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# Changing scenes and flying machines: re-examination of spectacle and the spectacular in Restoration theatre, 1660-1714

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# Changing Scenes and Flying Machines: A Re-examination of Spectacle and the Spectacular in Restoration Theatre, 1660-1714

Lyndsey Bakewell

A Doctoral Thesis

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of Doctor of Philosophy at Loughborough University

October 2015

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# Abstract

Changing Scenes and Flying Machines: A Re-examination of Spectacle in Restoration Theatre, 1660-1714.

Key words: Restoration Theatre, Spectacle, Plays, Machinery, Scenery, Costumes, Performers, Puppetry, Automata, Special Effects.

This thesis builds upon the existing scholarship of theatrical historians such as Robert D. Hume, Judith Milhous and Jocelyn Powell, and seeks to broaden the notion of the term spectacle in relation to Restoration theatrical performances, as defined by Milhous as scenery, machinery, large cast sizes and music.[1] By arguing that we should not see spectacle in Restoration theatre merely in terms of machinery and scenery, as some have done, but that it properly includes a wider range of elements, such as puppetry and performers, the thesis contends that spectacle on the Restoration stage was more of an integral aspect of theatrical development than previously thought. Through drawing on the wide aspects of theatrical presentation, including setting, stage use, mechanics, costumes and properties, puppetry and performers, this thesis examines how the numerous aspects of the Restoration performance, both in their singularity and as a collective, provided a performance driven by spectacle in order to create an appealing entertainment for its audience.

In order to navigate and appreciate the complexity of theatrical performance in this period, the thesis has been divided into key aspects of theatrical presentation, each of which are argued to offer a variant of spectacle. The early chapters of this thesis relate to the material, or non-human, attributes of the stage to consider how the developing nature of performance was shaped by the use of extensive scenery, machinery, puppetry, and elaborate set pieces to provide much of the period's visual, scenographic and theatrical wonder. These chapters build on the definition for spectacle which has previously been used to examine Restoration performance. For the latter chapters, this thesis will shift its focus to consider the role of actresses and actors, to understand how they contributed to the broader impact of the stage, and how they developed in line with the material and mechanical advances. Finally, to demonstrate the collective impact of these elements of performance, the thesis concludes with a detailed exploration of Aphra Behn's *The Emperor of the Moon* (1687), examining the

[1] Judith Milhous, 'The Multimedia Spectacular on the Restoration Stage', in *British Theatre and the Other Arts, 1660-1800*, ed. by Shirley Strum Kenny (London: Associated University Presses, 1984), pp. 41-62.

performative impact of her use of spectacle.

In order to identify and support the re-examination of the term spectacle in relation to Restoration theatre, evidence will be drawn from a wide range of play scripts, surviving diary records, accounts, illustrations and newspaper articles. Additionally, the thesis explores a range of different practices, developments and literary and dramatic types, drawn from the English theatre and those European traditions which influenced it in order to provide a more representative examination of spectacle in the period. Importantly, the thesis's core purpose will be to demonstrate that the notion of spectacle is more central to Restoration theatre than is often believed.

# Acknowledgements

There are many people who have selflessly devoted time and energy to me and the completion of this thesis. I am extremely grateful for each conversation, point in the right direction, and moment of encouragement that has been gifted to me. Firstly, I would like to offer my thanks to Loughborough University and the English and Drama department for their interest in my area of study and for granting me a studentship which afforded me the opportunity to dedicate my time to its completion. Thank you also to Folger Shakespeare Library, Chatsworth Collection and The British Library for their permission to use images from their collection in my thesis.

I would like of offer great thanks to my supervisors Mick and Elaine for their guidance, support and encouragement. I am grateful for all the time you have given to me and this project, and the wonderful discussions which have grown from it. The kindness I have received from you and all of the staff and students in the English and Drama department has been a great comfort and inspiration to me throughout this journey. My thanks also go to Catie Gill and Nigel Wood who have offered insightful reflections on my work. Also to Kerry Featherstone who, despite me not being his supervisee, offered kind words and moments of clarity when I needed them. Thank you also to my new colleague Antonia Liguori, you have been a great source of encouragement in the final weeks of this project and your excellent Italian editing skills have been very useful. Thank you also to Emma Nadin for her support in the final months.

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My final thanks go to my best friend, David. Through the long hours, piles of books and endless pieces of paper, you have been a constant support and it is through your unwavering encouragement that I believed I could complete this thesis. I am indebted to you for all the times you have sat with me, read with me, spoken with me and told me it was possible. Your passion for research and learning has inspired me and my work in this thesis, and will continue to do so for a long time to come. I cannot offer enough thanks for the love you give me everyday. Here is to our next chapter, written together.

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(1589) – Robert Greene, ***The Honorable Historie of Frier Bacon, and Frier Bongay.*** Acted by Queen Elizabeth's Men, Lord Strange's Men, The Admiral's Men, Rose Theatre and the Fortune Theatre. (Re-printed: 1594, 1630)

(1587) – Robert Greene, ***The Comicall Historie of Alphonsus, King of Aragon.*** (Re-printed: 1597, 1599)

(1610-11) – William Shakespeare, ***The Tempest.*** Acted by the King's Men, Whitehall Palace, Blackfriars Theatre (Based on the preface from *The Enchanted Island).* (Still in print)

(1656) – William Davenant, ***The First Day's Entertainment at Rutland House by Declamation and Musick; after the Manner of the Ancients***. Acted in private at Rutland House.

(1656) – William Davenant, ***The Siege of Rhodes.*** Acted in private at Rutland House.

(1659) – William Davenant, ***The Siege of Rhodes***. Acted at the Cock-pit in Drury Lane.

(1663) – William Davenant, ***The Siege of Rhodes***. Acted by the Duke's Company, Lincoln's Inn Fields. (Re-printed: 1670)

(1664) – Richard Flecknoe, ***Love's Kingdom. A Pastoral Trage-Comedy.*** Acted by the Duke's Company, Lincoln's Inn Fields. (Re-printed: 1674).

(1664) – John Dryden and Sir Robert Howard, ***The Indian Queen***. Acted by the King's Company, Theatre Royal, Bridge Street. (Re-printed: 1692, 1700)

(1668) – George Etherege, ***She Wou'd if She Cou'd A Comedy.*** Acted by Duke's Company and the King's Company, Lincoln's Inn Fields, Dorset Garden and Theatre Royal, Bridge Street. (Re-printed: 1671, 1693)

(1669) – Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, ***The Black Prince.*** Acted by the King's Company and the Duke's Company, Theatre Royal, Bridge Street. (Re-printed in 1672)

(1670) – John Dryden, ***The Tempest, or The Enchanted Island A Comedy.*** Acted by Duke's Company, Dorset Garden. (Re-printed: 1674, 1676, 1690, 1695)

(1670) - John Dryden***, Tyrannick Love, or, The Royal Martyr A Tragedy***. Acted by King's Company, Theatre Royal, Bridge street. (Re-printed 1672, 1677, 1686, 1695)

(1671) – Elkanah Settle, ***Cambyses, King of Persia A Tragedy.*** Acted by the Duke's Company, Dorset Garden. (Re-printed: 1672, 1675, 1692)

(1671) – Sir Francis Fane, ***Love in the Dark, or, The Man of Business. A Comedy.*** Acted by King's Company, Theatre Royal, Bridge Street. (Re-printed: 1675)

(1672) – John Corye, ***The Generous Enemies, or, The Ridiculous Lovers.*** Acted by King's Company, Theatre Royal, Bridge Street.

(1672) – George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, ***The Rehearsal***. Acted by King's Company, Theatre Royal, Bridge Stree. (Re-printed: 1673, 1675, 1683, 1687, 1692)

(1673) - Thomas Duffett, ***The Empress of Morocco. A Farce.*** Acted by the King's Company, Lincoln's Inn Fields. (Re-Printed: 1674, 1687, 1698)

(1673) – John Dryden, ***Amboyna. A Tragedy.*** Acted by the King's Company, Lincoln's Inn Fields. (Re-printed: 1691)

(1673) - John Dryden, ***Marriage a-la Mode. A Comedy.*** Acted by the King's Company, Lincoln's Inn Fields. (Re-printed: 1684, 1691, 1698)

(1674) – Louis Grabu, ***Ariadne or, The marriage of Bacchus an opera or a vocal representation.*** Acted by The Royal Academy of Music, Theatre Royal, Drury Lane (Re-printed: 1674)

(1674) – Sir William Davenant, ***Macbeth A Tragedy***. Acted by the Duke's Company, Dorset Garden and moved to the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane in 1695. (Re-printed: 1686, 1689, 1695)

(1674) – John Dryden, ***The State of Innocence, and The Fall of Man An Opera.*** Never performed. (Re-printed: 1677, 1678, 1684,1690,1693, 1695)

(1675) – John Crown, ***Calisto, or The Chaste Nimph.*** Acted at Court.

(1675) – Thomas Shadwell, ***Psyche A Tragedy.*** Acted by the Duke's Company, Dorset Garden. (Re-printed: 1690)

(1675) – Thomas Duffet, ***The Mock-Tempest, or, The Enchanted Castle***. Acted by the King's Company, Theatre Royal, Drury Lane.

(1676) – Thomas Shadwell, ***The Libertine. A Tragedy.*** Acted by the King's Company, Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. (Re-printed: 1704/5, 1724, 1736)

(1676) – George Etherege, ***The Man of Mode, or Sir Fopling Flutter.*** Acted by the Duke's Company, Dorset Garden. (Re-printed: 1684, 1693)

(1677) – Charles Davenant, ***Circe. A Tragedy.*** Acted by the Duke's Company, Dorset Garden. (Re-printed: 1685)

(1677) – Edward Ravenscroft, ***Scaramouch A Philosopher, Harlequin A School-Boy, Bravo, Merchant, and A Magician.*** Acted by the King's Company, Theatre Royal, Drury Lane.

(1677) – Aphra Behn, ***The Debauchee.*** Acted by the Duke's Company, Dorset Garden.

(1677) – William Wycherley, ***The Plain Dealer***. Acted by the King's Company, Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. (Re-printed: 1678, 1681, 16861691, 1694, 1700)

(1677) – Aphra Behn, ***The Rover***. Acted by the Duke's Company, Dorset Garden, Lincoln's Inn Fields. (Re-printed: 1697)

(1678) – Thomas Shipman, ***Henry the Third of France, stabb'd by a fryer, with the Fall of the Guise A Tragedy.*** Acted by the King's Company, Theatre Royal, Drury Lane.

(1678) – Thomas Duffett, ***Psyche Debauch'd a Comedy.*** Acted by the King's Company, Theatre Royal, Drury Lane.

(1679) – Edward Ecclestone, ***Noah's Flood, or, The Destruction of the World an Opera.*** Un-acted. (Re-printed: 1685, 1714)

(1680) – Anon, ***The Cabal of Romish Ghosts and Mortals, or, The Devil Deceiv'd and the Sick Pope***. No performance information available.

(1680) – Thomas Otway, ***The Orphan, or, The Unhappy Marriage A Tragedy.*** Acted by the Duke's Company, Dorset Garden. (Re-printed: 1691, 1692, 1696)

(1682) – John Banks, ***Vertue Betray'd, or The Tragedy of Anna Bullen A Tragedy.*** Acted by the Duke's Company, Dorset Garden. (Re-printed: 1692)

(1682) – Thomas Shadwell, ***The Lancashire Witches.*** Acted by the United Company, Dorset Garden. (Re-Printed: 1691, 1718, 1736)

(1684) – Edward Ravenscroft, ***Dame Dobson or, the Cunning Woman.*** Acted by the United Company, Dorset Garden.

