the fact that she is the possession of Bassianus, 'the Emperours Brother' (sig. D1^{r}).

Ravenscroft's Lavinia is more silent and less ambiguously innocent. She has thirty-seven lines compared with Shakespeare's character's fifty-seven. Of the remaining thirty-seven lines, eight make up a speech praising her father in 1.1, while the

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[16] Marsden inexplicably omits Lavinia from her study of Shakespeare's rewritten women, but Ravenscroft's character has received attention from Liz Oakley-Brown who, like me, considers her to be a far more passive heroine than her Shakespearean counterpart. See '*Titus Andronicus* and the Cultural Politics of Translation in Early Modern England', *Renaissance Studies*, 19 (2005), 325-347 (pp. 342-47).

[17] William Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus*. The Arden Shakespeare, ed. by Jonathan Bate (London: Routledge, 1995), 2.2.123. All quotations are from this edition.

[18] I'm indebted to David Willbern for this reading of Lavinia's symbolic relation to Rome. See 'Rape and Revenge in *Titus Andronicus*', *English Literary Renaissance*, 8 (1978): 159-82 (p. 162).

[19] Willbern, 'Rape and Revenge', p. 162.

majority — twenty-five in total — are reserved for begging Tamora to save her from Chiron and Demetrius's lust. Her rape is similar to that in Shakespeare, but Ravenscroft does not let a day pass between Lavinia's marriage to Bassianus and her rape by Chiron and Demetrius. This means that, while Shakespeare's Lavinia boasts that she has 'been broad awake two hours and more' on her wedding night, Ravenscroft's Lavinia has had no opportunity to consummate her marriage (1.2.16).[20] Furthermore, while Shakespeare's Lavinia accuses Tamora of having 'a goodly gift in horning' and of venturing to the woods to 'try Experiments' with Aaron (2.2.67-69), thereby suggesting that she is sexually aware, Ravenscroft reattributes these lines to Bassianus (sig. D2^{v}). Nothing in Ravenscroft's play suggests that Lavinia is capable of such a thought. By reassigning the criticism of Tamora, Ravenscroft also prevents Lavinia from offering any provocation to Tamora or her sons, making the rape all the more heinous and the victim all the more innocent.

The hunt scene of Shakespeare's play has been replaced with a wedding party, which makes clear Lavinia's virginity at the time of her rape and situates the crime in a more civilised locale. In Shakespeare, Aaron speaks of 'the forest walks [which] are wide and spacious / And many unfrequented plots there are, / Fitted by kind for rape and villainy', and tells Chiron and Demetrius to take advantage of the location to rape Lavinia (1.1.614-18). Richard Marienstras has rightly observed that Shakespeare's setting is 'a place predestined by nature to the release of savagery'.[21] On finding his niece, Marcus Andronicus refers to her as a hunted animal, telling Titus that he found her 'straying in the park […] as doth the deer / That hath received some unrecuring wound' (3.1.89-91). The reference to Lavinia as hunted deer remains in the line given to Ravenscroft's Marcus, but the day's activity was not hunting but regal celebration in the 'Banii Gardens' where 'the Emperor […] holds his Court' (sig. D1^{r}). Lacking its

[20] For a similar reading of Ravenscroft's Lavinia see Oakley-Brown, '*Titus Andronicus* and the Cultural Politics of Translation'.
[21] *New Perspectives on the Shakespearean World*, trans. by Janet Lloyd (CUP, 1981), p. 44.

original context, the Goths' savagery becomes all the more apparent. Lavinia's rape is condemned in both versions of the play, but in Ravenscroft it seems even more shocking because of the place in which it occurs.

The setting for Ravenscroft's rape scene may be seen to bring the force of the rape home not only to the court but also to Restoration London. By pointing to scenic similarities, Anne Barton has argued that Ravenscroft's garden is London's St James's Park.[22] As Barton demonstrates, there are clear echoes between Aron's reference to 'Caves and Vaults, where water crusted Lyes / In Ice, all the hot season of the year', and Edmund Waller's reference to 'the marvel of the royal ice-houses: those "deep caves"' in St James's Park.[23] Lavinia's rape, the 'invasion on a prince's right', now takes place in the Stuarts's back yard, thereby stressing the topical relationship between Ravenscroft's play and the Exclusion Crisis.

If one considers the large number of lines that Ravenscroft takes away from Lavinia, then those she retains appear highly significant. The speech in which Lavinia kneels at her father's feet in 1.1 provides a textbook, or Filmerian, example of filial piety.[24] As Ravenscroft's version moves to the next scene, we observe a far more silent Lavinia. It is at this point, not after her rape and mutilation as in Shakespeare's play, that the play's male characters begin to interpret Lavina's silent signs.[25] When declaring his intention to marry Lavinia, Ravenscroft's Saturninus consults Titus (as in Shakespeare), but he does not ask Lavinia if she is displeased. As a result, she no longer responds telling him 'not I, my lord, sith true nobility / Warrants these words in princely courtesy' (1.1.275-76). Ravenscroft's Lavinia remains a silent observer as the various

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[22] 'Parks and Ardens', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 80 (1991), 49-71 (p. 59).

[23] 'Parks and Ardens', p. 59-60. The Waller poem, 'On St. James's Park, As Lately Improved by his Majesty' was first published in 1661. Barton adds that ice-houses were very rare and that the novelty of those in St James's Park will have ensured that Ravenscroft's audience is prompted to imagine a native locale rather than a distant Roman one.

[24] In his *Observations Concerning the Originall of Government*, Filmer stated that 'children are bound to study always to please their parents out of piety and duty' (*Patriarcha and Other Writings*, ed. by Johann P. Sommerville (CUP, 1991), p. 228).

[25] For a similar observation see Oakley-Brown, '*Titus Andronicus* and the Cultural Politics of Translation', p. 343.

male characters attempt to interpret her behaviour. Saturninus notes: 'slowly you give your hand and trembling move' (sig. C1^{r}). This prompts Titus to declare that her behaviour is a reflection of her modest virgin fears which 'even changes for the better dread'; Bassianus then joins in, urging his fiends to 'see what Longing Eyes she casts this way, / And [how] with her sad looks [she] upbraids [his] servile tameness' (sig. C1^{r}). Lavinia's silence throughout this scene frees her from condemnation. It is impossible to tell whether she is defying her father's choice of husband or abandoning Bassianus. Ravenscroft's scene likewise evokes pathos for Lavinia's emotional dilemma, as the male characters are not only competing to possess her, they are also competing for the role of ventriloquist.[26]

A similar addition is made to Ravenscroft's rape scene, where Demetrius echoes Titus's earlier comments by drawing attention to Lavinia's fear and 'modesty', telling her that her cheeks 'look too pale' (sig. D3^{v}). Ravenscroft's Lavinia attempts to kill herself in order to prevent her rape, just as Filmer would have had Lucretia do, but she is prevented by Demetrius. There is no ambiguity allowed, no room to reinterpret Lavinia's behaviour in the way Filmer was able to reinterpret Lucretia's. She makes reference to their 'tyranny' as she begs Tamora to kill her to 'preserve' her 'from their Lusts' (sig. D3^{v}). Her very last line is 'Confusion fall –' a line that is cut short as she is 'dragged' off by the Goths (sig. D4^{r}). Confusion may be exactly what Ravenscroft wishes to identify as the immediate consequence of any 'invasion' on another's lawful right, but there is no uncertainty when it comes to Lavinia's complicity in her rape.

As in Ravenscroft's *Titus Andronicus*, the link between rape and the usurpation of a legal birthright is found in a rape scene in John Crowne's *The Misery of Civil-War*. Royalist soldiers enter 'chasing two Countrey Girles, who cry "help! Help!" their father

[26] In both versions of the play Lavinia remains a devastating onstage presence even after she has been silenced through the removal of her tongue. However, while Lavinia is often forgotten when reading Shakespeare's playbook, Ravenscroft's printed play features very detailed stage directions for Lavinia and, as a result, her presence and her suffering are inescapable for readers.

runns after 'em weeping: they all run over the Stage; After cries within' (sig. F2^{v}). Having raped the countrymen's daughters and seized their money, the soldiers inform the fathers that they are to blame for their own suffering as they helped to destroy the patriarchal rule which both protected them and enabled them to protect their families. The countrymen 'were a Couple of seditious Rogues, that us'd at Ale-houses to pay for all that rail'd against the King, and Government' (sig. F2^{v}). It is further suggested that the men supported rebellion out of self-interest when the soldier asks: 'Now had you not better have Plowed, and Carted, and pay'd your Taxes honestly and quietly, then have your Money seiz'd, your Daughters ravish'd, your Sons knock'd o' the head, and your selves hang'd as you shall be?' (sig. F2^{v}). The men opposed the King in a bid to avoid paying taxes and not because they were subjected to tyranny, or because they held any genuine convictions about the legality of Richard and Edward's claims to the throne. The loss of regal power has now left them exposed to the misery of civil war.

The consequences of betraying one's king are also found when the men mistakenly believe that the soldiers will remain true to their promise to have mercy if the countrymen reveal where their gold is hidden. Their expectations are thwarted when the soldiers remind them that they swore 'Allegiance to [their] King' only to then break their oath by supporting rebellion. Given their own vow breaking they cannot expect that anyone should 'keep Verbal promises' with them (sig. F2^{v}). The rape of children and the loss of property depicted in this scene is the misery that follows civil war; these are the consequences of overthrowing a king. Oaths, promises and words have no meaning once the 'Allegiance to your king' has been broken. A world without regal order is a world without limits, and the rape of the men's daughters, or 'Children on the tops of Pikes' (sig. F2^{v}), is central to this very visual message.

I have thus far considered plays in which rape is given minor though politically significant treatment, and have shown the ways in which Shakespeare's plays either

received new rape-plots or else had their rape-plot modified in order to offer topical commentary on the Exclusion Crisis. I have suggested that rape is associated with the lack of patriarchal protection Tories associated with republican settings and the turmoil of civil war. Two other Shakespeare alterations received significant new rape-plots that dominate their overall political message. These are Tate's *The History of King Lear* and *The Ingratitude of a Common-Wealth*, in which one observes an association between both illegal or illegitimate claims to power and the desire to rape, and between unsuitability for rule and the inability to rape and sexually dominate women.

The Politics of Failed Rape in Nahum Tate's *The History of King Lear* (1681)

I wish to argue that Nahum Tate's alteration of *King Lear* uses an additional rape-plot in order to undermine support for the Duke of Monmouth and offer a pro-James reading of the Exclusion Crisis.[27] The changes Tate made to Shakespeare's *King Lear* include the removal of the Fool, the addition of a love-plot between Edgar and Cordelia, and a modified ending in which Lear survives and rule is handed to Cordelia and Edgar. A less noted alteration is Tate's new rape-plot in which illegitimate Edmund of Shakespeare's subplot plans to kidnap and rape his brother's love-interest, Cordelia. The rape-plot is one of Tate's most significant changes, and I believe it offers the clearest indication of *The History of King Lear*'s politics. I believe that the (renewed) threat the Exclusion Crisis posed to royal authority led to the expression of a problematic set of ideals and values in which illegitimacy and illegal claims to power are equated not only with the *desire* to rape, but also with the *inability* to do so. Tate's play can thus be seen to demonise sexual violence whilst simultaneously suggesting that men *ought* to be able to sexually dominate women.

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[27] For key political readings of the play see: James Black, 'The Influence of Hobbes on Nahum Tate's *King Lear*', *Studies in English Literature*, 7 (1967), 377-85; C. B. Hardman, '"Our Drooping Country Now Erects Her Head": Nahum Tate's *The History of King Lear*', *Modern Language Review*, 95 (2000), 913-23; and 'Maguire, 'The King's Blest Restoration'.

Tate's *King Lear*, like the examples discussed above, also links the threat of rape to the absence of patriarchal protection. The attempted rape scene occurs once Cordelia has been banished by her father and civil war has engulfed the nation.[28] Tate's play deploys a rape-rescue narrative, with a heroic, rightful heir defeating an illegitimate villain in order to save an innocent female. This scenario sees the female character, Cordelia, take on symbolic significance, with her body transformed into the battleground on which the Gloucester-succession debate is fought out.

Tate utilises the ready-made parallels he found in Shakespeare's *King Lear* and, I would argue, refines them to offer a pro-James reading of the Exclusion Crisis. In terms of existing parallels, the central focus of *King Lear* is, of course, a crisis in the succession, with the play carrying clear warnings about the consequences of basing royal succession on merit. Tate also found in Shakespeare a subplot in which an illegitimate heir, Gloucester's bastard son, Edmund, conspires to disinherit Gloucester's legitimate son, Edgar, by spreading false rumours about him. Edmund hopes to usurp Edgar's birthright: Gloucester's lands and title. In Tate's *The History of King Lear*, this subplot becomes part of the main plot. Edgar and Edmund would have encouraged audiences to draw parallels to two of the figures at the heart of the succession debate, Charles's legal heir, the Duke of York, and his illegitimate son, the Duke of Monmouth. Edgar is forced into exile as a result of the lies his half-brother spreads about him, which resembles York's fate during the Crisis: he faced voluntary and not-so voluntary exile in March 1679 and October 1680.[29] Edmund, who now appears in the list of characters with the simplified name 'Bastard', is an ambitious illegitimate son with designs on rule and, as such, is likely to have invited comparison with the Duke of Monmouth.

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[28] For a similar point, see Laura J. Rosenthal, 'Reading Masks: The Spectatrix in Restoration Shakespeare', in *Broken Boundaries: Women and Feminism in Restoration Drama*, ed. by Katherine M. Quinsey (Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1996), 201-18 (p. 212).

[29] Mark Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678-81* (CUP, 1994), pp. 3, 43.