(1684) – Thomas Otway, ***The Atheist, or The Second Part to the Soldiers Fortune.*** Acted by the United Company, Dorset Garden. (Re-printed: 1733, 1735, 1750)

(1685) – Nahum Tate, ***A Duke and No Duke.*** Acted by Their Majesty's Servants, the United Company. (Re-printed: 1693)

(1685) – John Dryden, ***Albion and Albanius.*** Acted by United Company, Dorset Garden. (Re-printed: 1691)

(1686) – Thomas Jevon, ***The Devil of a Wife, Or, A Comical Transformation.*** Acted by the United Company, Dorset Garden. (Re-printed: 1693, 1695)

(1687) – Aphra Behn, ***The Emperor of the Moon. A Farce.*** Acted by the United Company, Dorset Garden. (Re-printed 1688)

(1687) – Sir Francis Fane, ***The Sacrifice. A Tragedy.*** Unacted.

(1690) – John Dryden, ***Amphitryon, or, The two Socia's. A Comedy.*** Acted at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. (Re-printed: 1691, 1694)

(1690) – Thomas Betterton, ***The Prophetess, or, The History of Dioclesian.*** Acted by the United Company, Dorset Garden.

(1690) – George Powell, ***The Treacherous Brothers. A Tragedy***. Acted by the United Company, Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. (Re-printed: 1696)

(1691) – John Dryden, ***King Arthur, or, The British Worthy a Dramatic Opera***. Acted by United Company, Dorset Garden. (Re-printed: 1695)

(1694) – Thomas D'Urfey, ***The Comical History of Don Quixote.*** Acted by the United Company, Dorset Garden. (Re-Printed: (with additional songs) 1696)

(1694) – S.C. ***The Rape of Europa by Jupiter. The Rape of Europa. A Masque.*** Acted by the Duke's Company, Dorset Garden.

(1696) – John Banks, ***Cyrus the Great, or, The Tragedy of Love***. Acted by the His Majesty's Servants, Lincoln's Inn Fields.

(1696) – Ariadne, ***She Ventures and He Wins.*** Acted by His Majesty's Servants, Lincoln's Inn Fields.

(1696) – Aphra Behn, ***The Amorous Jilt, or, The Younger Brother***. Acted by His Majesty's Servants, Theatre Royal, Drury Lane.

(1697) – Thomas D'Urfey, ***A New Opera, Call'd, Cinthia and Endimion: or, The loves of the Deities***. Acted by His Majesty's Servants, Theatre Royal, Drury Lane.

(1697) – George Powell, ***A New Opera Called Brutus of Alba, or, Augusta's Triumph.*** Acted by His Majesty's Servants, Dorset Garden.

(1697) – Mary Pix, ***The Innocent Mistress. A Comedy***. Acted by His Majesty's Servants, Lincoln's Inn Fields.

(1697) – William Mountfort, ***The Life and Death of Doctor Faustus Made into a Farce.*** Acted by His Majesty's Servants, Dorset Garden, Lincoln's Inn Fields.

(1697) – Peter Anthony Motteux, ***The Novelty, Every Act a Play***. Acted by His Majesties Servants, Lincoln's Inn Fields.

(1697) – John Vanbrugh, ***The Relapse, or, Virtue in Danger***. Acted by the Patent Company, Lincoln's Inn Fields and Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. (Re-printed: 1698)

(1697) – Elkanah Settle, ***The World in the Moon. An Opera.*** Acted by His Majesty's Servants, Dorset Garden.

(1698) – Peter Anthony Motteux, ***Beauty in Distress.*** Acted by His Majesty's Servants, Lincoln's Inn Fields.

(1698) – Peter Anthony Motteux, ***The Loves of Venus and Mars. A Play Set to Music.*** Acted by His Majesty's Servants, Lincoln's Inn Fields.

(1698) – Young Lady, ***The Unnatural Mother***. Acted by His Majesty's Servants, Lincoln's Inn Fields.

(1699) – John Dennis, ***Rinaldo and Armida. A Tragedy***. Acted at Lincoln's Inn Fields.

(1699) – Colley Cibber, ***Xerxes. A Tragedy***. Acted at Lincoln's Inn Fields.

(1700) – Mary Pix, ***Beau Defeated, or, The Lucky Younger Brother. A Comedy.*** Acted by His Majesty's Servants, Lincoln's Inn Fields.

(1700) –Thomas D'Urfey, ***The Famous History of the Rise and Fall of Massaniello***.

(1701) – Nicholas Rowe, ***The Ambitious Step-Mother. A Tragedy.*** Acted by Her Majesty's Servants, Theatre Royal and Lincoln's Inn Fields. (Re-printed: until 1795)

(1701) – Peter Anthony Motteux, ***The Island Princess. Or, the Generous Portuguese***. Acted at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane.

(1703) – Thomas Baker, ***Tunbridge Walks, or, The Yeomen of Kent. A Comedy.*** Acted by Her Majesty's Servants, Theatre Royal Drury Lane. (Re-printed: 1714, 1727, 1736, 1751, 1758, 1764)

(1703) – Nicholas Rowe, ***The Fair Penitent. A Tragedy.*** Acted by, Theatre Royal and Dorset Garden. (Re-printed: until 1797)

(1706) – Sir John Vanburgh, ***The Mistake. A Comedy.*** Acted by Her Majesty's Sworn Servants, Haymarket Theatre.

(1709) – Suzannna Centlivre, ***The Man's Bewitch'd; or, The Devil to do About Her. A Comedy.*** Acted by Her Majesty's Servants, Haymarket Theatre. (Re-printed: 1737)

(1711) – Colley Cibber, ***Love's Last Shift, or, the Fool in Fashion. A Comedy.*** Acted by His Majesty's Servants, Theatre Royal, Drury Lane.

(1712) - Susanna Centlivre, ***The Perplex'd Lovers. A Comedy.*** Acted by Her Majesty's Servants, Theatre Royal, Drury Lane.

(1714) – Nicholas Rowe, ***The Tragedy of Jane Shore*** (Also known as Jane Shore, A Tragedy). Acted at Theatre Royal and Dorset Garden. (Re-printed: until 1792)

(1730) – Henry Fielding, ***The Author's Farce.*** Acted at the Haymarket Theatre.

(1732) – Baron Walter Aston, ***The Restauration of King Charles II: or, the Life and Death of Oliver Cromwell***. Acted at the Haymarket Theatre.

# Note to the reader:

For the ease of access, the words and formatting of quotes taken directly from historical documents have been updated into contemporary spelling. Where a word is now archaic or has a meaning other than the one used in present-day language a note has been made in the body of the text or in a footnote. The titles to historical documents have however, remained unchanged to ensure they can be located by the reader if desired. Where a good, modern critical edition of a play or historical document exists, it has been used in place of the primary source to ensure the details provided are up to date with current scholarship.

Moreover, diaries such as those of Samuel Pepys and Colley Cibber have been sourced from archive.org and project gutenburg as these copies have been carefully transcribed, appear in their entirety and are easily accessible to the reader. The primary source plays used in this thesis have been sourced through *Early English Books Online, Eighteenth Century Collections Online* and *The British Library.*

Where a play was performed multiple times, or multiple copied of the play text exist, the earliest version has been used when the copies do not vary. If the play was adapted or developed, then a comparison has been conducted and will be discussed in the text. Quotes from the play are presented as: spoken text will appear unformatted, whereas stage directions will appear in italics and in parenthesised italics when presented with spoken text.

# Changing Scenes and Flying Machines: Re-examination of Spectacle and the Spectacular in Restoration Theatre, 1660-1714.

## Introduction

In her chapter, *The Multimedia Spectacular,* Judith Milhous provides a definition for some of the more elaborate practices of the Restoration theatre, referring to them as spectaculars. In this definition, which she applied exclusively to the Dorset Garden theatre, built in 1671, she argues that

> [t]he key factors that differentiate the Dorset Garden spectacular from ordinary plays are the extent of the use of music, the size of the cast, the elaborateness of the staging – in particular the use of fancy machines and flying.[1]

As a means of appreciating the intricate differences between her identified spectaculars and other performances, Milhous proposes to divide the plays of the Restoration into three distinct categories: ordinary plays, 'Dorset Garden spectaculars', and operas; identifying just eight plays which she deems to be spectacular because of their use of machines, music, staging and size of cast.[2] While the plays identified by Milhous in her chapter do demonstrate some of the more elaborate and costly performances of the period, the definition itself is limited, as it excludes performances by the Duke's and United companies outside of the eight named, as well as the complete body of work produced by the King's Company; all of which would be referred to as ordinary or opera by Milhous's definition.

Of course, the terms spectacle and spectacular can not only be applied to theatrical practices of the Restoration period, but rather, they have a lengthy history in relation to the stage. In Aristotle's *Poetics,* his early definition of the six elements of a play included spectacle as their sixth. In this, Aristotle proposes that anything which could be seen or heard

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[1] Judith Milhous, 'The Multimedia Spectacular on the Restoration Stage', in *British Theatre and the Other Arts, 1660-1800*, ed. by Shirley Strum Kenny (London and New Jersey: Associated University Presses, 1984), p. 42.
[2] Hume, *The Development*, p. 8. All of these categories are developed from Robert D. Hume's work, suggesting there are four main categories of performance during the period of 1660-1707 with eight sub-types. What Hume's categorisation encompasses is a larger quantity of plays, with an emphasis on the spoken text and narrative of the plays, rather than their features of spectacular – suggesting spectacular does not apply to most of the plays of the period.

in performance should, to some degree, be thought of a as form spectacle.[3] Importantly for terminology's sake though, in his exploration of spectacle in tragedy, Aristotle both recognised the act of creating spectacle as a vehicle for audience entertainment, and questioned its artistic merit, suggesting that 'the spectacle, though an attraction, is the least artistic of all the parts, and has least to do with the art of poetry'.[4] In contemporary explorations of theatrical practice, Andrew Gurr draws our attention to the use of visual spectacle in the period leading up to the Restoration, and notes that on the Renaissance stage 'displays and discoveries were matters of stage business as spectacle, a moment for the audience to stop listening and admire', proposing a multidimensional use of spectacle as both a form of entertainment and delight which was added to the central narrative, and as a device through which necessary stage changes and displays could be made to be more appealing.[5] Gurr's research additionally reminds us that an examination of the definition and practice of spectacle in the Restoration period must also be dependant on an understanding of the origins of theatre practice, and the techniques of creating and appreciating spectacle which were relevant in earlier periods. While Milhous provides a distinct terminology for her use of 'spectacular' in the Restoration period, others do not. Generally, the terms spectacle and spectacular are used in academic research to relate to a broad range of theatre practice, but with a distinct focus on some form of visual display or representation. As such, recent research into Restoration theatre production has adopted and adapted these terms to suit varying visual and thematic definitions, including representations of politics and religion.[6]

Jenny Sager's 2014 book, *The Aesthetics of Spectacle in Early Modern Drama and Modern Cinema,* notably promotes the need to look beyond textual definitions of spectacle, which limit our understanding of their visual and thematic impact.[7] Rather, by looking to trace a more complete history of the plays in question, she contends that we can open up our understanding of spectacle as a theatrical practice, and as such, have further knowledge of its implications and the audience's enjoyment of it. Sager does this by initially examining the history and context of Robert Greene's plays, and then applying some of his early practices to

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[3] Aristotle, *Treatise on Poetry, Volume 1,* ed. by Thomas Twinings (London: Forgotten Books, 2015)
[4] Aristotle, *Poetics,* ed. by Anthony Kenny (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)
[5] Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage, 1574 – 1642,* 4th edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 229.
[6] For examples of these areas being explored see: Jean L. Marsden, *Fatal Desire: Women, Sexuality, and the English Stage, 1660-1720* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2006), pp. 60-100, Jocelyn Powell, *Restoration Theatre Production* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984), pp. 4-18, Robert D. Hume, *Development of English Drama in the Late Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 10-31.
[7] Jenny Sager, *The Aesthetics of Spectacle in Early Modern Drama and Contemporary Cinema* (London: Routledge, 2013)

modern cinema in order to inform the reader of the impact of his use of stage effects not only in the early modern period, but as a lasting element of presentation. While this thesis will not follow Sager's work in terms of applying the practices in a contemporary setting, it will build upon the interesting and important framework Sager develops for the understanding of theatre in the 1500s. By drawing on a range of theatrical performance practices and accounts, she contends that spectacle was not merely an an entertaining add-on, but an important and meaningful addition which changed the shape of the plays it featured in; something this thesis proposes to develop into the definition of spectacle and spectacular in the Restoration period.[8]

The purpose of this thesis then, is to challenge current research on Restoration theatre and its use of the terms spectacle and spectacular, to examine in more detail the practical advances of the stage in terms of playing spaces, creative responses and choices, technical and political developments, and audience tastes; as a means of generating a more extensive and inclusive understanding of what Restoration stage spectacle was, could have been, and meant to the contemporary audience. By shifting the heavily literary focus used in previous explorations, and by drawing on a wider range of sources, including imagery, stage directions, personal accounts and advertisement records, the thesis hopes to challenge and re-frame our current appreciation of the visual and practical culture of creating and appreciating theatre in the period. As such, the thesis will approach the plays from the stage and its practices first, drawing not on the narrative initially but on the creation, selling and reception of the piece before attempting to examine the thematic interests of the play. For this re-examination, the thesis will focus solely on the Restoration period, but will draw on scholarly research which assesses and comments on the theatrical practices of both the periods before and after as a means of understanding the developments of theatre both in the period in question and in a wider theatre history context.

Defining the period presents an additional challenge to the study of the Restoration theatre. Robert D. Hume has written at length about the various range of years the term 'Restoration' might refer to; with the obvious starting date for this period being 1660 with the Restoration of the Monarchy with Charles II.[9] The return of Monarchy with Charles has significant importance not only to the political landscape of England following the Civil War, but also to the developments of the theatre in London. During the Civil War, Charles and his

[8] Sager, *The Aesthetics of Spectacle,* p. 30.
[9] See Robert D. Hume, *Development of English Drama in the Late Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 3-10.

court were exiled to France, the United Provinces and Spanish Netherlands, and whilst there encountered new theatrical practices, including large-scale spectaculars, which shortly after his return Charles wanted to see on the English stage. Thus, 1660 is a sensible place to begin an examination of spectacle in Restoration theatre.[10] However, an earlier play, William Davenant's *The Siege of Rhodes* (1656), made use of some of the earliest European technology for creating spectacle in London by displaying a range of painted scenes and other devices (which will be discussed at length in chapter one). Examining this play is therefore essential, as it provides an example of the developments of spectacle in this period, as well as demonstrating some of the attributes of spectacle which were utilised before 1660. But, for the most part, this thesis will focus on theatrical practices from 1660 onwards, and will make reference where useful to earlier examples of practices which are important to the use of spectacle in the Restoration.[11]

Settling on a concluding date for the period is somewhat more problematic, as there is no consensus on when the Restoration can be assumed to have ended, and another period started. Hume has discussed three possible terminal dates: 1700, 1707, and 1737, each with their own rational. While each of these dates have merit, 1700 and 1707, for my work, omit valuable plays and performances which contribute to the understanding of the term spectacular, while the latter date, which has advantages due to the inclusion of the Licencing Act of 1737, is a considerable time from the start of the period and presents little in the way of new and continued spectacle.[12] This thesis will, therefore, conclude in 1714, following the theatre closure for the mourning of Queen Anne, and the subsequent amendment to the issued theatre patents at the start of the Georgian reign. It is additionally important to remember, that spectacle is not a confined performance style used only in the Restoration period, on occasion the thesis it will draw upon plays written after 1714 as a means of demonstrating the continued popularity or theatrical significance of forms of spectacle up to 1737, and the introduction of the Licensing Act put in place by Lord Chamberlain to censor theatrical

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[10] Nancy Klein Maguire, 'Tragicomedy', in Deborah Payne Fisk, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp.86-106 (p. 87-8).

[11] Due to the closing of the theatres during the Commonwealth, Davenant first presented *The Siege of Rhodes* at his own house – Rutland House. The play was initially published with the title *The Siege of Rhodes Made a Representation by the Art of Prospective in Scenes, and the Story Sung in Recitative Musick* (London: J.M. for Henry Herringman, 1656).

[12] Given Collier's outcry in 1698, a case could be made that he marks the start of sexually driven theatre, and therefore a concluding date of 1700 would be suitable. Hume however suggests that this is too early to see the extent of the Restoration's developments, and for my own work it excludes the importance of sexual display as spectacular. Hume also offers 1707, due to the death of George Farquhar, a leading writer of comedies, and the closing of the second theatre; again for my own work this date is too early, missing some of the key plays for this thesis.

performances.[13] In doing so, this thesis will additionally draw on theatrical work from the Augustan period. The starting date for Augustan drama is not clear, but is thought to have commenced around the 1690s, and lasted until between 1715 and 1737. While this period of theatre history is often identified as distinct from the one that proceeded it, this thesis is looking more broadly at spectacle rather than at theatrical genre and as such it will refer to the entire period from 1660 – 1714 as Restoration, rather than Restoration and Augustan, as a means of maintaining clarity of argument.

## Defining the Restoration Spectacle and Spectacular

Finding a common definition for the terms spectacle and spectacular in relation to theatre practice between 1660 and 1714 is of utmost importance. In order for us to be able to to better understand the theatrical landscape of the Restoration in its own context, though, it is imperative that this is established from surviving documentation, and is recognised in terms of the theatre-goers of the period's experiences. While this definition does not have to be necessarily exclusive, identifying elements of performance which were regularly used and which can be seen as common contributors of delight through their elaborate visual display, as identified by Sager, is likely to open up our understanding of what spectacle comprised of for the Restoration audience. The *Oxford English Dictionary* definition of spectacle is related to 'specially prepared or arranged display of a more or less public nature (esp. one on a large scale), forming an impressive or interesting show or entertainment for those viewing it', with its attributes including 'a person or thing exhibited to, or set before, the public gaze as an object either (a) of curiosity or contempt, or (b) of marvel or admiration'. This seems like a good place to start, as the term can be traced as far back as 1340 in relation to public spectacles such as dances, hangings and religious celebrations.[14] Spectacle is, then, something specifically visual. It is captured in the viewing of action which is designed to be entertaining to the audience, but to also raise in them a feeling of delight or admiration. While spectacle relates specifically to a particular act, the spectacular which Milhous identifies, refers more generally to a combination of spectacle occurrences which collectively form a show or compilation of delights which includes significant amounts of visual enjoyment for the public gaze. In order to understand what might have been considered to

[13]See Catie Gill, *Theatre and Culture in Early Modern England, 1650-1737: From Leviathan to The Licensing Act* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010) pp.1-3; and Vincent J. Liesenfeld, *The Licensing Act of 1737* (London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), pp. i-x for further information.
[14] OED.com – Spectacle, n.1, n. 2.

have raised such a response in Restoration theatre, it is important to search surviving evidence for experiences of delight and marvel in relation to theatre practice. Resources such as diaries, plays and newspaper advertisements from the period, and shortly after, can tell us much about theatrical activity and audience response to performance in relation to what might be deemed spectacle.

Using these accounts as a means of drawing out information from the period through the identification of spectacular elements, then, can lead to the discovery of further useful accounts made between 1660 and 1714. One such example is John Downes' review of the stage *Roscius Anglicanus*, where he repeatedly re-iterates the success of those performances which utilized the visual and audible adornments to stage practice. Of William Davenant's *Macbeth* (one of Milhous's eight spectaculars), he records

> *[t]he Tragedy of Macbeth,* altered by Sir William Davenant; being dressed in all its finery, as new clothes, new scenes, machines, as flying for the witches; with all the singing and dancing in it […] it being excellently performed, being in the nature of an opera, it recompensed double the expense; it proves still a lasting play.[15]

Likewise, because of its use of machinery for flying and 'other diverting contrivances', in *The Lancashire Witches*, is noted to have 'proved beyond expectation very beneficial to the poet and actors.'[16] Here, Downes also identifies singing, dancing, costumes, scenery and machinery, all of which, he suggests, contributed to the triumph of the production. The success highlighted by Downes assumes that through the inclusion of stage effects, such as machinery, scenery, singing and dancing, which were part of the visual and audible spectacle, the popularity and success of a play could be improved.

At this point it is useful to consider a repeated feature of Downes record, and his distinction between the presentation of *Macbeth* with all of its elaborate adornments, and an opera. Interestingly, Milhous recognizes that the eight plays set forward as spectacular could also fall within the category of opera due to their combination of music, spoken word and stage effect. Nevertheless, as she identifies, defining opera as a genre in this period is a difficult task, and classifying a play as an opera depends to a large extent on its reliance on a significant amount of spectacle and music.[17] In this case, both Downes and Davenant are clear in their distinction that this is not an opera, but rather a tragedy with spectacular

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[15] John Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, ed. by Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume (London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1987), pp. 71-2.
[16] Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus,* pp. 80-1.
[17] Milhous, *Multimedia Spectacular,* pp. 41-62, for her definition of Opera. Also see Robert D. Hume, *The Developments of English Drama in the Late Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976) for his categorisation of multiple genres.

elements. We must be conscious, therefore, to refrain from considering spectacle as a genre in itself, but rather to think about it as a distinct decision to use stage effects within another theatrical genre, allowing it to transcend all genres of theatre popular at that time.

Also present in Downes's account is the role of actors and actresses, which he contends helped to determine the success of a performance. Arguably one of the most important aspects of theatre, the players and performers became an important and much admired part of the Restoration stage. With the introduction of women, so too came the spectacle of their bodies, as highlighted in Downes's reflections.