Links between Edmund and the Duke of Monmouth are further invited by added references to Edmund's birth. Edgar calls him a 'Half-blooded Man' and tells him that he was his 'Father's Sin first, then his Punishment' but that it is from his 'licentious Mother' that he draws his 'Villany' (sig. I2^{v}). Edmund's response invites direct comparison with debates over the Duke of Monmouth's legitimacy that were circulating during the Exclusion Crisis:

> Thou bear'st thee on thy Mother's Piety,
> Which I despise; thy Mother being chaste
> Thou art assur'd Thou art but Gloster's Son,
> But mine, disdaining Constancy, leaves me
> To hope that I am sprung from nobler Blood,
> And possibly a King might be my Sire. (sig. I2^{v})

Edmund implies that he may be the son of a king, just as a number of Exclusionists were seeking to prove Monmouth's legitimacy in order to present him as a viable and legal alternative to the Catholic Duke of York. Claims for Monmouth's legitimacy were based on the alleged existence of a black box containing a wedding certificate between Charles II and Monmouth's mother, Lucy Walters.[30] By drawing attention to his mother's lack of chastity, however, Tate's Edmund both alludes to the Monmouth debate and undermines his claim to the throne. A king might be Edmund / Monmouth's father, but so might a large number of other men.

[30] See, for example *A full Relation on the Contents of the Black Box* (London, 1680), and *The Imposter Expos'd* (London, 1683). Mark Knights discusses the issue of Monmouth's legitimacy in *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678-81*, pp. 35-36, as does Tim Harris in *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II*, pp. 158-61. For a similar reading of Edmund's speech, see Maguire, 'Nahum Tate's *King Lear*: "The King's Blest Restoration"', p. 34.

As C.B. Hardman and Nancy Klein Maguire have observed, Tate appears to have recognised these parallels and stressed their topicality.[31] For example, Tate's play opens with Edmund's 'Thou Nature' soliloquy. The soliloquy immediately introduces the character's villainy and the theme of legitimate versus illegitimate inheritance,[32] as he demands:

> Why am I […]
> Depriv'd of a Son's Right because I came not
> In the dull Road that custom has prescrib'd?
> Why Bastard, wherefore Base [...]? (sig. B1^{r})

Edmund's plot against his brother is also introduced in the opening scene, thereby alerting audiences to the centrality of the Edmund-Edgar antagonism:

> legitimate Edgar, to thy right
> Of Law I will oppose a Bastard's Cunning […]
> Here comes the old Man chaf't with th'information
> Which last I forg'd against my Brother Edgar:
> A Tale so plausible, so boldly utter'd […]
> That now the slightest circumstance confirms him,
> And Base-born Edmund spite of Law inherits. (sig. B1^{r-v})

[31] '"Our Drooping Country now Erects her Head; "The King's Blest Restoration"'.
[32] Owen says that 'we gradually see through the seeming loyalty of Edmund', but this is not a true reflection of Tate's modified structure. The other characters may 'gradually' become aware of Edmund's true nature, but the audience and readers of Tate's play are fully aware of his villainy from the outset (*Restoration Theatre and Crisis*, p. 226)

Links between Edmund's illegitimacy and his villainy are stressed in this soliloquy, and the audience is immediately made aware of Edmund's plot to turn the other characters against legitimate Edgar so that he can seize his inheritance.

The opening soliloquy is not the only way in which Tate prefaces King Lear's love-test. Tate also frames the love-test with discreet exchanges between Edgar and Cordelia, here addressed as 'Cordelia, royal fair', thereby emphasising his play's love-plot. In love with Edgar and aware of her father's plan to marry her to the Duke of Burgundy, Cordelia's infamous 'nothing, my Lord' now comes with an ulterior motive. Banished by her father and abandoned by Burgundy once she has lost her inheritance, Cordelia worries that Edgar may be as inconsistent as Burgundy and so issues a love-test of her own. She intends to test Edgar's constancy, and Tate thereby establishes a means for Edgar to prove himself an attentive lover and successor. This paves the way for their marriage and rule at the end of the play.

The decision to begin his play with Edmund's soliloquy also exonerates Tate's King as he now condemns Cordelia because he suspects not only that she is in love with Edgar but also that Edgar is plotting against his father. Edmund describes the lies he has spread about his brother as both 'plausible [and] boldly utter'd' (sig. B1^{v}), so it is understandable that others would believe him and side against Edgar. Lear responds to Cordelia's 'nothing' with:

> Tis said that I am Chol'rick, judge me Gods,
> Is there not cause? now Minion I perceive
> The Truth of what has been suggested to Us,
> Thy Fondness for the Rebel Son of Gloster,
> False to his Father, as Thou art to my Hopes. (sig. B2^{v})

The answer to Lear's rhetorical question would be that he does indeed have cause to be angry, but the fault lies not with him, nor with Cordelia, but rather with Edmund who has spread the false tales about Edgar. As the anger Lear directs at his daughter is explicitly linked to Edmund's plot against Edgar, Edgar is arguably set an additional test in which he must convince Lear of his worth.

Tate emphasises Edgar and Cordelia's compatibility and their suitability for rule via repeated reference to their filial piety, a political valence linked to Filmer's *Patriarcha*, and the Virgilian tradition. Tories claimed that 'the Prince is Pater patriae, the Father of our Countrey [and he] must not be violated, how imperious, how impious so ever' he may be.[33] In line with the Tory policy of passive obedience,[34] both characters remain loyal to their fathers, despite the fact that they have wronged them. At one point 'pious Edgar' enters 'leading his eyeless father',[35] while Cordelia begs for 'succour for a Father and a King, / An injur'd Father and an injur'd King' (sigs. $K1^{v}$, $E2^{r}$). When urged by Gloster to consider for whom she begs (the 'King that wronged' her), she responds that her father-King 'did not, cou'd not wrong' her (sig. $E2^{r}$). Edgar's disguise as poor Tom is designed to allow him to watch over Cordelia and ensure her safety. He does so in spectacular fashion when she is threatened with rape. They are thus presented as a virtuous, well-matched couple.

Edmund's lack of piety, by contrast, is linked to his illegitimacy, and his sexual urges are associated with his thirst for power. As James Black has noted, like a number of Restoration villains, Tate's Edmund is based on the late seventeenth-century

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[33] Taken from the Bishop of Carlisle's sermon concerning the deposition of Richard II, printed in 1679 as part of the Tory propaganda campaign (cited in Harris, *Restoration*, p. 224).
[34] See Tim Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and his Kingdoms* (London: Penguin, 2006), pp. 29-30.
[35] Young Clifford of *The Misery of Civil War* (like his Shakespearean counterpart) stresses the classical reference for his and Edgar's show of filial duty, telling his father:

> I'll bear thee on my shouldiers as Aeneas
> Did old Anchises, but with this sad difference,
> He bore a living Father, mine is dead,
> And so my burden and my grief is heavier.
> *He takes his Father on his back.* (sig. $E4^{r}$)

conception of Hobbesian man, one who is 'lustful and cruel, and who judges the rightness of a cause by its success'.[36] This is demonstrated in the very first scene when Edmund demands: 'What Saint so Divine, / That will successful Villany decline?' (sig. C1^{r}) a line which Black rightly sees as echoing Hobbes's observation that 'good success is power'.[37] Edmund repeatedly equates sexual possession with the acquisition of political power, for example, when he declares his intention to 'Usurp at once' Albany's 'Bed and Throne' (sig. H3^{v}). Significantly, he does not manage to usurp either.

For the characters of the play, Edmund's villainy is not exposed until Edgar defeats him in a duel in act five, but for the audience it is established much earlier. Having introduced Edmund's plotting in the opening speech, Tate establishes a link between Edmund's desire to usurp the throne and his desire to rape Cordelia. Edmund fantasises about rule, declaring:

> The Storm is in our louder Rev'lings drown'd.
> Thus wou'd I Reign cou'd I but mount a Throne.
> The Riots of these proud imperial Sisters
> Already have impos'd the galling Yoke
> Of Taxes and hard Impositions on
> The drudging Peasants Neck, who bellow out
> Their loud Complaints in Vain. (sig. E1^{r})

These lines suggest that, like Goneril and Regan, he would rule tyrannically, revelling in festivities at the expense of his people, and ignoring their complaints. Repeated use of storm imagery helps to achieve an echo between Edmund's fantasy of 'mounting a

[36] James Black, 'The Influence of Hobbes on Nahum Tate's *The History of King Lear*', p. 380.
[37] Tate, *King Lear*, sig. C1^{r}; 'The Influence of Hobbes', p. 381.

throne' and his fantasy of raping Cordelia, which he voices only 120 lines later. Here he imagines how

> Like the vig'rous Jove [he] will enjoy
> This Semele in a Storm, 'twill deaf her Cries
> Like Drums in Battle, lest her Groans shou'd pierce
> [His] pittying Ear, and make the amorous Fight less fierce. (sig. E2^{v})

That Cordelia's cries will be deafened matches his plan of drowning out the bellowing complaints of peasants. In identifying with Jove, Edmund further points to the potential destruction of Cordelia and the nation. Jove's relationship with Semele is far more caring than Edmund's sadistic fantasy, but the consequences for her are still devastating once Jove is tricked into revealing his true nature. Fortunately for both the nation and Cordelia, Edmund is not able to achieve either fantasy; he does not manage to mount a throne, nor does he manage to rape Cordelia. His legitimate brother prevents him from doing either.

Earlier in the play, Edmund had resolved to 'bribe two Ruffians' to 'po[a]ch' Cordelia for him. The verb 'to poach' significantly points to the crimes of invasion, theft and rape (sig. E2^{v}). To 'poach' meant: 'To go in illegal pursuit of game, fish, etc., esp. by trespassing (*on* the lands or rights of another) or in contravention of official protection; to hunt *for*' (*OED*). The verb therefore stresses the illegality of Edmund's actions, whilst also portraying Cordelia as another's possession, her body as contested land. 'Poach' also indicates the penetration involved in rape, the *OED* defining it as: 'to thrust oneself, push, intrude' and 'to stab, or pierce'. Again, the idea of invasion is suggested, thus further inviting an analogy between Cordelia's body and both the throne Edmund would like to 'mount' and the land he wishes to seize from his brother.

Edmund's reliance on two ruffians to 'poach' Cordelia rather than seizing her himself suggests a potential weakness. It also provides stark contrast with his brother, who is both loved by Cordelia, and able to defeat the two ruffians single-handedly. In having the ruffians 'poach' for him, Edmund raises questions about his virility, as does his suggestion that Cordelia's cries may make his 'amorous fight less fierce' (sig. $E2^{v}$). Read in the context of Edmund's view that the rightness of a cause ought to be judged by its success, I would argue that audiences are encouraged to associate Edmund's failure to mount a throne or sexually dominate Cordelia with his unsuitability for rule. This is in diametrical opposition to Edgar who arrives to rescue Cordelia, and whose actions in act five save the nation from Regan and Goneril's tyrannical rule, and end Edmund's dreams of rule.

Edgar's rescue of Cordelia sees him passing the 'love test' she set him in act one. Now that he has revealed himself to be constant and worthy, Cordelia feels free to accept him: 'Come to my Arms, thou dearest, best of men' (sig. $F2^{v}$).[38] The attempted rape thus has a positive outcome for Edgar. However, the fact that Cordelia submits to Edgar because he saved her from rape paradoxically robs her of the very virtue he was supposed to be defending. I do not wish to suggest that Edgar and Cordelia's relationship is presented as one of conflict. The consensual nature of their relationship is, after all, of great importance for the Tory message, with Tory propaganda suggesting that relations between women and rightful heirs, like their relations with Tories, are always successful, always consensual. What I do wish to stress though are the traditional gender roles which male-female rape-plots always involve. Rape-rescue narratives 'demonstrate not only the power of the rescuer over the rapist, but the power

[38] Note the way in which this line echoes Dryden's Hector's invitation to Andromache 'Come to my Arms, thou manlier Virtue Come' (sig. $C3^{r}$), a line again found in Tate's *Coriolanus*, where Cominius tells Martius 'Come to my Arms nost Noble Marius' (sig. $C3^{r}$).

of both males over the female'.[39] Cordelia's response when faced with abduction and rape is passive; she implores the gods to send a thunderbolt to strike her dead. Unless protected by Edgar's power or divine intervention, she is effectively helpless.[40]

That Tate uses rape to demonise a character seems to suggest that he condemns the crime, but any implied condemnation is surely complicated by his emphasis on the symbolic use of rape, and overshadowed by his desire to stress the heroism of his rightful heir, Edgar. The point, as Edmund declares in his dying speech, is that 'the sword has penetrated too far, legitimacy at last has got it' (sig. $J3^{r}$). Edgar may be a brave, caring and desired lover-monarch, but Edmund is not simply evil and unworthy because he wishes to rape; he is an unfit ruler because he fails to rape and sexually dominate Cordelia. Conversely, legal, legitimate rule is not based on achieved rape, but rather on a utopia in which sexual consummation is not only consensual but also irresistible. It is important to remember that not only the possibility of rape is erased in the Tory rhetoric, but also any possibility of female resistance. Disturbingly, Tate's *King Lear* thus suggests that the difference between legitimate and illegitimate rule is not only that the illegitimate ruler wants to rape whereas the legitimate ruler does not, but also that the illegitimate ruler is ultimately incapable of sexual domination whereas the legitimate ruler is sexually irresistible. Within the Tory rhetoric of Tate's play, the contested female therefore ends up willingly undergoing domination by him who is both legitimized to exert, and capable of exerting, sexual rule.

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[39] Katherine Gravdal cited in Jocelyn Catty, *Writing Rape, Writing Women in Early Modern England: Unbridled Speech* (London: Palgrave, 1999), p. 26.

[40] For Marsden, the scenes of 'rear-rape [added to Shakespeare's plays] suggest the disturbing implications of passive womanhood and provide a harsh illustration of the ways Shakespeare's women have been rewritten to accommodate a new patriarchal agenda', as found in the conduct literature she surveys. What Marsden overlooks, largely as a result of her decision to consider the Restoration as a unified period of literary history, is the important relationship between changes to Shakespeare's characters and the Tory code of filial piety and passive obedience. See 'Rewritten Women', p. 53.