> […] the company revived three comedies of Mr Sherly's, viz. *The Grateful Servant, The Witty Fair One, The School of Complements, and The Woman's a Weather Cock.* These plays perfectly well performed; especially *Dulcino* the Grateful Servant, being acted by Mrs. Long; and the first time she appeared in man's habit, proved as beneficial to the company as several succeeding new plays.[18]

Downes here makes reference not only to female performers being included in stage performance, but also to them taking on roles in man's habit, or breeches.[19] With the defining of the female body in tight fitting clothes, breeches parts became a popular addition to the Restoration performance, sparking delight for many of its spectators. Actresses though were not the only performers who were considered for their visual impact and spectacular performance. Actors, particularly actors performing *action* were also of great interest to the audience.[20] Highlighting the importance of performers developing their skills in line with the material developments of spectacle, such as scenery, Downes concludes

> '*[t]he Tragedy of Mustapha* […] All the parts being new clothed with new scenes, Sir William's great care of having it perfect and exactly performed, it produced to himself and the company vast profit'.[21]

The diary of Samuel Pepys yet further provides an insightful account of the stage, and also into the use of additional performance elements across genres for entertainment purposes. Pepys's diligent diary keeping and his regular attendance to the theatre not only give us an understanding of what spectacle was in Restoration theatre, but also the ways in which it developed over the 9-year period that the diary was kept. One of his earliest accounts

[18] Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus,* p. 60.
[19] See chapter eight for further discussion on the role of women as spectacle.
[20] This is discussed at length in chapter seven.
[21] Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus,* p. 58.

relates once more to William Davenant's *The Siege of Rhodes*, this being one of the earliest examples of elaborate stage spectacle.[22] Here he writes

> Sir William Davenant's Opera; this being the fourth day that it hath begun, and the first that I have seen it. To-day was acted the second part of "The Siege of Rhodes." […] The King being come, the scene opened; which indeed is very fine and magnificent, and well acted, all but the Eunuch, who was so much out that he was hissed off the stage.[23]

Pepys's interest is with the magnificence of the scene and the skill of the acting. Linking this account to those mentioned earlier by both Dibdin and Cibber, we can establish that the magnificence of the stage that so pleased Pepys was created through painted scenery and machinery. The delight experienced by Pepys at this presentation secures the role of both scenography and machinery as a significant element of spectacle in this period, even for the contemporary audience. The interest and appeal of scenography lasts far into the Restoration period with accounts such as John Evelyn's confirming their continued delight in 1671:

> [n]ext day was acted there the famous play, called, The Siege of Granada, two days acted successively; there were indeed very glorious scenes and perspectives, the work of Mr. Streeter, who well understands it.[24]

There is no doubt then, that scenes and machines added delight to the performances of the Restoration. This is seen in Pepys's account of '"The Faithfull Sheepheardesse," a most simple thing, and yet much thronged after, and often shown, but it is only for the scenes' sake, which is very fine indeed and worth seeing.'[25] Pepys's displeasure at the simple and lengthy play is diminished by his enjoyment of the scenes which, for him, make the performance something to see. The extent to which scenography could alter a performance, then, makes it a fine example of the spectacle of performance in this period, and captures it as something very visual.

Spectacle, in terms of elements raising delights, were not confined to the public playing space in terms of origins, and did not have to include scenery and machinery to be considered entertaining. In one particularly important account from Pepys, he writes, 'into a puppet play in Lincoln's Inn Fields, where there was the story of Holofernes, and other

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[22] Chapter one is dedicated to exploring Davenant's use of spectacle in this play, as well as his choice to adapt and add more spectacular elements as it moved playhouse and more could be achieved.
[23] Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys.* July 2nd, 1661. <www.pepysdiary.com> [accessed 14 May 2016]
[24] John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn, Volume 2,* ed. by William Bray (New York and London: M. Walter Dunn, 1901), p. 62. 9th February 1671. <https://archive.org/details/diaryofjohnevely02eveliala> [accessed 18 October 2015]
[25] Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. 13th June 1663. < http://www.pepys.info> [accessed 15 October 2015]

clockwork, well done'.[26] Pepys's record here is particularly interesting in terms of Restoration spectacle as research into puppetry of this period often concludes that it was a popular street entertainment which is rarely discussed in the public playhouse. This account from Pepys' however, confirms the use of puppetry in the playhouse, something which has long been considered a spectacle of the freak shows and street entertainments.

Spectacle in these accounts can also be seen as having an *aural* dimension: the use of music in many performances of the period – not only in those which were considered to be operas – features heavily in many of the diary accounts of what we might think of as spectacular performances. John Evelyn records a particular performance, where music, scenography and machinery were used in unison to created a truly 'magnificent diversion.' He notes,

> [t]his night, having with my Lord Bruce taken our places before we went to the Opera, where comedies and other plays are represented in recitative music, by the most excellent musicians, vocal and instrumental, with variety of scenes painted and contrived with no less art of perspective, and machines for flying in the air, and other wonderful notions; taken together, it is one of the most magnificent and expensive diversions the wit of man can invent.[27]

The combination of the elements of spectacle here, importantly tell us that spectacle was not just one thing, but rather that it was a number of elements each designed to provide a visual or audible delight, which could be demonstrated on their own, or in conjunction with each other.

Diaries are useful sources of information as they offer a unique snapshot of individual performances, and a personal response to them. In the same way, though, such accounts also present issues of bias and share only the information deemed relevant or noteworthy to the author. In cases like this, advertisements for plays can offer further insight into the activities of the Restoration stage, as well as the method used to generate a spectacular performance. An advertisement from the *London Gazette* in 1695, for instance, advertises the use of both vocal and instrumental music: '*Bonduca: or, The British Heroine: A Tragedy*. Acted at the Theatre Royal. By His Majesty's Servants. With a new entertainment of music, vocal and instrumental.'[28] Likewise, in a record of festivities from the Parliamentary Intelligencer, we can read

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[26] Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. 6th August 1663. < http://www.pepys.info> [accessed 15 October 2015]
[27] Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn, Volume 1,* ed. by William Bray (New York and London: M. Walter Dunn, 1901), p. 202. <https://archive.org/details/diaryofjohnevely01eveliala> [accessed 18 October 2015]
[28] *London Gazette,* October 24 – 28, 1695. (No. MMMCXXVI)

> [p]ut fire to an artificial firework composed of five towers, which was burned, upon one which there was a represented Discord, which was burned by Mars, coming from one side with thunder and lightning.[29]

The reference to fireworks, thunder and lightning is significant in terms of entertainment in this period. While this account specifically makes reference to a street performance, Philip Butterworth has conducted rigorous research into the use of fireworks and pyrotechnics in pre-Restoration theatres, suggesting that they were in fact considered to be spectacles by the audience at public playhouses.[30] The persistent use of fireworks and representations of thunder and lightning means that they appear in a sizeable number of plays of the period, and accounts of these plays accordingly. Once such account is from *The Spectator,* in which Joseph Addison captures the spectacle of nature by concluding that thunder and lightning were designed to make audience members scared, and think of magical and mythological beings.[31]

While a review of surviving diary and newspaper records can tell us much about the additions to theatrical presentation in the Restoration period which did prompt delight, it is broadly the case that the terms spectacle and spectacular are used little in the period itself. They do, however, appear more frequently in accounts of Restoration stage practices in accounts from the following periods, identifying the elements discussed above as distinctly spectacular. One such example of this is a *History of the Stage* written by Charles Dibdin in 1800. In volume four of his history, Dibdin recaps and explores the practices of the Restoration period. In this account Dibdin concludes

> [g]o for masques, go for operas, go for spectacles if you will; let painting and music, those becoming attendants on poetry, and the meritorious labours of their lovely sister; but let them keep within their own province. Let us have magic and fairy land, and let fairies bring about these transformations to the belief of which our minds are accommodated: but do not suffer stuffed elephants, paste-board lions, and leathern tigers to train the car of a real hero.[32]

These reflections of Restoration theatre are primarily concerned with condemning the stage for its lavish use of 'spectacles', which are suggested to have been influenced by foreign practices. In this, Dibdin iterates that spectacle removed the potency of theatrical

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[29] Parliamentary Intelligencer, August 20 – 27, 1660. (No. XXXV)
[30] Philip Butterworth, *Theatre of Fire: Special Effects in Early English and Scottish Theatre* (London: Society of Theatre Research, 1998).
[31] A full length discussion of thunder and lightning and Addison's response to them can be found in chapter four: Naturalisic Spectacle.
[32] Charles Dibdin, *A Complete History of the English Stage: The Players Cannot Help Counsel; They'll Tell All. Part 4* (London: Charles Dibdin, 1800), pp. 334-35.

performance and poetry by providing an indication of what spectacle meant in terms of visual additions to the stage, reducing it to what appear to be simple stage effects, but with a significant impact if done correctly. In this short passage, Dibdin defines spectacles as something separate to both operas and masques, and talks of 'transformations' which seem akin to magic. His account of stuffed elephants and paste-board lions suggests that the spectacles of the stage during the Restoration were increasingly popular and, as such, trying to replicate elaborate stage spectacle in a less costly manner was a common occurrence. Finally, he concludes that representations of lions and elephants were used in the theatre as a means of adding to the entertainment and enjoyment of the theatre, bringing with them a visual impact.

Elsewhere in his *History of the English Stage,* Dibdin provides yet more reflective descriptions of the forms of spectacle popular with Restoration audiences. In these he highlights the development of spectacle to include scenery 'to attract the view' and actresses to 'charm the senses'[33] Moreover, he contends that decorations to narrative such as scenery and music were most successful when they were overly elaborate, stating 'but to such reputation were music and scenery arrived that the absurder the vehicle the higher the admiration', suggesting that aural delights were also part of the spectacle of the stage.[34] What becomes apparent through Dibdin's account is that the stage employed a wider variety of stage practices in order to maintain the delight of performance. With this though, he also stresses that there were difficulties attached to the maintenance of spectacle, that it had both positive and detrimental effects on the serious practice of drama in the period. Moreover, his account of theatres becoming like puppet shows, and actors and playwrights having to create parodies to keep up with the success of the other company, truly highlights the changing dynamic of Restoration theatre, and demonstrates the shift towards a popular and spectacular form of entertainment which was of key concern for the new theatrical audience.[35]

Despite being written in 1800, Dibdin's account of the Restoration stage should be seen as an important resource for the theatre historian as it tells us much more about the theatrical landscape of the Restoration than it is possible to establish solely from the accounts

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[33] Dibdin, *The Complete History*, p. 15.
[34] Dibdin, *The Complete History*, p. 36
[35] 'Spectacle was the word; and, so completely did it prevail that at length the theatres themselves, yielding to the superior attractions of the puppet shew in Salisbury Court, were obliged to petition in the same manner as Terence complained in his time of the rope dancers in Rome. Authors were employed to parody and turn into ridicule the spectacles of the other house; which, as they could not excel them in splendor and show, for otherwise the more nonsense the better, not only rendered all their attempts abortive, but fixed an indelible stigma upon them for having malevolently dared to question the judgment of the public.' Dibdin, *The Complete History,* p. 25

within the period. In his writing he conveys a vivid sense of the theatre's appeal and popularity. While he scorns the 'low' taste of those who flock to masques, operas and spectacles, he also offers a snapshot of some of their delights.[36] Older approaches, like Dibdin's, often used spectacle to describe changes in narrative and display, frequently making reference to their European origins.[37] What Dibdin appears to define as spectacle then, is machinery, scenery, actors, puppet shows, and visual delights, all of which had a place in the European theatres. Having this valuable resource to hand as it defines some of the Restorations spectacular elements, means it is possible to re-examine the surviving documents of the period itself for their descriptions of performances and stage practices without the terms spectacle and spectacular necessarily needing to be present.