'Lazy Trifler[s]' and Male Virility in Tate's *The Ingratitude of a Common-Wealth* (1682)

Tate's third Shakespeare alteration was first staged in December 1681 and first printed the following year. His most profound changes occur towards the end of *The Ingratitude of a Common-Wealth*, but examples of subtle, politically motivated, modifications are present from the outset, and these help to focus the audience's view of Coriolanus.[41] I wish to suggest two ways in which Tate's Coriolanus may have reminded audiences of the Duke of York. I will further argue that, as in his alteration of *King Lear*, Tate uses the threat of rape in order to demonise rival claimants to the throne. First of all, Coriolanus is portrayed as a brave military hero who has fought for his country. Shakespeare's character already possessed similar virtues, but Tate makes the eponymous hero more appealing. He also adds topicality, linking Rome's ungrateful treatment of Coriolanus to the policy to exclude York, a man celebrated for his military achievements who was likewise banished from his country. Secondly, the language used to describe Coriolanus and Aufidius's power struggle (once Coriolanus has abandoned the campaign to invade Rome) invites comparison with the succession debate gripping the nation between 1678 and 1682. In reading the rape-plot added to Tate's play I will further claim that, like his Cordelia, Tate's Valeria takes on symbolic significance as Coriolanus and Aufidius's battle for power becomes equated with their ability to possess her.

Tate refocuses early passages of the play to align the tribunes with Whig leaders and the citizens with troublemakers who took to the streets during the height of the

[41] On the politics of Tate's *Coriolanus*, see especially: Ruth McGugan, *Nahum Tate and the Coriolanus Tradition in English Drama, with a Critical Edition of Tate's The Ingratitude of a Common-Wealth* (New York: Garland, 1987); Murray, *Restoration Shakespeare*, pp. 181-91; Thomas G. Olsen, 'Apolitical Shakespeare; or, The Restoration *Coriolanus*', *Studies in English Language and Literature*, 38 (1998), 411-25; John Ripley, *Coriolanus on Stage in England and America, 1609-1994* (Madison: Associated University Presses, 1998), pp. 54-61; Ripley, '*Coriolanus* as Tory Propaganda', in *Textual and Theatrical Shakespeare: Questions of Evidence*, ed. by Edward Pechter (Iowa: Iowa UP, 1996), pp. 102-23; Spencer, *Nahum Tate*, pp. 84-90; and Wikander, 'The Spitted Infant', pp. 355-57.

hysteria over the Popish Plot. To do so he presents the citizens as lazy and fickle and the tribunes as manipulative rabble-rousers. Like the rebels in the new scene added to his *Richard II*, the citizens of his *Coriolanus* voice nonsensical pleas for gratuitous violence. A notable example is the first Citizen's 'Let 'um feel our Swords, that take away the Use of our Knives; not that I mean any harm' (sig. B1^{v}).

The Ingratitude opens with the citizens revolting due to lack of grain, as in Shakespeare, and Caius Martius resolves to silence them by offering them access to grain if they join him to 'storm the Volces Citty' (sig. B3^{v}). The citizens' cowardice is ambiguous in Shakespeare as Martius exits and tells them to 'follow' (1.1.250) with no further comment, leaving it up to a production to determine whether the stage direction 'Citizens steal away' results in them following Martius off stage or exiting in the opposite direction (1.1.250). In Tate, however, their cowardice is made clear as Martius remains onstage as the citizens 'steal away severally': the 'vile Rats' do not 'dare go to knaw / The Enemies Garners' (sig. B3^{v}). The citizens are already showing signs of the 'ingratitude' referenced in Tate's title.[42] Their fickle nature is incisively dramatised when they give their voices to Coriolanus and then immediately retract their votes. The First Citizen hyperbolically claims to have seen Coriolanus's wounds and to 'Remember All, as well as the Wart on [his own] Nose' before switching, only one line later, to 'Right, now I Remember better, I saw never a One of 'em' (sig. D4^{r}). The citizen changes his view not because of anything Coriolanus has done wrong but because he and his fellow citizens are cowardly, gullible and easily swayed.

It is the Tribunes who are to blame for the citizens' volte-face, much as Whig leaders were blamed for manipulating public opinion on the streets of London.[43] The Tribunes, who vow to 'work upon [the citizens'] Fury e're it cools' (sig. B4^{r}), are

[42] As Wallace has demonstrated, ingratitude became an important theme during the Exclusion Crisis ('Otway's *Caius Marius* and the Exclusion Crisis').
[43] An example would be the Pope-burning pageants, staged in London in the late 1670s and early 1680s as a way to fuel anti-Catholic sentiments. See Rustici, '*The Female Prelate* and Pope-Burning Pageants'.

clearly to be viewed as unprincipled troublemakers who manipulate public opinion for their own ambitious ends. As Roger L'Estrange said of the Whigs, they drew on 'Pretended Fears' for the force of their arguments.[44] Sicinius warns: 'Doubt not the Commoners, for whom we stand, / Upon their antient Malice will forget, / On the least Cause, [Martius's] most Applauded Service' (sig. C4^{v}), and Brutus urges that they 'Suggest to th'People, in what Hatred [Coriolanus] has Held 'em', before listing ways in which the people might be coerced into rebelling against him (sig. D1^{r}). This manipulation of public opinion, Sicinius notes, must be carefully timed in order to carry greatest credibility (sig. D1^{r}). It is therefore hard not to see this passage as a comment on Whig manipulation of public opinion and, specifically, the introduction of the first Bill of Exclusion at the height of fears over the Popish Plot of 1678. The Senators' plot to dislodge Coriolanus from the people's hearts through false claims that their representatives are being silenced would also have invited parallels with the petitioners protesting in London in support of parliament's right to sit. Coriolanus echoes Tory attacks on Whigs when he labels them 'Faction-Mongers, / That wear [their] formal Beards, and Plotting Heads, / By the Valour of the Men [they] Persecute' (sig. E2^{r}), and Tate can thus be seen to refocus Shakespeare's portrayal of the senators and citizens in order to offer a reflection of London in the 1670s and 80s.

Tate reduces criticism of Coriolanus – and of James by extension – by making him a more pious hero, by removing any suggestion that he has failed to remember the name of his benefactor (1.9.88-9, sig. C3^{v}), and by making his country, the 'common-wealth' of the play's title, particularly ungrateful, despite his obvious military achievements. Rather than appearing effeminate or excessively influenced by his mother, Coriolanus knows to prioritize his duties and remains committed to defending his country. Tate vindicates Marius by making him state his priorities in response to

[44] *An Account of the Growth of Knavery, Under the Pretended Fears of Arbitrary Government and Popery* (London, 1678).

Menenius's question, 'Will you not home first, and take short leave / Of your Dear Wife, and Honour'd Mother' (sig. B3^{v}). Martius replies: 'Charge is Speedy, Womens Farewel's Tedious' (sig. B3^{v}). Rather than appearing proud, Martius is chided by Cominius for being 'unjust to [his] own Merits' (sig. C3^{v}). As John Ripley has argued, 'Tate takes particular pains to purge the character of serious anti-democratic sentiment', a notable omission being Shakespeare's reference to how Coriolanus has 'Envied against the people, seeking means / To pluck away their power' (3.3.95-6).[45] The omission of reference to his 'faults' (1.1.44-5) further strengthens Tate's sympathetic portrayal of Marius. Tate's Coriolanus is thus a James figure pruned of his most famous shortcomings: effeminacy and arbitrariness.

While pejorative links between James and Coriolanus are palliated, more favourable ones are emphasised. By altering and augmenting the role of Valeria, Tate stresses the difference between Coriolanus, who is characterized by integrity and manly valour, and the men who risk their country's safety in order to correspond with Valeria. As Owen has suggested, Valeria, described in the Dramatis Personae as 'an affective, talkative, fantastical Lady' (sig. A4^{v}), and characterised by a 'self-professed loyalism [which] thinly veils political opportunism', is representative of 'Whig citizens', as portrayed in Tory propaganda.[46] Valeria reports the communication she receives from numerous different generals:

> The Hetrusci make no Motion, but by my Advice: Nay, our own General Cominius, is glad to keep Touch with me: Not an Officer of Note in the Camp, but sends me News or Love. Come hither Page – look Madam, pray Madam observe, this is my last Days Post […] I know all those Hands with half an Eye; there's Titus Decius, Cajus Proculus, Marcus Flavius, Publicus Cotta; Albinus

[45] *Coriolanus on Stage*, 56-7 (p. 56).
[46] *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*, p. 171.

> Sesinna, Graculus, Phocus, Linus, Tucca, Rufus, Faesula; with Legion more, that are All unseal'd in the Fire! I swear I am a cruel Creature! But 'tis my way Madam. (sig. C1^{v})[47]

Unlike Martius, who finds interaction with women 'tedious' (sig. B3^{v}), these other warriors waste their time passing (presumably sensitive) material on to Valeria and are commanded by her advice. As Valeria adds, she 'always [has intelligence] an Hour before the Senate' (sig. C1^{v}). This surely impacts on an audience or reader's response to the warriors in the following battle scenes.

Tate additionally improves views of Coriolanus by adding Nigridius, a man who betrays his country without cause and who is motivated by self-promotion and an innate desire to cause trouble. If Coriolanus invites comparison with James, then Nigridius is arguably reminiscent of the likes of the Earl of Shaftesbury and Titus Oates who incited rebellion to further their own political careers and fame respectively. Nigridius is described in the Dramatis Personae as 'a Villain; discarded by Caius Martius, and received by Aufidius', and by one of Aufidius's soldiers as a 'Harbinger to Mischief' (sig. G1^{r}) whose 'former command was under Caius Martius, who entrusted him with the custody of Corioles, which he fairly gives up to Aufidius' (sigs. G1^{r-v}). Nigridius is an opportunist and the chief manipulator of Aufidius, urging him to turn on Coriolanus. As Virgilia states

> False Nigridius,
> (Disbanded for his Villainy by Martius)
> Is busy for Revenge; and hourly plots
> Against his precious Life […]

[47] Shakespeare's Valeria merely states that she 'heard a senate speak' news of Virgilia's husband (1.3.94).

Whilst Martius, confident in Innocence,

Is obstinately blind to all his dangers. (sig. H3^{v})

Nigridius therefore offers a foil for Coriolanus in terms of loyalty and martial valour. Nigridius's greatest evil comes at the close of the play when he tells of the revenge he took on Coriolanus for having been expelled from his army. He not only killed Menenius but also 'Mangled, / Gash't, Rack't, Distorted' young Martius, a 'Tale of Horrour' which Coriolanus thinks would 'rouse the sleeping Father from his Grave' (sig. I3^{r}). It is also a tale that echoes the list of crimes found in the pamphlets I discussed at the start of this chapter, thereby aligning Nigridius with rebellion of the late 1670s and early 1680s. Nigridius showed no pity: he threw 'The Tortur'd Brat, with Limbs all broke (yet living / In quickest Sense of Pain)' into his grandmother's arms (sig. I3^{r}). Nigridius's unspeakable cruelty is an example of Tate's device of offering a positive portrayal of Coriolanus by surrounding him with unpleasant and unheroic figures.

The structure of Tate's *Coriolanus* largely follows Shakespeare's: Coriolanus is banished, and this sees him join with his military rival, the Volscan leader, Aufidius, to plan revenge on Rome. As in Shakespeare, Coriolanus pulls out at the last minute. Coriolanus's change of heart sees Aufidius return to the role of antagonist and their joint rule spill over into civil war, fought by their respective supporters. Having aligned his Coriolanus with James, Tate then hints at the potential applicability of Coriolanus and Aufidius's conflict to the contemporary succession crisis. The Exclusion Crisis is evoked when Nigridius tells Aufidius that 'The People will remain uncertain', while Coriolanus and Aufidius remain 'Competitors; but either's fall, / Leaves th'other Heir to

All' (sig. H4^{v}),[48] a line suggestive of Charles's attempts to reduce tensions over succession by banishing his illegitimate son, the Duke of Monmouth.

The antagonism between Aufidius and Coriolanus has an additional focus in Tate's play as Aufidius has long desired Coriolanus's wife. This establishes a love triangle akin to those I have already identified in Crowne's *The Misery of Civil War* (Edward-Grey-Warwick) and in Tate's *King Lear* (Edgar-Cordelia-Bastard), whereby successful relations with women become a sign of manly valour. Aufidius and Coriolanus's sexual rivalry seems to predate the action proper of the play. When it resurfaces in the play's final act it is hard not to equate the battle for Virgilia with the men's military and political antagonism. Aufidius recalls Virgilia's 'Dove-like Sorrow, when she begg'd for Rome': 'With Eyes Tear-charg'd, yet Sparkling through the Dew, / Whilst charming Pitty dimpled each Soft Cheek' (sig. H4^{r}), but his lust is not so much initiated as reawakened when he sees Virgilia begging for Rome: his desire to possess her predates his battles with Caius Martius. Aufidius claims that the scene of Virgilia begging for Rome 'Call'd back the Scene of [his] expecting Youth' when he 'wak'd the Night, and watched the Stars away', so distracted was he with a 'dazling Dream' in which Virgilila was not yet married to his rival (sig. H4^{r}). In the reported dream he imagines himself to be 'the happy Youth design'd to Reap her Sweets' (sig. H4^{r}). However, the division his dream presents between a resisting and consenting Virgilia suggests that her virtue is retained even in his private fantasies about 'Lock[ing] the tender Beauty in [his] Arms; / Blushing, yet Granting; Trembling, and yet Embracing' (sig. H4^{r}). In Tate's play questions are therefore raised about Aufidius's motivation, with his military achievements undermined by the distinct possibility that he was all along fighting for a woman and not for his country or his honour.

[48] The lines are in Shakespeare, but they are spoken by an unnamed conspirator (5.4.17-19).

Virgilia, who is repeatedly referred to as 'treasure' or a 'prize', takes on symbolic significance when threatened with rape. Aufidius conflates his failure to take revenge on Coriolanus while he had the chance with his failure to rape Virgilia: 'I am a lazy Trifler, and unworthy / To be possest o'th' Beauty that I love, / Or reveng'd upon the Man I hate' (sig. H4^{r}). Aufidius collapses his desire for revenge and his desire to rape:

> Why forc't I not my passage to his Heart?
> Then pamper'd in the Banquet of his Blood,
> Flown hot, as flame born Pluto, to the Rape;
> And quench't the Fevour in Virgilia's Arms. (sig. H4^{r})

Nigridius also establishes a link between Aufidius fighting Coriolanus and raping Virgilia when he urges him to 'Return her Scorn upon [his] Rival's head, / And make at least a Mistress of Revenge' as 'Ev'n now [Coriolanus] makes his Entrance [at their] Gates' (sig. H4^{r}). Coriolanus has 'seduc'd [Aufidius'] friends' (sig. H4^{v}) and, on hearing of her arrival in Corioles, Aufidius gives orders for Virgilia to be seized because he plans to rape her after killing Coriolanus, and will do so 'while stain'd [in her] Husbands Blood' (sig. I1^{r}). Literal and symbolic references to rape and penetration abound, and it is thus hard to distinguish between the sexual and the literal warfare – and failures – taking place.

In terms of failures, Aufidius not only brands himself a 'lazy trifler' and asks his men to capture Virgilia on his behalf (sig. H4^{r}) but also requires assistance when attempting to kill Coriolanus. The stage direction states that Aufidius 'stamps with his Foot, the Conspirators Enter, and help him wound Martius, who kills some, and hurts Aufidius' (sig. I1^{r}), suggesting that, even with assistance, Aufidius's strength is inferior

to that of his rival. His final attempt to hurt Coriolanus and rape Virgilia comes when he urges Coriolanus not to die until he has witnessed him rape Virgilia. Aufidius intends to 'Force her' and 'Glut [his] last Minuits with a double Ryot: / And in Revenges Sweets and Loves, Expire' (sig. I2^{v}). However, he again fails to do either when he sees Virgilia 'brought in Wounded':

> In Blood? Nigridius look! Behold a sight,
> Wou'd turn the Gorgon-Snakes – my Rage is gone,
> And I am touch't with Sorrow – my faint Nerves
> Refuse my Weight, and hasty Death invades
> At ev'ry Pore – Oh Dark! Dark! O, O [Dies]. (sig. I2^{v})

This last image of Aufidius yet again equates martial and sexual impotency, with the reference to Medusa's snakes, capable of transforming humans into rigid objects, contrasting with his 'faint Nerves' (or flaccid penis?). The double entendre implied in 'hasty Death' and 'O, O' may also indicate both premature ejaculation and literal death.

The metaphoric image of Virgilia's body as contested land, contained in the numerous references to invasion, is echoed as she describes her own suicide, 'a Roman Wound', which she inflicted in order to prevent her rape. Virgilia compares herself to a 'Vessel' which she decided to sink 'in a Sea of Blood', rather than 'suffer its chast Treasure, to become / Th'Unhallowed Pirates Prize' before urging her husband to take her 'unspotted Soul' (sig. I3^{r}). Coriolanus repeats this imagery in his closing line: 'grasping in each Arm my Treasure [Virgilia and young Martius], I / Pleas'd with the Prize, to Deaths calm Region Fly' (sig. I3^{v}). The treasure, willingly given, is his, and Tate's closing scene is one in which Coriolanus's status as a caring family man is underlined with pathetic force.

Tate's *Coriolanus,* then, presents an exiled hero who understandably rises up against the corrupt state and the mutinous citizens who ungratefully banished him. He is neither ungrateful and proud nor unreasonable, and he refrains from destroying his own country despite the obvious implications of abandoning the Volscians, i.e. his death and the suffering of his family. Tate's Coriolanus is an honourable hero in a world of cowards and self-interested rabble-rousers. He is also presented as a family man who enjoys a loving and consensual relationship with his wife. As in Tate's *King Lear*, the crime of rape offers ways of stressing Coriolanus's masculine prowess while both demonising and emasculating his foreign enemies, Nigridius and Aufidius. Not only is Aufidius overlooked by Virgilia in favour of Coriolanus, thereby initiating their rivalry, but he is also shown to be incapable of raping her.

Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*, with its brave but unappreciated war hero who is banished only to return to invade his ungrateful country with the aid of a neighbouring foreign army, would have had great resonance in the late 1670s and early 1680s. Tories not only predicted that exclusion would lead to civil war but more specifically that Scotland would remain loyal to the Duke of York and offer military assistance to support his claim to the throne.[49] Tate's *Coriolanus* strengthens the resemblance between the military hero and the Duke of York but, in doing so, suggests that although perfectly justified to take revenge, the banished hero will take mercy and, like a caring patriarch, will spare his country.

The Politics of Rape in Thomas Durfey's *The Injured Princess, or the Fatal Wager* (1682)

The politics of failed rape and the emphasis on male virility in Tate's alterations of *King Lear* and *Coriolanus* may serve to clarify the political outlook of Thomas Durfey's *The*

[49] Tim Harris, *Restoration*, p. 238.

Injured princess, or the Fatal Wager, a play that features far less topical resonance than other Shakespeare alterations produced between 1678 and 1682. Durfey's play appears to contain a somewhat contradictory mix of Whig and Tory, or royalist, elements. The latter include the positive presentation of King Cymbeline at the end of the play when the Captain reports that 'the old King comes forward with his power' (sig. G2^{r}), and Bellarius's statement regarding the innate qualities of legitimate princes may also have resonated with Tory views. Of Cymbeline's kidnapped sons, Belarius says:

> Oh divine Nature, how thou show'st thy power
> In these two Princely boys! 'Tis a wonder
> That an invisible instinct shou'd frame'um
> To royalty unlearn'd, honour untaught,
> Civility not seen from others, valour
> That wildly grows in 'um, but yields a crop
> As if it had been sow'd. (sig. G1^{v})

The boys are inherently regal despite the fact that they grew up away from court.

Critics have rightly emphasised less resoundingly royalist aspects of Durfey's play. For example, I would advocate Owen's suggestion that the King's banishment of Ursaces (Posthumus) is likely to have invited unwelcome parallels with Charles's treatment of his own son, Monmouth,[50] and the King's treatment of his daughter, Eugenia (Imogen) also seems too tyrannical for a Tory play.[51] The threat the Queen poses in this play is reminiscent of the Queen in Crowne's Henry VI plays, but there is nothing to suggest that Cymbeline is anything other than a rightful British monarch, and

[50] *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*, p. 308.
[51] He seems tyrannical in his order that Eugenia 'entertain the Prince / As he deserves', and in his threat that 'by the Gods of Britain, by [his] crown, / And [his] Queen's Love' he will 'cast [Eugenia] out a stranger to [his] Bloud / And ne're remember' that she was his daughter. The line is almost identical to those that Lear and Gloster deliver when banishing their children.

his failure to dominate his Queen is out of keeping with Tory plays. While in Tate's *Lear* the king figure is misled about his daughter's choice of suitor, Durfey's King seems rather misled in his view of his wife and in his belief that Cloten would be a fitting husband for his daughter. I am therefore inclined to share Michael Dobson's observation that this is 'a sceptical piece of work'.[52]

Cloten is not the libertine rake he attempts to be but a Restoration fop, as Dobson has suggested, and it is Cloten's failure to seduce Eugenia or rape Clarina which I believe offers the clearest illustration of his unsuitability for rule.[53] As noted above, I find the play's politics ambiguous but am inclined to read Durfey's rape-plot and his condemnation of ambitious Cloten as Tory in tone. Cloten is his mother's puppet, pushed for greatness without a single virtue to qualify him as a suitable or eligible ruler. Pisanio seems dumbfounded as to how the Queen managed to produce such a son and, in voicing his shock, reinforces the fact that Cloten is prince through marriage alone:

> That such a subtle Devil and his Mother should bring the World this Ass – this Ape of Mankind; a Woman too that puts down all with Brain, and over-reaching Plots, yet this great Fool her Son cannot take two from twenty for his heart, and leave eighteen. (sig. B3^{v})

When attempting to seduce Eugenia, as in Shakespeare, Cloten is portrayed as the opposite of active men such as her husband, Ursaces. He is a pretender, a wannabe rake, and as a result he is portrayed as impotent. He appears ludicrous in his knightly attire and must rely on the aid of other men to try to 'please' Eugenia:

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[52] *The Making of the National Poet*, p. 89.
[53] *The Making of the National Poet*, p. 86.

> First play and then sing; you shall
> Charm her with your fingers, and you with your tongue,
> Whilst I, God Mars, brandish my weapon; and if
> Tonguing, fingering and fighting, don't please her,
> The devil's in her. (sig. D3^{r})

The two musicians are ordered to use fingering and tonguing while Cloten attempts to please her by 'brandish[ing]' his (phallic) weapon. He can only masquerade as a knight, he brandishes as opposed to using his sword, and his masculinity is further undermined by the fact that he is said to wear make up, 'to paint' (sig. D3^{r}).

Cloten's sadistic, tyrannical nature and his impotency are most clearly connected in the disturbing new rape-plot. Clarina, daughter to loyal Pisanio, is accused of helping Eugenia to escape. She is therefore brought before the Queen for punishment. Cloten insists that his mother let him mete out Clarina's punishment and intends to 'first make' his 'footman ravish her, / And then have her hanged' (sig. F2^{r}). His threat comes in response to her plea for pity: 'pity? Ay, let me have her, I'le show pity on her youth' (sig. F2^{r}). Jachimo's interruption – 'why your footman, my lord?' – not only suggests that he would like to act but also draws attention to the fact that Cloten does not. Cloten ends up egging on Jachimo as he attacks Clarina: 'Show her […] rowze her, towze her, boy I'le / Do thee an honourable kindness, and pimp for thee' (sig. F3^{v}). He assumes the role of an onlooker rather than an active man, just as he did in the scene in which he has musicians attempt to seduce Eugenia on his behalf. Both attempts at sexual domination fail, just as his mother's attempt to mount him on the throne fails. He is sadistic, especially in ordering that Jachimo rape Clarina in front of her father, and in having Pisanio blinded like Glo[uce]ster of Tate's and Shakespeare's *Lear*, but he is

ineffectual. He must rely on others and although dominated by his mother is unable to dominate women.

In their depictions of rape, Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis, like other plays and pamphlets of the same period, succeed in both demonising and normalising the crime of rape. In Tory plays, and thus the majority of the Shakespeare alterations, rape is only allowed to take place when there has been a clear breach in the protective patriarchal care associated with rightful rulers. When the ruler in question is of royal descent, the plays seem to erase the possibility of rape, either by portraying their heroes as irresistible or by condemning the female victim and reinterpreting the crime as adultery. The attempted rape of female characters is more common than completed rape, but the efforts of tyrants are always thwarted – either by a legitimate hero prince, or by the tyrant's own impotency. The threat the Exclusion Crisis posed to royal authority thus led to the expression of a problematic set of ideals and values in which illegitimacy was equated not only with the *desire* to rape but also with the *inability* to do so. The plays can thus be seen to demonise sexual violence whilst suggesting that rape is both natural and necessary in order to maintain the status quo.

Chapter Five

Authorship and Alteration:

Shakespeare on the Exclusion Crisis Stage and Page

Having examined how Shakespeare's plots and characters were altered and exploited during the Exclusion Crisis, I wish to analyse in this chapter how Shakespeare's name and authorial status were presented to theatre audiences and readers of playbooks. I intend to do so by focusing on references to Shakespeare found in the theatrical and readerly paratexts of alterations produced between 1678 and 1682. I argue that the Exclusion Crisis helped to foster inconsistent portrayals of Shakespeare's authorship. Building on my earlier assertion that the Crisis had a profoundly detrimental impact on a playwright's ability to make a living from the stage and thus encouraged playwrights to alter the works of an earlier writer (Chapter Two), I now wish to claim that the strict censorship governing stage productions led to theatrical paratexts praising Shakespeare and promoting his authorial status.[1] While the Crisis saw particularly stringent censorial control in the theatres, it led to greater freedom of expression in print, a medium in which one observes far less reverential discussion of Shakespeare's authorship. The frequent reference made to Shakespeare's authorship and the conflicting tones in which it was expressed in the two media distinguish Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis from those produced before 1678 (as outlined in Chapter One). Rather than view these references to Shakespeare as uncomplicated reflections of genuine admiration, or as faithful compliance with 'the aesthetic demand […] of a new age', this chapter

[1] This chapter builds on Gunnar Sorelius's argument that 'adaptation […] supplied an opportunity for the critic of contemporary politics to hide behind the authority of the old dramatist', and on Michael Dobson's point that 'Shakespeare was promoted as an author supposedly above and beyond contemporary politics – as a way of creating a space of sanctuary around' political alterations. See Sorelius, *'The Giant Race Before the Flood': Pre-Restoration Drama on the Stage and in the Criticism of the Restoration* (Upsaala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1966), p. 188; and Dobson, *The Making of The National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Authorship, 1660-1769* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), p. 73.

instead seeks to stress both the marketing ploys found in different media and the significant role the Exclusion Crisis played in the promotion of Shakespeare as an author.[2]

Seven Shakespeare alterations of the Crisis were staged with theatrical paratexts (prologues and epilogues) introducing them, not as new plays but typically as 'old […] honest' plays taken from the works of a man named 'Shakespeare'.[3] The prologues and epilogues thus suggest that Shakespeare had been revived and updated but not significantly rewritten (see Table 8, p. 226). When the plays were printed, the stage productions were cited on their title-pages, but, rather than continue to identify Shakespeare as author or source, nine of the ten plays were instead solely attributed to the altering playwrights. Seven of the playbooks also featured readerly paratexts, such as prefaces and dedications, in which the altering playwrights outline the changes they have introduced and reclaim the plays as their own. Shakespeare is thus either excessively credited for texts which greatly differ from his own, or else portrayed as having had little input in plays based on his own.

The alterations are described as old or new not according to the extent to which they resemble or diverge from the Shakespearean source-text but rather according to the medium in which they are being sold. This chapter therefore offers a further case for seeing the Exclusion Crisis as one of the most significant moments in Shakespeare's authorial afterlife: I wish to claim that the Crisis led to an authorial construction of Shakespeare which greatly differed on page and stage, with the readerly paratexts implying that Shakespeare had been superseded by his Restoration successors, while the prologues and epilogues spoken in the theatres promoted Shakespeare's status in unprecedented fashion.

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[2] *Shakespeare: The Critical Heritage, 1623-1800*, ed. by Brian Vickers, 6 vols (London: Routledge, 1974-1981), I (1974), 5.
[3] Nahum Tate, *The History of King Lear* (London, 1681), sig. A4^{r}.