The disparity presented in Dibdin's *History* between the delight of spectacle and the scorn for its lack of moral judgement is similarly reflected in the Restoration period. Famously, Jeremy Collier's *A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage* (1698) directly attacked the practices of the playhouses, the plays and the playwright, provoking many others to either defend or condemn the theatre. Specifically, in relation to spectacle, he insisted that John Dryden's use of machinery in his representation of Jupiter had been lewd, and that to represent the character with 'all the attributes of a supreme being' presents the character as being in line with God, and against religion.[38] Such accounts of performance were not too dissimilar from the puritan messages which were promoted during the theatre closures as part of the civil unrest.[39] Collier's account of machinery in Dryden's play, and his relation to a supreme being, confirm the use of both mechanics and a magic-like presentation as forms of spectacle which were used for the entertainment of the audience, and which were added as an additional element of theatrical presentation. In contrast, David

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[36] For information on operas see Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, eds, *Vice Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers 1706-1715*.

[37] These include the diaries of Samuel Pepys, John Downes, and John Evelyn. Also see Jeremy Collier's *A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage* for its repeated references to foreign and European subject manners and practices being used on the English stage.

[38] Jeremy Collier, *A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage* (London: G. Strahan, 1730), pp. 115-17. Among the numerous retorts to Collier's pamphlet were responses from playwrights such as John Vanburgh's *A Short Vindication of The Relapse and The Provok'd Wife from Immorality and Prophaneness* (London: N. Walwyn,1698); William Congrieve's *Amendments of Mr. Collier's False and Imperfect Citations* (London: J. Tonson, 1698); and critics such as John Dennis's *The Usefulness of the Stage* (London: Rich Parker, 1698), and Edward Filmer's *A Defence of Plays, or the Stage Vindicated* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1707).

[39] 'Public sports do not well agree with public calamities, nor public stage-plays with the seasons of humiliation, this being an exercise of sad and pious solemnity, and the other being spectacles of pleasure, too commonly expressing lascivious mirth and levity: it is therefore thought fit, and ordained, by the lords and commons in this parliament assembled, that, while these sad causes and set times of humiliation do continue, public stage plays shall cease, and be forborn.' His Majesty's Stationary Office, 'Order for Plays to Cease', *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660* (2 September 1642).[39]

Erskine Baker's *Companion to the Playhouse* in 1782 provides further reflection of the delight found in the theatrical pastimes of the Restoration. Of particular interest for this thesis is a reference made to Aphra Behn's *The Emperor of the Moon*. Baker's records conclude

> THE EMPEROR OF THE MOON. Farce, by Mrs. Behn. Acted at the Queen's Theatre, 1687. This piece is taken from Arlequin Empereur dans le Monde de la Lune, which was originally translated from the Italian. Mrs. Behn, however, has made great alterations, and rendered it extremely full of whimsical and entertaining business. It is indeed, however absurd, many degrees more rational than the dumb shew of pantomimes, without meaning or possibility, which so repeatedly at this time brings crowded houses, to the utter discouragement of dramatic and theatrical genius.[40]

In this passage, spectacle is appreciated as a whimsical adapting of performance techniques, which didn't need to provide further meaning or purpose to the play in order to entertain crowed houses, suggesting the play received a positive response from audiences during the Restoration and the period which followed. Such spectacle is further supported in Colley Cibber's apology written in 1740, where he stated that

> Sir William Davenant, therefore, master of the Duke's Company, to make head against their success, was forced to add spectacle and music to action ; and to introduce a new species of plays, since called dramatic operas, of which kind were the Tempest, Psyche, Circe, and others, all set off with the most expensive decorations of scenes and habits, with the best voices and dancers.[41]

In Cibber's reflective account, he records some of the earliest spectacle from the Restoration playhouse, introduced by William Davenant, which contained music, action, decorations, singers and dancers. Milhous's definition of 'Dorset Garden Spectaculars' draws on some of these exciting additions to theatre, and they can be seen as providing intrinsic value to performances which included them.

Alongside Dibdin's list of spectacle, Cibber and Baker highlight the importance of dancing, singing and decorations for audience entertainments. Using these elements to formulate a full understanding of the practices and responses to Restoration performance is imperative in order to establish which aspects of performance were truly spectacular. Whilst accounts like Baker's, Cibber's and Dibdin's cannot be assumed to represent all Restoration and post-Restoration spectators, they are all that we have in the way of first-hand evidence from the period and shortly after. Using these accounts as a means of drawing out information from the period through the identification of spectacular elements, then, can lead

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[40] David Erskine Baker, *Biographia Dramatica, or, a companion to the playhouse: containing Historical and Critical Memoirs, and original anecdotes, of British and Irish DRAMATIC WRITERS, from Commencement of our Theatrical Exhibitions* (Dublin: T. Henshall, 1782), p. 103.

[41] Colley Cibber, *An Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber* < http://www.gutenberg.org/files/44064/44064-h/44064-h.htm> [Accessed 17 October 2015], p.1 82.

to the discovery of very useful accounts made between 1660 and 1714. These accounts importantly demonstrate the fact that spectacle was a popular and common part of performance in the period. However, the terms spectacle and spectacular were not coined until after the period, demonstrating the need for the more elaborate staging and presentation practices of the Restoration to be identified in their own right.

The wealth of surviving information in accounts like these is rich and plentiful. With every new record of theatrical performance that is found and consulted, our understanding of the practices of the Restoration theatre deepens. It is not the intention for this thesis to be considered a complete examination of all elements of performance which could be considered spectacular, or as a definitive guide to all of the surviving documentation from the period. Rather, it seeks to challenge the current definition of spectacle and in doing so, has re-visited the materials and found a range of other practices which were considered to be magnificent, taking its lead from reflections such as Dibdin's, Baker' and Cibber's. For the purposes of this study then, spectacle and spectacular will be used to relate to theatrical elements of public performance which were considered by the spectators to be magnificent, a marvel, and a scene of delight or an enjoyable visual and audible experience. The re-examination of spectacle in this document shall include: scenography, machinery, naturalistic spectacle and weather, puppets, automaton, stage monsters, actresses and actors, all of which are identified as stage delights and additions in surviving accounts. The terms spectacle and spectacular will be used to investigate the use of the physical stage as a visual and audible storytelling technique in the elements identified. In categorising spectacle in this way, the thesis seeks to identify more instances of spectacle in performance, as well as draw attention to those plays outside of Milhous's six which were considered to be entertaining because of their use of spectacle. As Milhous herself concludes, 'stage directions must be treated cautiously. They are evidence not necessarily of what was done but of what could be done'.[42] Therefore, first-hand accounts will be used alongside stage directions, images, recurring uses of spectacle and the plays themselves to identify the many possible forms of spectacle. In the first instance, the thesis will examine the practical elements of performance, before turning to questions of narrative, as the research conducted is intended to bridge the divide between literary analysis and practical developments.

[42] Milhous, 'The Multimedia Spectacular', p. 43.

# The Development of the Patent Companies and the Spectacular Playhouse

With the return of the monarchy in 1660 came the return of professional theatre. During his exile, Charles had experienced theatrical delights in France, Spain and the Netherlands, provoking a motivation to see such delights on the English stage and resulting in his issuing of a patent for the re-establishment of theatre in London. Alongside Charles in exile were Thomas Killigrew, 'a gentleman of great esteem with the King', and Sir William Davenant, the soon-to-be managers of Charles's new theatrical endeavour with the patent issued in 1660.[43] 'The Duke's Company', created by Davenant with James II, the then Duke of York, as patron, and 'The King's Company', created by Killigrew, with King Charles II himself as patron, were born, giving the men the sole right to begin public performances again. While a third concession was also granted to George Jolly, the manager of Beeston's previously established company, the company was later disbanded through the joint efforts of Davenant and Killigrew, granting them a complete theatrical monopoly.[44]

This section will provide a brief overview of the developments of the patent theatre companies, their plays and theatre spaces. While this section cannot provide a full history of these companies, it will provide an overview of their activities in order to help plot the development of spectacle in Restoration theatre.

As many of the theatre companies operating in London during the Civil Wars had disbanded, Davenant and Killigrew had the opportunity select actors from those few still performing during the Civil Wars; these were the companies of Mohun's, Beeston's and Rhodes.[45] Theatrical performance began quickly once these patents had been issued, as they allowed the newly formed companies to divide plays which had been formerly written and

[43] Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* <www.pepysdiary.com> [accessed 16 October 2015] The official patents were finally granted on the 25 April 1662 for Killigrew (King's Company) and 15 January 1663 for Davenant (Duke's Company) - Leslie Hotson, *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928), p. 138.

[44] Leslie Hotson, *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928), p. 138.

[45] 'Killigrew was able to select eight senior actors from Mohun's troupe (a descendent of the Caroline King's men): Mohun himself, Burt, Hart, Robert and Edward Shatterell, Wintershall, Clun, and Cartwright. To them he added Lacy, Baxter, and Loveday (probably all from Beeston's troupe), plus Betterton and Kynaston from Rhodes's', John Freehafer, 'The Formation of the London Patent Companies in 1660', *Theatre Notebook*, 20.1 (1965), 6-30 (p. 7.)

performed in the preceding period, including those by Shakespeare.[46] Theatre did not stay the same as the preceding period though, as Charles wanted his new English stage to embrace the spectacular elements he had experienced whilst in exile, and as John Freehafer highlights, Davenant was

> legally obliged to 'reform' those plays, as a prescribed condition for obtaining the right to perform them [...] Whether or not Davenant wished to 'reform' those 'ancient' plays, he bound himself to do so in order to obtain plays his company badly needed.[47]

Thomas Killigrew however, was not; a regulation which would later mark the lack of success for his company. For this, Robert D. Hume provides a useful comparison between the characteristics of the two companies:

> Davenant *had* to 'improve' Shakespeare's plays, whether he wanted to or not, while Killigrew was free to perform others unaltered. […] In short, while Killigrew inherited what was essentially a growing concern, Davenant had to start almost from scratch.[48]

'Starting from scratch' proved to be extremely beneficial to Davenant, as his patent contained a further clause: 'Davenant can build a theatre anywhere he pleases'. This clause prompted an agreement between the members of the Duke's Company that 'Davenant shall provide a new theatre with scenes' which was constructed in 1671 and called the Dorset Garden Theatre – the key to the company's success.[49]

Thanks to his early performance of the *The Siege of Rhodes,* and his adaptation and building of new theatre spaces, William Davenant is thought to be the founder of spectacle in Restoration theatre as, upon receiving his privilege, he began creating his first playing space in 1661, the Lincoln's Inn Theatre. This performance space was renovated from the Lisle's Tennis Courts so as to include the potential for moving scenes.[50] While William Davenant had staged *The Siege of Rhodes* in the relatively poorly equipped Rutland House private indoor theatre in 1656, he later adapted the play for a more elaborate setting as John Downes records when he opened the Lincoln's Inn Fields with the same play and *Wits at Pothecaries-*

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[46] Davenant was granted 10 of William Shakespeare's plays in 1660: *Much Ado About Nothing, Measure for Measure, Macbeth, The Tempest, Hamlet, King Lear, Romeo and Juliet, Twelfth Night, and Pericles.* Five more were added in 1668; these were *Timon of Athens, Trollius and Cressida and the three parts of Henry VI.*
[47] Freehafer, 'The Formation', p. 4.
[48] Hume, *The Development,* p. 8.
[49] Theobald Lewis, *Dedication of the Player. Preface to the Player. Pope's Preface* (London: T. Davison, 1805), p. 162.
[50] Dawn Lewcock, *Sir William Davenant, the Court Masque, and the English Seventeenth-century Scenic Stage* c.1605 – c. 1700 (New York: Cambria Press, 2008), p. 136

*Hall*.[51] Downes suggests that in the Lincoln's Inn performance, the play was presented with 'new scenes and decorations, being the first that ever were introduced in England', making direct reference to the first inclusion of scenic spectacle on the public English stage.[52] The audience also found great delight in the use of scenery for this play. The Prince Cosimo of Tuscany who saw *The Siege of Rhodes* at Lincoln's Inn Fields reported: '[t]he scenery is entirely changeable, with various transformations and lovely perspectives', marking the beginning of the English spectaculars.[53] The importance of *The Siege of Rhodes* in this theatrical transformation must not, therefore, be underestimated. Not only was Davenant's play arguably the first opera in England, and the first performance on the public stage to include scenery, it also had a lasting impact on the development of Restoration theatre in terms of visual and audible spectaculars, as this thesis will demonstrate.