The chapter begins with consideration of the promotion of Shakespeare in theatrical paratexts. I then use information contained in two of the prologues to explore the possibility that playbills may have originally advertised the alterations not as Shakespeare revivals but as new plays. This is followed by examination of the readerly paratexts that, contrary to their stage promotion, seek to present the altered plays as novel or new. In sum, the chapter charts Shakespeare's authorial presence in the plays' media-sensitive marketing journey.

As Paulina Kewes has said of late seventeenth-century dramatists, they 'had a pecuniary interest in filling the theatres' and 'acted as script writer, director, and marketing agent'.[4] In the playbills, theatrical paratexts, and readerly paratexts, I therefore identify strategies deployed by playwrights seeking financial gain and, in the case of readerly paratexts, striving to promote their own authorial status.[5] I contend that reverence for Shakespeare and his status as author of the alterations varied according to medium, thus offering conflicting views of Shakespeare to late seventeenth-century audiences and readers of playbooks. This chapter therefore corroborates the view that 'the concept of the author as "owner" of his or her text' did not emerge in the eighteenth century, as is sometimes suggested, but was instead 'constructed in the critical literature

[4] *Authorship and Appropriation: Writing for the Stage in England, 1660-1710* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), p. 19.

[5] For recent scholarship discrediting the view that the early modern stage and page functioned independently of each other, and offering serious consideration of the material conditions affecting literary production, see: Douglas A. Brooks, *Playhouse to Printing House: Drama and Authorship in Early Modern England* (CUP, 2000); Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatists* (CUP, 2003); Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage, 1574-1642*, 4th edn (CUP, 2009), pp. 4-6; David Scott Kastan, *Shakespeare and the Book* (CUP, 2001); Roslyn Lander Knutson, *Playing Companies and Commerce in Shakespeare's Time* (CUP, 2001); Joseph Loewenstein, *Ben Jonson and Possessive Authorship* (CUP, 2002); Loewenstein, *The Author's Due: Printing and the Prehistory of Copyright* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2002); Andrew Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print: A History and Chronology of Shakespeare Publishing* (CUP, 2003); and Julie Stone Peters, *Theatre of the Book, 1480-1880: Print, Text, and Performance in Europe* (OUP, 2000). For the Restoration period, see especially: Don-John Dugas, *Marketing the Bard: Shakespeare in Performance and Print, 1660-1740* (Columbia: U of Missouri P, 2006); Brean S. Hammond, *Professional Imaginative Writing in England, 1670-1740: 'Hackney for Bread'* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997); Robert D. Hume, 'The Economics of Culture in London, 1660-1740', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 69 (2006), 487-533; and Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation*.

and in the commercial practice of the half-century between the Restoration of Charles II in 1660 and the Copyright Statute of 1710'.[6]

It would seem that audiences heard radically altered versions of Shakespeare's plays attributed to him, while readers of the same plays found title-pages in which only the altering playwright is mentioned, followed by discussion of the same playwright's labour in altering his Shakespearean source-text. Since the title-pages announce the location of the original performance of the alteration as a marketing strategy, the printed plays and their readerly paratexts may be seen to compete with and rewrite a past theatrical event. These 'theatrical-tie-in sales phrase[s]' were 'designed to connect readers to the theatrical experience that caused the texts they held in their hands to be produced',[7] as Don-John Dugas observes. I would argue that they simultaneously offered playwrights and publishers an opportunity to remarket and reattribute plays promoted on stage as old and Shakespearean.

I believe that the inconsistent promotion of the plays and their authorship is directly linked to unequal levels of stage and page censorship brought about during – and as a direct result of – the Exclusion Crisis. As outlined in Chapter Two, the Exclusion Crisis stage was subject to particularly strict and multifarious regulation.[8] The print market was comparatively lax, particularly so following the expiration of the Licensing Act in March 1679.[9] The Act lapsed as a direct result of the Crisis: by proroguing and dissolving parliament Charles II succeeded in blocking Exclusion legislation, but he also inadvertently prevented more welcome legislation, such as the

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[6] Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation*, p. 2. For more on authors as owners, see: Mark Rose, 'The Author as Proprietor: *Donaldson v. Becket* and the Genealogy of Modern Authorship', *Representations*, 23 (1988), 51-85; David Saunders and Ian Hunter, 'Lessons from the "Literatory": How to Historicise Authorship', *Critical Inquiry*, 17 (1991), 479-509; Joseph Loewenstein, 'The Script in the Marketplace', *Representations*, 12 (1985), 101-14; Martha Woodmansee, 'The Genius and the Copyright: Economic and Legal Conditions of the Emergence of the "Author"', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 17 (1984), 425-48.

[7] *Marketing the Bard*, pp. 88-9.

[8] For scholarship on Restoration stage censorship see Chapter Two, p. 77n.40.

[9] Susan Owen, *Restoration Theatre and Crisis* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), pp. 159-60. Randy Robertson identifies a significant increase in the number of publications in years when the Act was not in force; see *Censorship and Conflict in Seventeenth-Century England: The Subtle Art of Division* (University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 2009), pp. 11-12.

renewal of the Licensing Act.[10] As Susan Owen has noted, 'during the Exclusion Crisis play texts appeared uncensored', and it made no difference if they 'had been banned from performance' as 'control of printed material was never very effective, and was virtually non-existent [following the] expiration of the Licensing Act in 1679'.[11] The Act was not renewed until 1685.

The distinct ways in which authorship is attributed in the two media of Exclusion Crisis alterations remain largely overlooked in studies of Shakespeare's authorial afterlife. Barbara Murray has observed about Restoration alterations in general that Shakespeare was depicted to playgoers as 'an almost mythologized "wonder"', but as 'flawed and unsophisticated' to readers,[12] yet the media-dependent claims to textual property in alterations of 1678-1682 require further study. I believe that the citation of Shakespeare in the theatrical prologues and epilogues has less to do with the 'demand for the acknowledgement and justification of sources'[13] than with a desire to disguise potentially inflammatory plays as old and politically innocuous. Similarly, altering playwrights used prefaces and dedications not so much to make political messages more explicit,[14] nor to 'forestall charges of plagiarism',[15] as to reclaim and remarket texts attributed to Shakespeare on stage.

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[10] For insightful discussion of the political implications of the Act's lapse see: Timothy Crist, 'Government Control of the Press after the Expiration of the Printing Act in 1679', *Publishing History*, 5 (1979), 49-78; and Mark Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678-81* (CUP, 1994), pp. 156-84. It is not surprising to find more explicit declarations of political loyalty in the readerly paratexts printed with Shakespeare alterations of the Crisis. See, for example, Tate's *The History of King Richard the Second* (London, 1681), sigs. $A1^{r}$-$A3^{v}$, and John Crowne's complaints about the loss of his father's land in North America (which was conceded to the French as part of the Treaty of Breda) in *Henry the Sixth, the First Part; with the Murder of Humphrey Duke of Glocester* (London, 1681), sigs. $A4^{r-v}$. On Crowne's lost inheritance, see: Beth S. Neman, 'Crowne, John (bap. 1641, d. 1712)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6832> [accessed 27 August 2011]

[11] *Theatre and Crisis*, pp. 12-13.

[12] 'Performance and Publication of Shakespeare, 1660-1682: "Go See Them Play'd, Then Read Them as Before"', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 102 (2001), 435-49 (p. 436).

[13] Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation*, p. 64.

[14] Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet*, pp. 72-73. I do not deny the political content of the readerly paratexts but see it as secondary to the playwrights' desire to assert their authorial claims to the texts.

[15] Kewes, p. 60. Further discussion of attitudes to plagiarism can be found in: Laura J. Rosenthal, *Playwrights and Plagiarists in Early Modern England: Gender, Authorship, Literary Property* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1996); and Rosenthal, '(Re)Writing Lear: Literary Property and Dramatic Authorship', in *Early Modern Conceptions of Property*, ed. by John Brewer and Susan Staves (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 323-38.

Prologues, Epilogues, and the Attribution of Alterations to Shakespeare

One of the purposes of prologues and epilogues was to offer oral pleas on behalf of a play and its author in a bid to secure the play's survival to a third performance: the author's benefit performance.[16] I recognise the fact that play performances are changeable, and theatrical paratexts could be modified for subsequent performances, but the intense theatrical censorship to which the Exclusion Crisis stage was subject increases the likelihood that they were used for at least the first three productions of a given play. Dugas cites Pierre Danchin, whom he rightly credits with being 'the world's foremost authority on English prologues and epilogues in the period 1660-1800', as having stated that 'prologues were almost certainly spoken during the first run' and that 'sometimes they seem to have been taken up again on occasions when plays were revived'.[17] I therefore think it probable that the majority of the theatrical paratexts discussed below will have reached a large number of audiences between 1678 and 1682, if not beyond.

The promotion of Shakespeare's authorship at the expense of the altering playwright is found in the majority of the theatrical paratexts in Exclusion Crisis alterations. Thomas Shadwell's *The History of Timon of Athens, or The Man-Hater* featured an epilogue informing the audience that the play had been 'grafted upon Shakespears Stock', yet Shadwell's name is nowhere mentioned (sig. M4^{r}). The audience attending the next altered play, Edward Ravenscroft's *Titus Andronicus or, The Rape of Lavina*, was told in the prologue that 'Shakespeare by him [i.e.

[16] For more information on the author's benefit performance and ways of making money from writing for the stage during the Restoration period, see Hammond, *Professional Imaginative Writing*, Ch. 2; Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation*, pp. 12-33; and Hume, 'The Economics of Culture in London'.

[17] Based on a private interview. See *Marketing the Bard*, p. 24; and Danchin, *The Prologues and Epilogues of the Restoration, 1660-1700*, 4 vols in 7 parts (Nancy: Publications Université Nancy II, 1980-81).

Ravenscroft] reviv'd now treads the stage'.[18] The prologue to John Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida, or Truth Found too Late* not only made reference to Shakespeare but was delivered by an actor in the guise of Shakespeare's ghost. It must have appeared as if Shakespeare reviv'd really did tread the stage when Thomas Betterton, 'Representing the Ghost of Shakespear', introduced Dryden's radically altered *Troilus and Cressida* as his own (i.e. Shakespeare's) 'rough-drawn Play' (sig. B4^{r}). Audiences attending Thomas Otway's *The History and Fall of Caius Marius* will have heard Otway compared to 'greedy Beggars that steal Sheaves away' for having 'glean[ed]' from 'the crop of [Shakespeare's] luxuriant Pen' (sig. A3^{r}). None of the theatrical paratexts make reference to the altering playwright by name. In fact, they are often depicted as mere 'Revivers' of these plays.[19] It is hard to overstate the significance of these oral references to Shakespeare: they 'made the audience explicitly aware for what was probably the first time in the late seventeenth century that a play it was about to see had been written by a man named Shakespeare'.[20]

The agenda Michael Dobson identifies in Ravenscroft, Dryden and Tate's theatrical paratexts is applicable to nearly all of the Shakespeare alterations produced between 1678 and 1682: they deploy 'canonization – the promotion of Shakespeare as an author supposedly above and beyond contemporary politics – as a way of creating a space of sanctuary' around their highly political plays.[21] The prologue to Ravenscroft's *Titus Andronicus* assured audiences that 'the Poet does not fear [their] Rage' because 'Shakespeare by him reviv'd now treads the stage' (sig. Ggl^{r}). The playwright is said to sit down 'Under [Shakespeare's] sacred Lawrels' and, as a result, he and the play ought to be 'Safe, from the blast of any Critics frown' (sig. Ggl^{r}). This is continued with an

[18] This prologue, not printed with the play, is quoted by Gerard Langbaine in *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets* (Oxford, 1691), sig. Gg1^{r}. All references to Ravenscroft's prologue are from this edition, and subsequent references appear in the text.
[19] Epilogue to Tate's *King Lear*, sig. K2^{v}.
[20] Dugas, *Marketing the Bard*, p. 47.
[21] *The Making of the National Poet*, p. 73.

expression of apparent modesty: the playwright will not 'proudly scorn / To own, that he but winnow'd Shakespeare's Corn' (sig. Ggl^{r}). Ravenscroft has simply refined and separated; this is not a new play. Similarly, audiences attending a performance of Tate's *The History of King Lear* were told that they were watching an 'old honest play', that their 'Entertainment' is 'most old Fare', Shakespeare's 'plenteous Flow'rs' which Tate had merely strung into a 'Garland' (sig. A4^{r}).

The modest tone resurfaces when we are told that Tate 'resolved beforehand to declare' that the audience's 'entertainment should be most old fare' (sig. A4^{r}). In keeping with the modesty topos, the audience is advised that even if 'this heap of flowers shall chance to wear / Fresh beauty in the order they now bear', this too is 'Shakespeare's praise' (sig. A4^{r}). As in the prologue to Ravenscroft's *Titus Andronicus*, it is implied that the play ought to be safe because it grew in 'rich Shakespeare's soil' (sig. A4^{r}). Tate's alteration of *The Ingratitude of a Common-Wealth: or the Fall of Caius Martius Coriolanus* features a similar prologue, 'written by Sir George Raynsford', according to which the play 'may be safe to Day, / Since Shakespeare gave foundation to the play' (sig. A4^{r}). After all, the playwright 'only ventures to make gold from oar, / And turn to Money what lay dead before': the audience need not suspect a political agenda (sig. A4^{r}).

The prologue to John Crowne's *Henry the Sixth, the First Part; with the Murder of Humphrey Duke of Glocester* announces that the play the audience is about to see consists of 'old gather'd Herbs' which 'in sweet Shakespears Garden grew', and that the audience 'esteem' Shakespeare's 'plants immortal' (sig. A2^{r}). The epilogue even implies a direct relation between the play's Shakespearean origin and the possibility that it will make it to a third night: the play may be thought by some to 'want Breath to run a Three-days Course', but 'a Barb that's come of Shakespears breed' contains the kind of 'Poetry [that] long rides Post' (sig. K3^{v}). It insinuates that the playwright has merely

added superficial 'trappings' to a well-bred Arabian horse ('barb') of Shakespeare's 'breed' (sig. K3^{v}).