Spectacle in the plays of the first season at Lincoln's Inn Fields was not limited to *The Siege of Rhodes*, rather it included a number of plays which made use of the new capabilities of spectacle. In 1661, Samuel Pepys makes reference to a performance of *Hamlet* at the Lincoln's Inn, which he suggests was 'done with scenes very well'; confirming the practice of adapting already established plays with scenic spectacle to appeal to a Restoration audience.[54] As the companies' choice of plays was restricted by the patents issued, Davenant turned to adapting more of his given plays in order to incorporate spectacle as a means of success. In 1662, he staged his *The Law against Lovers,* an adaptation combining Shakespeare's *Much Ado about Nothing* and *Measure for Measure*. Davenant's version of these plays was subsequently so changed that Pepys did not recognise it as Shakespeare at all, simply noting: 'I went to the opera, and saw "the Law against Lovers", a good play and well performed, especially the little girls, whom I never saw act before, dancing and singing.'[55] In reflecting on these comments, it is important to note here that part of Pepys's enjoyment was provided by the girls, a form of spectacle identified by both Dibdin and Cibber as being utilised by playwrights as an ornament to performance, and something which will be discussed at length later in the chapter on Feminine Spectacle. In her examination of the play,

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[51] Jocelyn Powell, *Restoration Theatre Production* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984), p. 32., John Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, ed. by Judith Milhous and Robert D.Hume (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1987), p. 51.
[52] *Roscius Anglicanus,* p. 51. Also see James Wirght, *Historia Histronica: An Historical Account of the English Stage* (London: G. Croom, 1699), p. 177.
[53] John Orrell, 'Filippo Corsini and the Restoration Theatre', *Theatre Notebook*, 34:9 (1980), 4-9.
[54] The plays of the season included *The Wit*, *Hamlet: The Prince of Denmark*, *Twelfth Night*, *Love and Honour*, *The Bondman* and *The Mad Lover*, all of which appear in Pepys's diary. 24th August, 1661. Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* < www.pepysdiary.com> [accessed 16 May 2015]
[55] Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* < www.pepysdiary.com> [accessed 16 May 2015]

Katherine West Scheil suggests that 'Davenant's Shakespearean adaptation *The Law against Lovers* had less to do with Shakespeare, and more to do with providing a vehicle for various forms of entertainment involving song, dance, a popular young actress, music and novelty', recognising Davenant's deliberate and purposeful act of including a range of spectacular elements in the play as a means of popular entertainment designed to appeal to the new Restoration audience.[56] This adaptation is therefore, a further example of Davenant's desire to change the nature of staging plays, and demonstrates how performances were developed in order to include the new theatrical style of elaborate and varied presentation, or spectacle.

Fortunately, spectacular success for the Duke's Company was not confined to Davenant himself. In 1668 William Davenant died and the company was taken over by by 'the greatest English actor between Richard Burbage and Garrick', Thomas Betterton.[57] In 1671, Betterton continued the company's success by building the new, expensive and well equipped theatre called the Dorset Garden.[58] As Jocelyn Powell suggests, it has been thought to have 'gilded the lily, with its elaborate scenes and machines and its superb auditorium, adorned with the busts of the poets around the galleries.'[59] With the construction of this theatre came closer attention to intricate detail of the whole space, as the stage's elegance and elaborate nature was mirrored from the stage to the auditorium and back again, providing an all-encompassing experience of spectacle and opulence. The plays performed in this theatre, the Dorset Garden, provide a real insight into the spectacular theatre of the Restoration because of the considerations made to the staging of spectacle in its building. This theatre possessed a larger stage, tiring rooms, and extended wing space for scenery and machinery, making it the largest playing space in London at its time of construction.[60] Its dominance in the theatre world of London was not simply because of its size, or its ability to house and stage large scale productions, though. Rather, it found success in being a model performance space for a history of theatres.

As noted earlier, just eight plays were considered by Judith Milhous to be the true spectaculars of the Dorset Garden playing space, containing endless spectacle, machinery and dramatic effects; these were staged under the management of Betterton. Milhous's Dorset

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[56]Katherine West Scheil, 'Sir William Davenant's Use of Shakespeare in "The Law against Lovers"', *Philological Quarterly*, 76:4 (1997), 369-86 (p. 370).
[57] Sarah Stanton and Martin Banham, *The Cambridge Paperback Guide to Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 34.
[58] Katherine West Scheil suggests the king himself 'spent one thousand pounds of the royal treasury to have it completed'; Scheil, 'Sir William Davenant', p. 2.
[59] Freehafer¸ 'The Formation', p. 16.
[60] Edward A. Langhans, 'A Conjectural Reconstruction of the Dorset Garden Theatre ', *Theatre Survey,* 13:02 (1972), 74-93.

Garden Spectaculars were *Macbeth* and *The Tempest* (1673-4), *Psyche* (1675), *Circe* (1677), *Albion and Albanius* (1685), *The Prophetess* (1690), *King Arthur* (1691), and *The Fairy-Queen* (1692).[61] These plays are indeed the pinnacle of spectacular effects; however, it is important to recognise the other valuable plays produced in Dorset Garden theatre which deployed and developed spectacle, as its success depended on more that just the select eight plays. By looking at plays performed in this theatre for the elements of spectacle identified above, we can find examples of plays which could be considered spectacular for their use of the theatre's spectacular capabilities. For example, in *The Life and Death of Doctor Faustus* (1697), angels and devils ascend or descend, a table flies upwards, a giant appears and fireworks whirl.[62] In *The Rape of Europa* (1694), 'Mercury descends in a chariot drawn by ravens' and 'Jupiter descends on an eagle'.[63] And finally in *The Devil of a Wife* (1686), there is thunder and lightning, characters flying down and 'fire flashing about him'.[64] By applying the extended definition of spectacle to these plays, it becomes apparent that they should also be considered significant in a comprehensive understanding of Restoration stage spectacle, and because of their use of machinery, scenery, thunder, lightning and performers should be seen as part of the spectacular style of theatre generated in this period which audiences enjoyed; something this thesis will continue to provide evidence for.

In stark comparison to the continual developments of the Duke's Company, the King's Company encountered a more difficult journey. Killigrew's first moves after his patent was granted, as Freehafer notes, 'seem to have been largely mercenary throughout: he saw the theatre as a way of making money.'[65] Killigrew had built a company of the strongest actors, full of talented, well known and respected people; he assumed this would bring in an audience. In contrast, Freehafer suggests, 'Davenant was no doubt equally anxious to make money, but he was a professional man of the theatre with previous managerial experience, and had long dreamed of running a fancy public theatre with changeable scenery'— the later success of the Restoration stage.[66]

In 1663 the King's Company built a theatre in Bridge Street, later to be known as the Theatre Royal, described by Charles II as a 'plain house', rather than one capable of

[61] Milhous, *Multimedia Spectacular*, p. 41.
[62] William Mountfort, *The Life and Death of Doctor Faustus* (London: E. Whitlock, 1697).
[63] S. C, *The Rape of Europa* (London: M. Bennet, 1694), p. 2.
[64] Thomas Jevon, *The Devil of a Wife* (London: I. Heptinstall, 1686), p. 23.
[65] John Freehafer, 'Brome, Suckling, and Davenant's Theatre Project of 1639', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 10 (1968), 367-83 (p. 369)
[66] Freehafer, 'Brome', p. 369.

producing spectacle.[67] In his prologue to the opening of the theatre, John Dryden comments on the simple construction of the theatre, saying it was

> [a] Plain built house […]
> When, fallen from your expected pomp, you find
> A bare convenience only is designed […]
> Our mean un-gilded stage will scorn, we fear,
> And for our homely room, disdain the chear. […]
> We, broken banquiers, half destroyed by fire,
> With our small stock to humble roofs retire;
> Pity our loss, while you their pomp admire. […][68]

Pepys visited on 8 May 1663, and noted:

> [t]he house is made with extraordinary good contrivance, and yet hath some faults, as the narrowness of the passages in and out of the pit, and the distance from the stage to the boxes, which I am confident cannot hear; but for all other things it is well, only, above all, the music being below, and most of it sounding under the very stage, there is no hearing of the basses at all, nor very well of the trebles, which sure must be mended.[69]

By 1670, the Theatre Royal was the home of many plays deploying spectacular effects. Dryden's *Tyrannick Love* (1670), for instance, features characters descending from the clouds, beds rising from the stage, and flaming swords, along with the familiar songs and dances.[70] George Villiers (Duke of Buckingham)'s *The Rehearsal* (1672) satirises the plays performed by the Duke's Company at the Dorset Garden, and also includes characters descending from the clouds.[71] *The Rehearsal* not only makes reference to the characters descending in the stage directions, but also in the spoken script, stating '[n]ow, because the two Right Kings descend from above', suggesting that the theatre was able to fly people on to the stage.

In 1672, fire destroyed the Theatre Royal, and the King's Company temporarily occupied the Lincoln's Inn Field. As Leslie Hotson notes, 'The fire was a disastrous one: beginning under the stairs at the back of the playhouse, it burned down half the building and all the stock of scenery and costumes', resulting in the King's Company being unable to

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[67] Hume, *Developments*, p. 10.
[68] John Dryden, 'Prologue for the Opening of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane', in *The Poetrical Works of John Dryden*, ed. by Bliss Perry (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1908), p. 74 <https://archive.org/stream/poeticalworksjo19drydgoog/poeticalworksjo19drydgoog_djvu.txt> [accessed 21 October 2015].
[69] Dryden, 'Prologue for the Opening of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane', p. 74.
[70] John Dryden, *Tyrannick Love* (London: H, Herringman, 1670).
[71] George Villiers (Duke of Buckingham), *The Rehearsal* (London: R. Bentley and S. Magnes, 1672).

compete with the Duke's in terms of creating large spectacular performances.[72] In 1674, the King's Company rebuilt their theatre, calling it the Theatre Royal Drury Lane, and many more successful plays were subsequently performed there. The new theatre occupied the ground where the original had stood, with a space to the rear being rented out as a 'scene room'. Hotson notes it had a 'cellar – perhaps for the storage of "machines"', suggesting that the new theatre was built with the specific intention of providing mechanical spectacle.[73] A large number of plays performed at the Theatre Royal contained similar spectacular qualities in terms of scenery and machinery, but Thomas Duffett's *Psyche Debauch'd Comedy* challenges the Theatre Royal's lack of spectacle the most. *Psyche Debauch'd* was performed at the Theatre Royal and was a response to Thomas Shadwell's *Psyche* of the Dorset Garden's in 1674. Duffett's *Psyche* includes detailed stage directions which seem both far-fetched and highly entertaining. On page 16, for example, 'Woossat appears in a chariot drawn by brooms', and this character later ascends and descends from scene to scene.[74] The play also features a bear which enters the stage numerous times and dances. The play-text also requires the use of moving scenes to represent different locations in the narrative. Throughout this play, there are continuous uses of spectacle which climaxes with a speaking, automaton, head which was operated from off stage. In this moment the head is cut from the body on stage and is displayed for the audience to see, still speaking.[75] (This is much like the speaking head present in *The Emperor of the Moon,* performed some years later at Dorset Gardens; the significance of this will be discussed in the final chapter of this thesis). In terms of spectacle then, the Theatre Royal utilised a range of techniques which can be recognised as spectacle through the broadening of the definition. The multiple stage directions of *Psyche* and the other plays switch between the unbelievable capabilities of objects and flying or vanishing characters, to more simplistic displays like scenery, confirming the varied spectacular ability of the Theatre Royal. The destruction of the Theatre Royal in 1672 and the resulting stay in Lincoln's Inn Fields is suggested to be one of the key contributing factors to the demise of the King's Company in 1682. What resulted was the merging of the two companies for 13 years, under the umbrella of the United Company.