The theatrical paratexts promote Shakespeare by suggesting that, if an audience fails to appreciate the Shakespearean material they are watching, the fault lies with them, not the play. To quote the prologue to Tate's *King Lear*, 'since in rich Shakespear's soil it grew, / 'Twill relish yet with those whose tastes are true' (sig. A4^{r}). The prologue to Crowne's *Henry the Sixth* similarly tells the audience that their 'Mouthes are never out of taste' with Shakespeare (sig. A2^{r}). By drawing attention to Shakespeare the prologues and epilogues detract from any political commentary.

Perhaps the most spectacular example of this strategy is in Dryden's prologue to his version of *Troilus and Cressida*, spoken by Shakespeare's ghost.[22] The ghost's jingoistic speech addresses audiences as his 'lov'd Britons', urges them to 'see [their] Shakespeare Rise', and depicts himself (i.e. Shakespeare) as 'Like fruitfull Britain, rich without supply', thus establishing a link between national pride and appreciation of Shakespeare (sig. B4^{r}).[23] By having Shakespeare address the audience, the prologue distances the altering playwright from the play that is being performed. The Shakespeare character announces that the audience 'shall behold / Some Master-Strokes, so manly and so bold / That he, who meant to alter found 'em such / He shook; and thought it sacrilege to touch' (sig. B4^{r}). Dryden, the audience is to believe, did not dare to alter Shakespeare's 'Master-Strokes' (sig. B4^{r}). The prologue's aim to foreground Shakespeare at the expense of Dryden is made clear when it asks the

[22] This marks Shakespeare's first appearance as a ghost character, but it is not the first example of a pre-1642 playwright to be represented as such. A character 'personated like Ben Jonson rising from below' delivered the second prologue to Edward Howard's *The Womens Conquest* (London, 1671), sig. C3^{v}. See Maximilian E. Novak, *The Works of John Dryden*, ed. by H. T. Swedenberg et al., 20 vols (Berkeley and Los Angeles: U of California P, 1984), XIII, 549.

[23] My interest here is in the strategies used in these paratexts rather than the overall impression one gains of Shakespeare as a writer. For more on Shakespeare and canonization, see Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet*, esp. Ch. 2. For a survey of late seventeenth-century criticism of Shakespeare, see Jean I. Marsden, *The Re-Imagined Text: Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Eighteenth-Century Literary Theory* (Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1995).

audience to 'Sit silent then, that my pleas'd soul may see / A judging audience once, and worthy me' (sig. B4^{r}).

With the exception of Dryden's prologue to *The Tempest; or The Enchanted Island* (1670), produced in collaboration with William Davenant and staged in 1667, pre-1678 alterations of Shakespeare's plays did not make reference to Shakespeare as author-source in their theatrical paratexts. The prologue to Dryden and Davenant's *The Tempest* offers a useful point of comparison with the way in which Shakespeare was promoted as an author or author-source during the Crisis. Dryden's prologue refers to a play performed at the rival house, the King's Theatre. The play, John Fletcher's *The Sea-Voyage*, was staged in 1667, and the Dryden and Davenant play on a similar theme seems to have been a repertorial response.[24]

The prologue to *The Tempest* foregrounds Shakespeare as the author of the altered play, but he is not yet being used to make the play look old and thus politically safe. The rival play is credited to Fletcher, but Fletcher, the lines indicate, was indebted to Shakespeare's *Tempest*:

> The Storm which vanish'd on the Neighb'ring shore,
> Was taught by Shakespear's Tempest first to roar.
> That innocence and beauty which did smile
> In Fletcher, grew on this Enchanted Isle. (sig. A4^{r})

The point seems to be that the Duke's Theater are doing the real thing, Shakespeare's *Tempest*, whereas the King's are producing a play, Fletcher's *The Sea-Voyage*, which is

[24] On repertorial responses to *The Sea Voyage* and *The Tempest*, see Hume, *The Development of English Drama in the Late Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), p. 267. Roslyn Lander Knutson has argued that pre-1642 companies commissioned plays which were similar to, and thus able to both detract from and cash in on, those being successfully staged by rival companies. See: 'The Repertory', in *A New History of English Drama*, ed. by David Scott Kastan and John D. Cox (New York: Columbia UP, 1997), pp. 461-480; and Knutson, *The Repertory of Shakespeare's Company 1594-1613* (Fayetteville: U of Arkansas P, 1991), esp. pp. 40-55.

indebted to or derives from the Duke's play (Shakespeare's *Tempest*).[25] References to Shakespeare in prologues and epilogues of the Exclusion Crisis are, by contrast, primarily designed to present the play as written before the events of recent history, and therefore void of any contentious political commentary. Like Hamlet, they insist that there is 'no offense i'th world', despite offering 'aggressively topical and consciously emblematic readings of Shakespeare'.[26]

The onstage citation of Shakespeare between 1678 and 1682 helped to generate awareness of Shakespeare as an author of plays. Examination of the theatrical paratexts in Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis has shown that similar tactics were used by the different playwrights; Shakespeare is acknowledged as an author or source author, but the false claims that the plays are little altered or that, being Shakespearean, are apolitical suggests that the rhetoric depended on audiences and censors having little knowledge of Shakespeare's works. This ignorance surrounding what Shakespeare did and did not write is also attested to by the fact that even a knowledgeable theatregoer like Samuel Pepys only once mentions Shakespeare's name in reference to one of his plays, despite attending almost fifty performances of altered and unaltered Shakespeare plays in the years before the Exclusion Crisis.

The one play Pepys did associate with Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, offers a powerful indication of the impact theatrical paratexts of 1678 to 1682 are likely to have had on an audience's awareness of Shakespeare's role as author or author-source. Pepys refers to *The Tempest* in 1667, after seeing the Dryden and Davenant alteration. The link between Pepys's reference to the play he saw as 'an old play of Shakespeares' and the prologue's declaration that the play 'Springs up' from 'old Shakespeare's honour'd

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[25] Dobson finds that Shakespeare receives 'praise of a mixed kind' in this prologue. See *The Making of the National Poet*, pp. 38-40.

[26] William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*. The Arden Shakespeare, ed. by Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor (London: Thomson Learning, 2006), 3.2.228-29; Matthew H. Wikander, '"The Spitted Infant": Scenic Emblem and Exclusionist Politics in Restoration Adaptations of Shakespeare', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 37 (1986), 340-58 (p. 342).

dust' is apparent (sig. A4^{r}).[27] Pepys shows no sign of recognising the play as an alteration, despite the extensive changes introduced by Dryden and Davenant. Pepys's failure to mention Shakespeare's name in conjunction with any of his other plays at an earlier date is thus likely due to a lack of knowledge.[28] Theatregoers from 1678-1682 would not have shared such ignorance, since at least seven out of ten alterations produced during the Exclusion Crisis referred to Shakespeare in their theatrical paratexts. The example of Pepys therefore suggests that prologues and epilogues had a decisive impact on what theatregoers considered or did not consider as Shakespeare before and during the Exclusion Crisis. With ten alterations staged between 1678 and 1682, theatregoers had unprecedented access to plays based on Shakespeare. Shakespeare's name, the prologues and epilogues imply, echoed through the theatres on a regular basis.

Selling Shakespeare Alterations in Playbills

> Y'ave met us in defiance of the Weather:
> How has our Magick Conjur'd ye together?
> 'Twas a New Play, there doubtless lay the Charm
> That drew to our forsaken Hive this Swarm.
> To sooth your Humour more what could we doe?
> The Play to Night is New, the Poet too. (sig. A4^{r})

Thus began the prologue to Tate's *Brutus of Alba, or The Enchanted Lovers* (1678). In order to make money, the Duke's Company and the King's Company first had to attract patrons, particularly so as they were in direct competition with one another. Playwrights

[27] *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. by Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols (Berkeley: U of California P, 1970-1983), VIII (1967), 521.
[28] For playwrights Pepys does mention in relation to their plays, see Dugas, *Marketing the Bard*, pp. 8-10.

were concerned to get their play to its third performance, and theatre companies wanted to attract paying patrons as soon as possible and as often as possible. This was a particularly pressing concern during the Exclusion Crisis, when attendance, and thus profits, were very low indeed. Leslie Hotson claims that three of the 'worst days' in the history of the King's Company's takings occurred in 1681: '11 May, 1681, £3 14*s*. 6*d*.; 30 May, 1681, £3 2*s*.; 18 June, 1681, £3 13*s*.', and that 'on sixteen other days the receipts were not sufficient to meet the necessary expenses'.[29] The low attendance level is clear, given that regular admission charges were 'boxes 4*s*., pit 2*s*. 6*d*., galleries 1*s*. 6*d*. and 1*s*.'[30] and average house expenses came to c. £20.[31] Indeed, it appears that the theatre was at times forced to 'desist from acting of plays', dismiss 'the Audience and [refund] their respective moneys'.[32] A key way to attract patrons, as signalled by the prologue to *Brutus of Alba*, was to advertise a play as new or novel. New plays 'had a particular *cachet*',[33] and altered plays of the period were likely billed as novel, be it as 'revived with alterations', 'Altered', or under a new title.[34] As argued in Chapter Two, the number of altered plays produced during the Exclusion Crisis was likely related to the marketing potential they offered in these years of theatrical recession.

Though predominantly presented to audiences within the theatre as revived or only moderately altered, Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis were likely promoted as new or at least significantly altered when performances were advertised in bills across London.[35] The prologues to Tate's *King Lear* and Dryden's *Troilus and*

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[29] *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1962), p. 267.
[30] 'Introduction', *The London Stage, 1660-1800, Pt I: 1660-1700*, ed. by William Van Lennep and others, 5 parts in 11 vols (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1969-68), I (1965), lxx.
[31] Hume, 'The Economics of Culture' (p. 501).
[32] James Gray, cited in Hotson, *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, p. 267.
[33] *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (CUP, 2009), p. 58; '(Re)Writing *Lear*', p. 327.
[34] Scouten and Avery make reference to the Duke's Company having considered Abraham Cowley's *The Cutter of Coleman Street* a 'new play', even though it was 'altered from *The Guardian*', and Langbaine writes of altered plays being acted as new under changed titles ('Introduction', *The London Stage*, *Part one*, p. lxx).
[35] William. J. Lawrence suggests that 'handbills' were likely also used during the post-1660 period. *The Elizabethan Playhouse and Other Studies,* 2 vols (Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press, 1912), II, 241.

Cressida seem to indicate that the plays were first advertised as new plays. The prologues' announcement that they are not new thus carefully and diplomatically modifies the audience's expectations. Dryden's prologue refers to 'he who *meant* to alter' (emphasis mine), with 'he' presumably referring to Dryden (sig. B4^{r}). The clause 'meant to alter' suggests that Dryden intended to rework the play, but in fact did not. He did not alter the play because, the prologue claims, the play was already full of 'Master Strokes' (sig. B4^{r}). In other words, it was too good to warrant alteration. Why would the prologue make reference to a prior intention to 'alter' the play if the playwright had (supposedly) not done so? Why not simply present the play as old? A possible answer is that the Duke's Company or Dryden had decided on a bi-partite marketing strategy whereby the play would be billed as new or altered in order to attract more patrons, before having its 'newness', and any resulting expectations of political content, downplayed in the prologue.[36] As argued above, it is likely that playwrights – and the actors delivering the prologues by extension – (disingenuously) promoted Shakespeare alterations as old and unaltered in a bid to appease the wrath of any number of potential censors within the audience.

The prologue to Tate's *King Lear* also suggests that a bi-partite marketing strategy may have been used to sell the play. The prologue states that

> Since by Mistakes your best Delights are made,
> (For ev'n your Wives can please in Masquerade)
> 'Twere worth our While t'have drawn you in this day
> By a new Name to our old honest Play;

[36] I am here defining 'old', 'new', and 'altered' plays based on what audiences or readers were told about a play's status. For the majority of Restoration theatergoers, 'adaptations of unknown old plays were simply new plays' and, as Dobson sagely adds, 'whether we now categorize a Renaissance adaptation as such or as a Restoration play in its own right tends simply to reflect our own sense of the relative importance of the two writers involved' ('Adaptations and Revivals', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre*, ed by Deborah Payne Fisk (CUP, 2000), pp. 40-51 (p. 47)).

> But he that did this Evenings Treat prepare
> Bluntly resolv'd before-hand to declare
> Your Entertainment should be most old Fare.
> Yet hopes, since in rich Shakespear's soil it grew,
> 'Twill relish yet with those whose Tasts are True,
> And his Ambition is to please a Few […]
> Why shou'd these Scenes lie hid, in which we find
> What may at Once divert and teach the Mind?
> Morals were alwaies proper for the Stage,
> But are ev'n necessary in this Age.
> Poets must take the Churches Teaching Trade,
> Since Priests their Province of Intrigue invade. (sig. A4^{r})

The question of what title ('Name') the playbill contained hinges on how far in advance the playwright resolved to declare that this was (supposedly) an old play. The line ''Twere worth our While' could be read as a hypothetical statement that it *would have* been worth tricking audiences into attending an old play masquerading as a new play, but I am more inclined to interpret the line as a confession that the company or playwright *have indeed* used a new play title in order to lure crowds. This is followed by a disclaimer: the person who prepared the play for the stage had always planned to tell audiences the 'truth' about the play's status (as supposedly old and apolitical) once they got to the theatres. The audience are to believe that the use of a new title was for their own good as they will enjoy the play and it contains a good moral. Billing the play as old would have discouraged them from attending the theatre and thus have caused them to miss out on a treat. The prologue may refer to a 'Mistake', but the emphasis is

on the resulting 'delights' for the audience, the play's merits, its status as an old play, and the playwright and playhouse's desire to please the audience.