The formation of the United Company had specific implications for the staging of spectacle. Prior to the merger, the companies had been in direct competition (generating

[72] Leslie Hotson, *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928), p. 256.
[73] Hotson, *The Commonwealth*, p. 265.
[74] Thomas Duffett, *Psyche Debauch'd Comedy* (London: John Smith, 1678).
[75] Duffett, *Psyche Debauch'd*, p. 43.

mock versions of plays and others with similar plots), and now they had to succeed together.[76] For the most part the performances were split between the two theatres: operas and spectaculars were staged at the Dorset Garden, with other plays at the Theatre Royal, re-playing what had previously worked. It is suggested by Kathryn Lowerre that the union

> was advantageous for veteran actors and playwrights but closed off opportunities for new writers and actors. With only one full-time licenced company acting, and the entire repertoire of stock plays open to them, they tended to stick with established successes.[77]

In 1695, Betterton sought a licence from Lord Chamberlain to regain the power of the original Duke's and King's Companies, and allowing both companies to start producing spectaculars again. This licence gave

> full power licence and authority unto Thomas Betterton, Elizabeth Barry Anne Bracegirdle […] in any convenient place or places, to act & represent, all and all manner of comedies & tragedies, plays or interludes, & opera's, and to perform all other theatrical and musical entertainments of what kind so ever.[78]

and prompted a split in the company, once again creating two theatre companies. As a result, Betterton's 'the Actors' Company' received an offer from John Vanbrugh to open a new theatre, The Queen's Theatre, Haymarket in 1705. Despite the plans of grandeur, Colley Cibber is recorded as saying

> the house, they had not yet discovered that almost every proper quality and convenience of a good theatre had been sacrificed or neglected to shew the spectator a vast triumphal piece of architecture! And that the best play, for the reasons I am going to offer, could not but be under great disadvantages, and be less capable of delighting the auditor here than it could have been in the plain theatre they came from. For what could their vast columns, their gilded cornices, their immoderate high roofs avail, when scarce one word in ten could be distinctly heard in it? […]This extra-ordinary and superfluous space occasioned such an undulation from the voice of every actor, that generally what they said sounded like the gabbling of so many people in the lofty Isles in a Cathedral — The tone of a trumpet, or the swell of a eunuch's holding note, it is true, might be sweetened by it, but the articulate sounds of a speaking voice were drowned by the hollow reverberations of one word upon another.[79]

It appears that the Queen's Theatre was initially designed to be equipped for large scenography and vast machines. However, as Cibber suggests the theatre's performance

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[76] See for instance John Dryden, *The Tempest* and Thomas Duffett, *The Mock Tempest*; and Thomas Shadwell, *Psyche* and Thomas Duffett, *Psyche Debauch'd*.
[77] Kathryn Lowerre, *Music and Musicians on the London Stage, 1695 – 1705* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), p. 7.
[78] the Lord chamberlain's license of 25 March 1695, P.R.o. Lc 7/3, printed in full in Judith Milhous, *Thomas Betterton and the Management of Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1695-1708* (Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979), p. 67.
[79] Cibber, *An Apology for the Life,* Vol 1. pp. 321-22.

space was too small, and the seats too far away to do any performance justice. By 1707, Lord Chamberlain had made the decision that the Haymarket theatre should only be used for opera, decreeing: 'all operas and other musical presentments be performed for the future only at Her Majesty's Theatre in the Haymarket[80]'. From 1705, the two companies made extensive use of the Dorset Garden, Lincoln's Inn Fields, Theatre Royal, and the new Queen's Theatre (becoming the King's Theatre with the succession of George I) – choosing the appropriate venue for their performance in the continuing the trend for spectacular performance.

## Politics, Restrictions and the Economics of the Theatre

In 1642, a restriction on theatrical performance in England and Wales was issued, claiming be a 'temporary safeguard against civil strife'.[81] This, however, prompted what would become a significant change in theatre practice, and provoked a strong resistance from theatre practitioners. As performances persisted through the Civil War by being renamed or performed in private, the 'act was later broadened and extended by the puritans' with a second ordinance stating: 'common players shall be committed to the jail' and warning that

> all person and persons so offending, to commit to any common jail or prison, there to remain until the next general sessions of the peace, held within the said city of London, or liberties thereof, and places aforesaid, or sufficient security entered for his or their appearance at the said sessions there to be punished as rogues, according to law.[82]

As Dale Randall asserts, the 'document of September 1642 [was] not fuelled by primarily by moral outrage. Instead – and despite the fact that it must have gratified play-haters – it appears to have been informed by a deep concern that nothing further be allowed to rock the ship of state'.[83] This reasoning for control, and the fear of arrest was not enough to stop the players, private, secret performances and new ways to share theatrical representations of events continued throughout the Civil War. As Susan Wiseman contends, 'it seems that the closure of the theatres in 1642, as one effect of changed circumstances, was the catalyst which produced the pamphlet dialogue as a particular market commodity and an important

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[80] P.R.O. C7/668/31

[81] Philip Zarilli, Bruce McConachie and Gary Williams, *Theatre Histories: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 206-7.

[82] His Majesty's Stationary Office, 'An Ordinance for the Lord Major and City of London, and the Justices of Peace to suppress Stage-playes and Interludes', *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660* (22 October 1647).

[83] Dale B.J. Randall, *Winter Fruit*: *English Drama 1642-1660* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1995), p. 41.

way to "stage" politics.[84] The continuation of theatrical dialogue resulted in one of the most important examples of early stage spectacle, and the beginning of the spectacular performances of the Restoration period: William Davenant's *The Siege of Rhodes* performed at Rutland House in 1656. While the return of Charles II marked the return of the public theatre, the patents issued still limited the capacity of theatrical production, limiting it initially to the two theatre companies and their performers, before the changes to the United, Patent and Actor's companies.

The Restoration theatres were often at the mercy of political control and power. While the public theatres opened with great fervour in 1660, they saw a number of enforced closures which did little to aid their success. In 1665, theatres were once more forcibly shut, following health concerns and initially intended as a safe-guard against a further plague epidemic. However, the subsequent Great Fire of London in 1666 saw the closure of the theatres extended until December, meaning an 18-month hiatus since the public theatre was in use. Once re-established, the theatres found themselves facing similar difficulties in June and July of 1667, their most profitable period, because of the Dutch War.[85] As William J. Burling contends, the theatres opened again in July 1667 and 'played straight through until September 1669, closing then only because of the death of Henrietta-Maria.'[86] Theatres suffered further political strife in the 1670s and 1680s. As Susan J Owens contends, the Exclusion Crisis and the subsequent Popish Plot 'affected the theatre badly. People were more interested in the political arena, or what was called the theatre of news, than in attending plays.'[87] The constraints placed on the theatres for political reasons undoubtedly had an impact on the success of the theatre companies, and in 1682 the United Company was formed as a means of strengthening audience numbers and recovering the King's Company's bad management.[88] 1685 brought a further period of closure for the theatres following the death of Charles II, with theatrical activity not resuming until 1688 under the guidance of James II.[89] James's connection to the theatre of the Restoration, being the patron of the Duke's Company, saw the continuation of elaborate theatrical practices in the theatres, until

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[84] Susan Wiseman, *Drama and Politics in the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 22.
[85] William J. Burling, *Summer Theatre in London, 1661-1820, and the Rise of the Haymarket Theatre* (London: Associated University Press, 2000), p. 23.
[86] Burling, *Summer Theatre in London,* p. 23.
[87] Susan J. Owen, 'Drama and Political Crisis', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre*, ed. by Deborah Payne-Fisk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 158-173 (p. 159)
[88] Felicia Hardison Londré and Margot Berthold, *The History of World Theater: From the English Restoration to the Present* (New York: Continuum Publishing, 1999), p. 38.
[89] Burling, *Summer Theatre in London,* p. 23.

his deposition in 1689. Once James had been removed from the throne, the political landscape changed for the theatre once more with the succession of William of Orange and Mary II to the English monarchy. As Lois G. Schwoerer establishes, 'William and Mary were openly in favor of moral reform movements, which often had the theater among their targets. William was never a theater-goer like his immediate predecessors.'[90] As such, theatre attendance faced yet another decline. Queen Mary's death in 1694 saw the cessation of theatrical performance for a period of mourning. With the re-commencement of theatre in 1695 came the separation of the United Company, with the Actor's Company being born and restoring theatrical competition in London once more.[91] Throughout all of this, though, spectacle continued to be seen as a valuable means of drawing and entertaining an audience.

Politics of the period influenced the practices of the theatre in more ways than just forced closures. Monarchs, governments and the court had long been a feature of play narratives, with representations of major political events or key political figures being the inspiration for politically charged plots. As Owen recounts, the Restoration produced a vast number of plays which commented on a range of political events. In her chapter, 'Drama and Political Crisis' she identifies a range of plays which make reference to: Charles II's ascension to the thrown and royalism (*The Royalist*, 1682); the struggles between the Whigs and the Tories during the exclusion crisis (*The Revenge*, 1680 and *City Politics*, 1683); and tensions between Catholicism, Protestantism and puritanism during the popish plot (John Bank's *Vertue Betray'd,* 1682 and *Sir Barnaby Wigg*, 1681).[92] The response to such narratives came in the form of censorship. In 1662 the printed act was put in place as a 'means to compound the obvious ethical and political risks faced by anyone writing about a reigning monarch.'[93]

Theatre was not unaccustomed to censorship following the control during the Commonwealth, but the issue of the printing act meant that plays had to be authorised before they could be printed. This didn't cease printing though, and for those playwrights who wanted these messages to be staged, they devised strategies for overcoming political safeguarding. Coded messages, the use of prologues and epilogues for the playwrights to distance themselves from the themes, and novel ways of staging political statements became entangled with the spectacle of the stage. In Behn's *The Emperor of the Moon* (which will be discussed at length in chapter nine), a reflection of Charles I's beheading is presented by an

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[90] Lois Potter, 'Politics and Popular Culture: The Theatrical Response to the Revolution', in *The Revolution of 1688-89; Changing Perspectives,* ed. by Lois G Schwoerer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) pp. 184-197 (p. 184)

[91] Londré and Berthold, *The History of World Theatre,* p. 39.