The reference in Tate's prologue to the play receiving a new name also raises a number of interesting marketing possibilities, particularly so as there is evidence to indicate that the title of another of his alterations, *Richard the Second*, and the title given to Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida* may have been modified at some point in their print and performance history. We find reference to Tate's banned play, *Richard the Second*, as both *The Sicilian Usurper* and *The Tyrant of Sicily*. The play is printed with the first two titles on its front page, and Tate refers to it by these same titles in his preface, while the Newdigate newsletters state that the 'Poet' of a banned play called 'King Richard ye 2d […] put the name Tyrant of Sicily upon it by which means it was acted twice this weeke'.[37] It may also be noted that Tate's alteration of *Eastward Ho!* was given a new title (*Cuckolds-Haven, or, An alderman no conjurer*), and his alteration of *Trappolin Creduto Principe: or, Trappolin Supposed a Prince* also received a new name (*A Duke and No Duke*).[38]

Maximilian E. Novak posits that Dryden's 'preferred title' for the play now known as *Troilus and Cressida* may well have been its sub-title, *Truth found too late*, and there is evidence to suggest that the play title was altered at some stage.[39] *The Stationers' Register* shows that 'one booke or coppy entituled *Truth found too late*, a tragedy, acted at the Duke's Theatre. Written by M^{r} John Dryden' was registered to Abel Swalle and Jacob Tonson on 14 April 1679.[40] Dryden's preface 'the Grounds of Criticisme in tragedy' was also entered to Swalle and Tonson on 18 June 1679.

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[37] See: *The London Stage*, *Part One*, pp. 293-94; and Milhous and Hume, *A Register of English Theatrical Documents*, I, entry 1118, p. 218.
[38] Both alterations were published in London in 1685.
[39] *The Works of John Dryden*, XIII, 497.
[40] *The Term Catalogues, 1668-1709*, ed by Edward Arber, 3 vols (London: Privately Printed, 1903-1906), I (1903), 370-71.

However, when the play and the preface were listed together in the *Term Catalogues* the collective title reflected that found on the printed title page:

> Troilus and Cressida, or Truth found too late. A Tragedy, as it is acted at the Duke's Theatre. To which is prefixed, A Preface containing the grounds of Criticism in Tragedy. By John Dryden […] Printed for A. Swalle at the Unicorn in St. Paul's Churchyard and J. Tonson, at the Judge's Head in Chancery Lane [41]

It therefore seems distinctly possible that the play was originally billed as the unfamiliar and thus novel (not to mention ironic) 'Truth Found Too Late'.

The company or playwright's decision to advertise Tate's and Dryden's plays as old and Shakespearean once they had enticed audiences to the theatre was, I believe, the result of marketing strategies and a desire to make money rather than fears over plagiarism. Rosenthal and Kewes have identified what they see as an anxiety over plagiarism in the discussions of textual property found in Shakespeare alterations and late seventeenth-century drama more generally. Concerning Tate's alteration of *King Lear*, Rosenthal states that he 'represented his use of Shakespeare as an ethical relationship between two authors', as 'clearly it had become important to recognise Shakespeare in particular as the precursor instead of simply offering one more retelling of a very old story'.[42] Kewes in turn identifies what she sees as 'growing pressure on late seventeenth-century dramatists to acknowledge and thoroughly to rework their sources', adding that it was 'a moral as much as an aesthetic injunction'.[43] However, this does not account for the theatrical paratexts of Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis, where it is frequently claimed that Shakespeare has not been radically altered, and where he is promoted at the expense of the altering playwrights.

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[41] *The Works of John Dryden*, XIII, p. 497; *Term Catalogues*, I, 370-71.
[42] '(Re)Writing Lear', p. 238.
[43] *Authorship and Appropriation*, p. 5.

It seems unlikely that Dryden would have been concerned by accusations of plagiarism. After all, he is not justifying his use of Shakespeare: the prologue is giving Shakespeare credit for both Shakespeare's original play and Dryden's alterations. The full verse sentence states that Shakespeare's *Troilus* contains 'some Master-Strokes, so manly and so bold / That he [i.e. Dryden] who meant to alter found 'em such / He shook; and thought it sacrilege to touch' (sig. B4^{r}). But Dryden did extensively alter his Shakespeare source play. He is clearly being disingenuous in the prologue. Besides, the only way Dryden's audience could have contested his claims to either novelty or Shakespearean authenticity would have been through intimate acquaintance with Shakespeare's play, which few spectators are likely to have had given that the play had not appeared in a single-play edition since 1609 and was otherwise only available in the expensive folio editions of Shakespeare's dramatic works. The evidence thus suggests that Dryden's prologue represented the play as Shakespeare's not because he feared accusations of plagiarism but because he and his collaborators at the Duke's Theatre wanted to appease censors and maximize profit.

I have argued that Tate and Dryden established links between prologue and playbill. There is evidence to suggest that such links were quite common. For example, the prologue to *Arviragus and Philicia* announces 'a new Play' as 'promis'd […] by our bill', and Sir Samuel Tuke's *The Adventures of Five Hours* (1663) features an initial stage direction announcing that the 'Prologue Enters with a Play-Bill in his hand, and Reads': 'This Day being the 15th of December, shall be Acted a New Play, never Plai'd before, call'd *The Adventures of Five Hours*' (sig. A3^{r}).[44] However, unlike Tate's prologue to *King Lear*, Tuke's prologue confirms what has been claimed in the playbill. Having read the bill, the prologue announces that 'Th'are i'the right, for I dare boldly say, / The English Stage n'er had so New a Play; / The Dress, the Author, and the

[44] I am indebted to Stern for the first example.

Scenes are New' (sig. A3^{r}). The fact that the prologue is used to confirm the playbill's claims leads me to suspect that false advertising was a concern during the Restoration. It is perhaps telling that, unlike Tate and Dryden's playbills, Tuke's 'honest' bill was used in far more prosperous times, soon after the theatres reopened. It was not used at a time when political crisis and theatrical recession were threatening to ruin both companies.

Further testimony that false advertising in playbills was common is provided by a 1678 alteration of William Chamberlayne's *Love's Victory* (1658), entitled *Wits led by the nose, or, A poets Revenge*. The play features a prologue 'Intended to be spoke by *Sir Symon Credulous*'. The stage direction mentions 'A Play Bill discover'd upon the Door', and the aforementioned character then enters and says:

> What's here? never Acted before, Hey-day!
> This certainly is some insipid Play.
> Wits lead by the Nose, I Gad I'de best retire,
> They'le find me out to be some Country Squire. (sig. A2^{r})

Sir Credulous has clearly learned to fear being caught out by playbills. Moreover, a collection of jokes and jests entitled *Versatile Ingenium, The Wittie Companion, or Jests of all Sorts* (1679) contains a joke about a man who, 'Seeing in a play-bill upon a post, *A great man gull'd*, and underneath, *By his Majesties Servants*, read it thus, *A great many gull'd by his Majesties Servants*; adding to it these words: *By my soul as true a thing as ever was writ*' (sig. C3^{v}).[45] The joke surely would not have worked if the playhouses and their bills had not gained a reputation for misleading patrons.

Gerard Langbaine's *Momus Triumphans: or, The Plagiaries of the English Stage; Expos'd in a Catalogue* of 1687 offers further evidence that disingenuous

[45] I have retained the italic font used in the original in order to clarify the use of reported speech.

advertising occurred regularly in the late seventeenth century. According to Langbaine, Restoration false advertising was not exceptional but rather the 'custom' of 'crafty Booksellers' and 'the Theatres' (sig. A4^{r}). Langbaine states that his primary reason for producing *Momus Triumphans* was to 'prevent' consumers from being 'impos'd on' by booksellers and theatres who 'Vent old Plays with new Titles', and theatres which 'dupe the Town, by acting old Plays under new Names, as if newly writ, and never acted before' (sig. A4^{r}).

As Kewes has argued, following the publication of Langbaine's text, a 'prospective buyer would be in a position to verify the novelty of the offer' made on a playbill or title page 'by consulting the catalogue before the purchase of a playbook or theatre ticket'.[46] Langbaine catalogues virtually every piece of theatrical entertainment and promises his readers details of 'the Names of their Known and Supposed Authors', the number of editions and volumes in existence, and 'the Various Originals […] from whence most of [the named authors] have Stole their Plots' (sig. A1^{r}). However, Exclusion Crisis audiences and purchasers of playbooks had no such resource: *Momus Triumphans* was not published until 1687.

Concerning the changing play titles discussed above, Langbaine is 'uncomfortably aware' that 'the altered titles displayed on playbills and title-pages create the spurious sense of novelty that helps to draw audiences and readers'.[47] That there was a market for a text like Langbaine's illustrates the fact that false advertising had become a serious concern by the late 1680s. The evidence from Langbaine therefore corroborates the suspicion that the Shakespeare alterations were billed as new rather than old or derivative.

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[46] *Authorship and Appropriation*, p. 105. See also: Kewes, 'Gerard Langbaine's "View of Plagiaries": The Rhetoric of Dramatic Appropriation in the Restoration', *The Review of English Studies*, 48 (1997), 2-18; and Kevin Pask, 'Plagiarism and the Originality of National Literature: Gerard Langbaine', *English Literary History*, 69 (2002), 727-47.

[47] Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation*, p. 106.

Reclaiming Authorship in Readerly Paratexts

Altered versions of Shakespeare's plays were a strong presence on the Exclusion Crisis stage, and Shakespeare's name seems to have been mentioned in the prologues and epilogues preceding and concluding most performances. The number of theatre productions was almost matched by that of print editions: while pre-1678 alterations were not usually printed until at least a few years after their premiere, nine Exclusion Crisis alterations of Shakespeare were published within a year of their first performance.[48] The theatrical paratexts stressed sameness and moderate alteration, but the readerly paratexts, produced for more lax censorship conditions, instead emphasised novelty, originality, and political loyalties.

There are two key ways in which playwrights attempted to reclaim textual possession by means of readerly paratexts. First, they deny Shakespeare's claim to the altered play. Ravenscroft, for example, claims to have 'been told by some anciently conversant with the Stage, that it was not Originally [Shakespeare's], but brought by a private Author to be Acted' ('To the Reader', sig. $A2^{r}$). This, he is 'apt to believe, because 'tis the most incorrect and indigested piece in all [Shakespeare's] Workes' (sig. $A2^{r}$). He then goes on to label his source-play 'a heap of Rubbish' before accentuating his own labour (sig. $A2^{r}$). He claims to have found 'many Large and Square Stones both usefull and Ornamental to the Fabrick, as now Modell'd' (sig. $A2^{r}$). Shakespeare's *Titus* contained the stones, but Ravenscroft added his labour in order to 'model' or build his own play.

As for Tate, he claims that 'the Richard of Shakespear and History' was the same, implying that Shakespeare 'copied' the history and did not add his own labour to his sources ('Epistle Dedicatory', sigs. $A1^{v}$-$A2^{r}$). This claim carried stigma because, as Kewes has argued, 'too strict an adherence to historical fact was regarded as detrimental

[48] For details of the print market as an additional source of income, see: Hume, 'The Economics of Culture'; Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation*, Ch. 1; and Hammond, *Professional Imaginative Writing*, Ch. 2.

to poetic truth, and hence to the moral and artistic autonomy of a play'.[49] Dryden also detracts from Shakespeare's role as source by dwelling on the influence of other writers and Shakespeare's predecessors. Dryden states that 'the Original story was Written by one Lollius a Lombard, in Latin verse, and Translated by Chaucer into English' (sig. A4^{v}). It is hardly the same tone as that found in the prologue, where Shakespeare is said to have 'found not, but created first the stage' and to have 'drained no Greek or Latin store' (sig. B4^{r}). Dryden's discussion of alternate versions of the Troilus and Cressida story is also reflected in the epigraph from the *Ars Poetica* which is printed on the title page of his alteration: '*Rectius, Iliacum carmen deducis in actus, / Quam si proferres ignota indictaque primus*'.[50] The idea of 'spinning into acts a song of Troy' seems to undermine both the prologue's reference to Shakespeare's authorship, and any special place afforded him as a main source for Dryden's play.

Crowne also negates his earlier prologue claim that his play, *Henry the Sixth, the First Part*, 'in sweet Shakespears Garden grew' before underscoring his own labour (sig. A2^{r}). In his dedication he concedes that he 'called it in the Prologue Shakespeare's Play', but adds that Shakespeare 'has no Title to the 40th part of it' and that he uses his patron's 'Name to guide [his] Play through the Press, as [he] did Shakespeare's to support it on the Stage' (sig. A3^{v}). He mentions Shakespeare's 'Second Part of Henry the Sixth' as source, but adds that he 'left it as soon as [he] could', for Shakespeare's 'Volumn is all up-hill and down' (sig. A3^{v}).

Rather than negate a claim made in a theatrical paratext, Ravenscroft instead appears to have omitted the theatrical paratexts when his play was printed.[51] He protests that he lost his original theatrical paratexts during the political turmoil of the late 1670s

[49] *Authorship and Appropriation*, p. 5.
[50] 'You are doing better in spinning into acts a song of Troy than if, for the first time, you were giving the world a theme unknown and unsung'. *Satires, Epistles, Ars Poetica*, trans. by H. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1929), II, 460-61, lines 129-30. On epigraphs to Shakespeare alterations, see Murray, 'Performance and Publication', pp. 445-49.
[51] Dobson suspects that Ravenscroft omitted the original theatrical paratexts for the sake of political consistency, *The Making of the National Poet*, p. 73.

and early 1680s when his play was first performed, adding that 'to let the Buyer have his penny-worths' he has replaced them with 'others which were Written by [him] to other Persons Labours' ('To the Reader', sig. A2^{v}). Langbaine claims to possess a copy of Ravenscroft's original prologue to *Titus Andronicus,* and he prints a section of the prologue in *An Account*, stating that he will 'furnish [Ravenscroft] with part of his Prologue […] and if he desire it, send him the whole' (sig. Gg1^{r}). The section cited in Langbaine's *Account* suggests that Ravenscroft did promote Shakespeare's authorship at his own expense:

> To day the Poet does not fear your Rage,
> Shakespear by him reviv'd now treads the Stage:
> Under his sacred Lawrels he sits down
> Safe, form the blast of any Criticks Frown.
> Like other Poets, he'll not proudly scorn
> To own, that he but winnow'd Shakespear's Corn. (sig. Gg1^{r})

When one turns to the mixture of three prologues and one epilogue printed with his playbook in 1687, a change of rhetoric becomes evident: Shakespeare is not mentioned in the theatrical paratexts. The inconsistent discussion of Shakespeare's role as author-source found in the paratexts of the playbook and the section of the original prologue quoted in *An Account* leads me to believe that the paratexts used on stage were left out on purpose, most probably because their discussion of Shakespeare's role as author-source would have undermined Ravenscroft's later claim that *Titus Andronicus* was not originally Shakespeare's (sig. A2^{r}).

Dobson believes, and so do I, that Ravenscroft may have deliberately omitted his original prologue, but the explanation he offers is linked to politics and

Ravenscroft's political persona rather than his status as the author of *Titus Andronicus or, The Rape of Lavinia*. Dobson stresses that Ravenscroft was 'undoubtedly benefiting from considerable hindsight', noting that the 'printed text of his play omits the professedly apolitical prologue about Shakespeare's lawrels […] presumably lest it should qualify the preface's retrospective claim that Ravenscroft qualifies as an outspoken royalist martyr for having dared to produce a play in 1678 at all'.[52] I agree with this reading of Ravenscroft's motive, although I see the playwright as primarily driven by a desire to reassert his own authorial claim to the altered play.

Ravenscroft, like Tate, reclaimed textual possession in readerly paratexts by asking readers to conduct comparative readings between his play and the Shakespeare source in order to stress the changes he has introduced. Having urged his reader to 'compare the Old Play' with his, Ravenscroft states that they 'will find that none in all that Authors Works ever receiv'd greater Alterations or Additions', adding that 'the Language is refin'd […] many scenes [are] entirely New', and the 'principal characters [have been] heightened' and 'the plot much encras'd' (sig. $A2^{r}$). Tate likewise quotes from Shakespeare's *Richard II* to compare characters and speeches with his own version (sigs. $A1^{v}$-$A2^{r}$). It is true that Tate responds to the suppression of his play by highlighting ways in which his own version of Richard's reign should be deemed more politically palatable (for Royalists) than Shakespeare's, but in doing so, he simultaneously stresses his play's originality and thus his own authorial claim to the altered text.

The altering playwrights repeatedly insist on the transformation of a source-text into a play. For example, Shadwell boasts that he 'can truly say' that he has 'made [*Timon of Athens*] into a Play' (sig. $A3^{r}$), while Tate asks Charles Herbert to take 'Patronage' of 'Sheets, which contain a remarkable piece of Roman History, though

[52] *The Making of the National Poet*, p. 73.

form'd into a Play' (*Ingratitude*, sig. A2^{r}). As Kewes observes of the period as a whole, 'a change of medium', here from historical narrative to the dramatic medium, 'was deemed of sufficient consequence to justify [a] claim to the resulting play'.[53] In the preface to his *Troilus and Cressida*, Dryden writes at length of how he has 'undertaken to correct' Shakespeare's language and style, aspects of which were 'scarce intelligible', 'new model'd the Plot', omitted 'many unnecessary persons', and 'improv'd' characters which were 'begun, and left unfinish'd' (sigs. A4^{v}-A5^{r}). Speaking of *Richard II*, Tate claims to have both 'discover'd' 'Beauties' in Shakespeare, and then set 'upon the new-Modelling' of the play as he 'had just before done [with] the History of King Lear' ('Epistle Dedicatory', sig. A1^{r}). Dryden, Tate and Shadwell thus insist that the plays' merits are due to their transformations rather than the source-texts they have transformed.

Some paratextual passages express the same idea metaphorically. Drawing on a sailing metaphor to discuss his alteration of *Coriolanus*, Tate states that he 'Launcht out in Shakespear's Bottom', but the 'Adventure' is presented as Tate's own (sig. A2^{r}). Tate also uses an architectural metaphor, comparing Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* to a 'Rock' on which Tate has built a 'Superstructure' (sig. A2^{r}). Crowne claims that, in producing his *Henry the Sixth*, he has 'undertaken to cultivate one of the most barren places' in Shakespeare's 'Volumn' ('Epistle Dedicatory', sig. A3^{v}). Shakespeare is thus troped as 'barren' land, as a place where 'nothing has any Spirit or shape', while the altering playwright is portrayed as a 'cultivat[or]' (sig. A3^{v}). What these conceits have in common is that they confine agency to the altering playwright, in other words, to themselves.

Whereas the theatrical paratexts diminish the altering playwrights' involvement in the creation of the play, readerly paratexts render their labour explicit. In doing so,

[53] *Authorship and Alteration*, p. 5.

they may be seen to articulate the 'rhetoric of authorship' that developed at the end of the seventeenth century.[54] Playwrights appear to make the same point in readerly paratexts as Dryden does in his preface to *Don Sebastian, King of Portugal* (1690): ''Tis the contrivance, the new turn, and new characters, which alter the property and make it [theirs]' (sig. A2^{v}). With their emphasis on utilizing stones to rebuild or remodel, and on the cultivation of 'barren' land, these playwrights might also be seen as early advocates of the property definition most famously associated with John Locke in his *Two Treatises of Government* (1690):

> The Labour of [man's] Body, and the Work of his Hands, we may say, are properly his. Whatsoever then he removes out of the State that Nature hath provided, and left it in, he hath mixed his Labour with it, and joyned to it something that is his own, and thereby makes it his Property. It being by him removed from the common state Nature placed it in, it hath by this labour something annexed to it, that excludes the common right of other Men. (sigs. R3^{r-v})

As Kewes has demonstrated, the troping of a source-author 'as "nature" to be taken possession of', added to, 'and improved upon' was not exclusively associated with Shakespeare, but representative of the way contemporary 'appropriators' and 'commentators' considered 'all prior texts'.[55] Dryden and Locke's articulation of property rights therefore offer a context in which the altering playwright's reclamation of the plays may be better understood.

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[54] Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation*, p. 75.

[55] Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation*, p. 126n. Rosenthal and Dobson also discuss Lockean rhetoric but, while Dobson links it more exclusively to alterations of Shakespeare, Rosenthal links it to the wider practice of alteration. See *The Making of the National Poet*, pp. 31-32; and *Playwrights and Plagiarists*, p. 43.

In this chapter I have suggested that the marketing of Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis was media dependent, with the plays advertised as new or greatly altered in bills posted across London, as old and politically neutral in prologues and epilogues delivered inside the theatres, and as novel and radically altered when they appeared as printed playbooks. The reference to Shakespeare found in theatrical paratexts will have increased an audience's awareness of Shakespeare's status as an author of plays, albeit of plays radically altered from his own, while the discussion of the altering playwright's labour and the need to change or 'improve' Shakespeare's plays likely had a more detrimental impact on his authorial afterlife. Considered in terms of drama's dual media of performance and print, these alterations indicate mutual promotion: the altering playwrights promoted Shakespeare in order to support the plays on stage while the printed playbooks, produced on the back of the (at times successful) stage productions, offered the altering playwrights an opportunity to advance their own authorial status.

In *Shakespeare and the Problem of Adaptation*, Margaret Jane Kidnie has recently argued that the borderline between work and alteration, between 'Shakespeare' and 'Shakespeare adaptation', is constantly negotiated, and that the 'criteria by which […] texts and performances are recognized – or not – as instances of a certain work' are always subject to change and dependent on the context of reception.[56] In my first chapter I noted that between 1660 and 1677, reference to Shakespeare as the author of his works and/or alterations of them is minimal. This is no longer the case after 1677, and Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis provide a powerful illustration of the mechanism Kidnie identifies. One set of paratexts, the prologues and epilogues spoken in the theatre, suggest that Shakespeare 'survives' in these plays, whereas another set of paratexts, the prefaces and dedications written for print publication,

[56] (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 10.

suggest that he does not, or at least not to the same extent.[57] As a result of the unique constellation during the Exclusion Crisis, with its massed production of Shakespeare alterations on stage and page in very different censorship contexts for the two media, the paratexts to these plays demonstrate with exceptional clarity the contingency of authorship at a specific moment in history. Is Shakespeare the author of these plays? He is or he is not, depending on how various commercial, political, and cultural pressures impinge on the question. It is this very ambivalence that makes of the engagement with Shakespeare during the Exclusion Crisis a crucial moment in his authorial afterlife.

[57] Kidnie, *Shakespeare and the Problem of Adaptation*, p. 1.

Table 8: References to Shakespeare in Exclusion Crisis Alterations

Playwright Title-Page Attribution	Title	1st Printed	Printed by / for	Reference to Shakespeare in Printed Theatrical Paratexts	Reference to Shakespeare in Readerly Paratexts
'Made into a / PLAY. / By THO. SHADWELL'	*Timon of Athens,or The Man-Hater*	1678	By J. M. for Henry Herringman	Prologue & Epilogue	Yes
'Alter'd from Mr SHAKESPEARS Works, / By Mr. Edw Ravenscroft'	*Titus Andronicus, or The Rape of Lavinia*	1687	By J. B. for J. Hindmarsh	Surviving section of original prologue (quoted in Langbaine) cites Shakespeare	Yes
'Written By JOHN DRYDEN / Servant to his Majesty'	*Troilus and Cressida, or Truth Found Too Late*	1679	For Able Swall and Jacob Tonson	Prologue	Yes
'By Thomas Otway'	*The History and Fall of Caius Marius* (*Romeo and Juliet*)	1680	For Tho. Flesher	Prologue	No
'Written By CROWN'	*The Misery of Civil-War* (*2 & 3 Henry VI*)	1680	For R. Bentley and M. Magnes	Prologue states that 'the Divine Shakespar did not lay one stone'	No dedication or address
'By N. TATE'	*The History of Richard II / The Sicilian Usurper*	1681	For Richard Tonson & Jacob Tonson	No	Yes
'Reviv'd with Alterations / By N. Tate'	*The History of King Lear*	1681	For T. Flesher to be sold by R. Bentley & M. Magnes	Prologue & Epilogue	Yes
'Written By Mr. CROWN'	*Henry the Sixth, the First Part, with the Murder of Humphrey Duke of Glocester* (*2 Henry VI*)	1681	For R. Bentley and M. Magnes	Prologue & Epilogue	Yes
'By N. Tate'	*The Ingratitude of a Commonwealth, or the Fall of Caius Martius Coriolanus*	1682	L. M. for Joseph Hindmarsh	Prologue	Yes
'By Tho. Durfey, Gent'	*The Injured Princess, or the Fatal Wager* (*Cymbeline*)	1682	For R. Bentley and M. Magnes	No	No dedication or address

Conclusion

This thesis has argued that the late 1670s and early 1680s constitute a crucial moment in Shakespeare's dramatic afterlife. The period of the Exclusion Crisis witnesses his transformation from a little-noted writer to an author whose works were altered and staged with unrivalled frequency and whose name was accorded great prominence as it echoed through the two licensed theatres of Restoration London. I have charted Shakespeare's movement from an unrecognised source author of the early Restoration, whose plays had all but disappeared from the patent-theatre repertory by the late 1670s, to an author with whom altering playwrights vied for textual possession between 1678 and 1682. I have argued that Shakespeare's increased eminence from 1678 was by no means inevitable, and that it was due to a unique set of circumstances that seriously affected the playwrights' ability to make a living from dramatic writing. These circumstances, which include tight, multifaceted stage censorship, theatrical recession, and competition with the rival company, made alteration of a pre-existing playwright's work an appealing and economically viable option. I have insisted that the material conditions of dramatic writing ushered in as a result of the Exclusion Crisis effectively rescued Shakespeare's plays from total disregard.

The correlation playwrights found between Shakespeare's plays and the politics of their own time explains why Shakespeare was altered more often than any other playwright between 1678 and 1682. Shakespeare's works interrogate political issues that were hotly debated in the late 1670s and early 1680s, such as the rights of parliament, regal succession, and the occasions on which subjects might justifiably resist monarchical rule. His plays deal with historical reigns, including those of Richard II and Henry VI, which were being applied to the Exclusion Crisis in political tracts of the 1670s and 1680s. Shakespeare's plots and characters thus provided ready-made

parallels for playwrights seeking to interact with the key figures and events of the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis. This attracted playwrights keen to exploit the market for topical commentary and make money from dramatic writing during periods of theatrical recession.

The relative anonymity of Shakespeare's plays offered theatre managers and altering playwrights the opportunity to bill their rewritten plays as new, thereby attracting larger audiences and enabling the companies to charge higher ticket prices. Yet on stage, as I have shown, Shakespeare's plays could be promoted as little altered plays, written by an old playwright, thus suggesting that the plays were politically innocuous. By deflecting the danger of censorship, the playwrights hoped to extend a play's run to a third performance, and thereby improved the likelihood of financial return.

Shakespeare's plays were predominantly altered in support of the Tory or royalist cause. The plays' allegiance is repeatedly expressed by means of their sexual politics and advocacy of gender roles. The addition or alteration of rape-plots and the transformation of Shakespeare's heroines into battlegrounds on which the succession debate could be fought out is one of the most remarkable features of Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis. The playwrights deployed what might be termed rape rhetoric, in which the crime of rape is used to demonise rebellion, usurpation and illegitimate rule, and constructed rape-plots that responded to Whig rape narratives, as found in plays such as Nathaniel Lee's *Lucius Junius Brutus* and contemporary political propaganda. In reading the politics of rape in Shakespeare alterations, I have exposed the tendency of anti-exclusion playwrights to associate a man's desire to rape with his illegal lust for power, while also equating his inability or failure to rape with his unsuitability for rule, suggesting that rape is something a man *ought* to be able to do. The ideal solution to rape offered in these plays is the Tory policy of passive resistance.

According to Tory arguments, subjects had no right to resist rule by a legitimate ruler, no matter how tyrannical, and were expected to put their faith in patriarchal protection. The plays represent legitimate patriarchal care as a social and political ideal, but their emphasis on the need for female passivity and total reliance on male protection implies that, in the absence of such an ideal, women would have little means of defending themselves.

My thesis has thus argued that Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis offer important insights into late seventeenth-century politics and gender politics more specifically. It has further made a case for seeing the Exclusion Crisis as a momentous juncture in Shakespeare's authorial afterlife where his plays dominated the new plays repertory and his name was repeatedly promoted to audiences via prologues delivered on stage. Reaching mass audiences at a particularly conflictual moment in history, Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis had an important impact on contemporary configurations of politics, gender and authorship.

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