[92] Owen, 'Drama and Political Crisis', pp. 158-173. For further reading also see: Derek Hughes, 'Restoration and Settlement: 1660-1688', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre*, ed. by Deborah Payne-Fisk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 127-141.

[93] Patricia Gael, 'Kingship and Catholicism in Posthumous Representations of Charles II. 1685-17', in *The Seventeenth Century*, 29:2 (2014), pp. 173-196 (p. 173-4)

automaton, seemingly signalling to the audience that there was no connection between the playwright herself and what the automaton, which was controlled from off stage, would be saying. Likewise, playwrights such as John Dryden used the spectacle of the stage to demonstrate his royalist allegiance and gratefulness for the return of the public playhouse, as well as encouraging a large, well-paying audience. An example of this can be seen in Dryden and Sir Howard Robert's *The Indian Queen*, which critics argue 'clearly propagandizes for the royalist cause', while also including a range of singing, dancing and aerial spirits.[94] David Bywaters argues that if playwrights 'were to fill the theatres, they would have to please a wide range of potential playgoers, with a wide range of political opinions.'[95]

The financial implications of theatre presented further challenges for drawing and maintaining an interested audience. In her chapter 'Reading Theatre History from Account Books', Judith Milhous argues that we can learn much about the popularity of theatrical genres from the companies' account books. Theatre performance in this period was a costly pastime, with new theatres and theatrical displays being built and created to please an audience, but at the significant expense of the company and actors. Milhous suggests that the average season ran between '160 and 180 nights', but would have contained a large number of plays, as a play was deemed successful if it ran for more than three performances.[96] For Restoration playwrights, this was particularly significant as they 'were paid the receipts (above the house charges) for the third day's performance of their plays.'[97] The importance of creating a popular play, then, meant the difference between a successful theatre or not. From these accounts it is possible to establish that spectacle, it seems, was considered to be a valuable, if costly, investment for the theatre. Those actors who were considered to draw an audience were paid a premium for their skills, and new, up-to-date scenery and machinery was purchased at a high price. Milhous concludes that 'top salaries kept going up; scenery and machinery became vastly more elaborate. Theatres brought in fortunes, but spent them too.'[98] Across the theatres, payments for backstage staff, actors, and properties varied greatly;

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[94] Nancy Klein Maguire, Regicide and Restoration: English Tragicomedy, 1660-1671 (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press,1992), p. 64. John Dryden and Sir Robert Howard, *Four new plays ... as they were acted by His Majesties servants at the Theatre-Royal* (London: Henry Herringman, 1665).

[95] David Bywaters, 'Representations of the Interregnum and Restoration in English Drama of the Early 1660s', in *Review of English Studies*, 60:224 (2009), pp. 255-270 (p. 256)

[96] Judith Milhous, 'Reading Theatre History from Account Books', in *Players, Playwrights and Playhouses: Investigating Performance, 1660-1800,* ed. by. Michael Cordner and Peter Holland. (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 101-134 (p. 112).

[97] Catherine Gallagher, *Nobody's Story: The Vanishing Acts of Women Writers in the Marketplace 1670-1820* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994*)* p. 10. Also see Avery and Scouten's Introduction to *The London Stage. Part 1: 1660-1700* for further details on the payment system.

[98] Milhous, 'Reading Theatre History from Account Books', p. 112.

however, the costs for attendance appears to have remained much the same. Additionally, the theatre buildings themselves cost the theatre companies exceedingly large sums of money, with the financial burden being split between all of the theatre and company members. The building of the Dorset Garden is believed to have cost nearly £9,000 to build in 1671, the equivalent to £1,300,000 in 2014.[99] According to James Wright in *Historia Histronia,* the payment of the theatre was divided between all of the theatre's members, resulting in a reduced income for the actors. He records,

> afterwards very much improved, with the addition of curious machines by Mr. *Betterton* at the new *theater* in *Dorset-Garden,* to the great expense and continual charge of the players. This much impaired their profit over what it was before; for I have been informed, (by one of them) that for several years next after the Restoration, every whole sharer in Mr. *Hart*'s company, got 1000 *l. per an.*[100]

The cost of spectacular elements also had a significant impact on the affordability of the theatre. Milhous suggests that for most of the plays requiring scenery or machinery, they used 'off the rack' equipment which was either multipurpose, or had been designed for another play, but needed to be used again to re-coup some of the costs. This is seen in the staging of Aphra Behn's *The Emperor of the Moon* which is thought to have utilised the scenery and machinery from John Dryden's *Albion and Albanius*, at the company manager's request. Milhous also finds record of the renting of spectacular effects, '[t]he startling £4 [£518 retail price index in 2015 *daily* payment to Hutchinson Mure concerns a mortgage to some £10,000 [£1,290,000 RPI in 2014] loaned 'on the Patant, Cloaths and Scenes'.[101] From the significant payments made in order to better house, display and incorporate spectacle into performance through the use of scenic design, new mechanical technology, skilful actors and well-equipped performance spaces, the popularity value of spectacle must have outweighed the initial financial costs. From the attendance accounts Milhous has also established the prices of attending the theatre which were '4s. in a box, 3s. in the pit, 1s 6d. in the first gallery and 1s. in the second', meaning that

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[99] Figure relates to the retail price index from <www.measuringworth.com>. [accessed 14 May 2016] Measuring worth's current comparison date is 2015.

[100] James Wright, *Historia Histrionica an Historical Account of the English Stage Shewing the Ancient use, Improvement and Perfection of Dramatick Representations in this Nation in a Dialogue of Plays and Players* (London:G. Croom, 1699), p. 11. While Wright's account suggests this amount was small, the relative values in 2014 would have been: *real price* £149,500.00, *labour value* £1,993,000.00, *income value* £4,792,000.00. Comparison established from: www.measuringworth.com

[101] Milhous, 'Reading Theatre History from Account Books', p. 114.

attending the theatre regularly required significant financial investment.[102] The inclusion of spectacle then, appears to have hinged on spectator delight and by drawing and audience, the theatre's in London found success.

Theatrical performance, while popular and enjoyed by many, found itself continually guided and constrained by the political and economic costs of performing. Seen as a public forum, the censorship of themes and narratives was important for those in power. However, playwrights continually tried new ways to circumvent such control in order to share opinions and maintain the popularity of the theatre. With the multiple closures of theatre spaces, expensive machinery and scenery, and the impact of political change, the economic value of the theatre was in constant flux.

## The Theatre-goers

The success of a theatrical performance is intrinsically linked with the enjoyment and response of an audience. Extensive research has been conducted into the make-up of the Restoration audience, the majority of which has concluded that it consisted of spectators from almost every social class.[103] The proportions from the various social ranks are, however, open to much debate, and Edward A. Langham suggests the audience was small due to the previous puritan condemnation of theatre and, further, that the spectators were 'very conscious of themselves'.[104] J. L. Styan meanwhile concludes that the audience was likely to have been filled with the elite, and that 'the social attitude of its audience was the narrowest in the history of public theatre'.[105] The details of Restoration theatre attendees come from Allardyce Nicolls and Emmett L. Avery, whose work provides detailed accounts of audience membership. They also conclude that the audience included people with 'a range of social and intellectual attainments'.[106] Prologues and epilogues provide another useful source of

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[102] According to <www.measuringworth.com> the relative values today would be, £29.10 for the box, £21.80 for the pit, £10.90 in the first gallery, and £7.27 in the second.
[103] Edward A. Langham, 'The Theatre', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre*, ed. by Deborah Payne Fisk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
[104] Langham, 'The Theatre', p. 2.
[105] J.L. Styan, *Restoration Comedy in Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 8.
[106] Emmett L. Avery, 'The Restoration Audience', *Philological Quarterly*, 45 (1996), p. 55; and Allardyce Nicolls, *A History of the Restoration Stage 1660-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940), p. 8: 'The spectators, then, for whom the poets wrote and the actors played were the courtiers and their satellites. The noblemen in the pit and boxes, the fops and beaux and wits or would-be-wits who hung on to their society, the women of the court, depraved and licentious as the men, the courtesans with whom these women of quality moved and conversed as on equal terms, made up at least four fifths of the entire audience. Add a sprinkling of footmen in the upper gallery, a stray country cousin or two scattered throughout the theatre, and the picture of the audience is complete'.

evidence, not only of who attended but their reasons for attending, as these were often used to appeal directly to an individual or group of attendees. For example, in his prologue to *Beauty in Distress* (1698), Peter Anthony Moteux spoke to

> [y]ou, who to chat or ogle fill yond' benches,
> Or tempt with love our modest orange wenches![107]

Harold Love has suggested that there is a misconception in our understanding of Restoration audiences, noting that the 'theatre-going community' was 'composed of roughly equal numbers of whores and time wasters', and that the audience did not contain as many elite members as some believe.[108] Although the formation of the audience is both interesting and informative, it does not directly assist in the understanding of spectacle. This thesis will not, therefore, dwell on further details of individual attendees or their social status; rather, it will focus on how their attendance and enjoyment helps us to understand the contributing factors of a successful Restoration spectacular.

Stage spectacle in the Restoration period pushed the boundaries of expectation, exploring audience association. Michael W. Levine has explained that 'you sense the stimulus but you perceive what it is', and the relevance of this to the spectacular developments of the Restoration stage is vitally important.[109] Playwrights pushed the boundaries of the audience's previous perceptions by altering the expectations of a particular object through 'object transference'. Richard Gregory suggests that 'objects are defined initially by what they can do to us and we to them. Almost whatever a table looks like it is an object for putting things on, and a chair is for sitting on. Certain expectations must be fulfilled'. [110] In the case of Restoration spectators, they could attend the theatre to have such expectations altered through the use of spectacle; for example, during *Psyche Debauch'd* the audience would see a chair and assume that they knew its usage. The chair in this play, however, speaks and flies, using spectacle to alter the audience's perception during the performance.[111]

In *Drama, Stage and Audience*, J. L. Styan highlights the important connection between the audience and the play being presented, suggesting that 'If in the theatre there is

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[107] Peter Anthony Moteux, *Beauty in Distress as it is acted at the Theatre in Little Lincolns-Inn-Fields by His Majesties Servant* (London: Black Swan and Bible, 1698), p. 14.
[108] Harold Love, 'Who Were the Restoration Audience?', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 10 (1986), 21-40.
[109] Michael W. Levine, and J. Shefner, *Fundamentals of Sensation and Perception*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) p. 1.
[110] Richard L. Gregory, *Eye and Brain: The Psychology of Seeing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 245.
[111] Thomas Duffett, *Psyche Debauch'd a Comedy* (London: John Smith, 1678).

no interaction between stage and audience, the play is dead, bad, or non-existent'.[112] What Styan is exploring here is the creation of enjoyment through audience interaction, in this instance not physically but rather through perception. Theatrical perception has been examined and discussed at length, generating performance practices and concepts in contemporary theatre.[113] However, in its most fundamental form, perception is the relationship the spectator has with what is being presented, generating meaning from images and speech.[114] As the *Oxford English Dictionary* usefully defines the term 'perception', it is 'the capacity to be affected by a physical object, phenomenon, etc., without direct contact with it; an instance of such influence'.[115] This concept is of particular importance for this thesis and its approach to Restoration theatre, due to its extensive focus on visual effects.

The importance of spectacle to the Restoration audience provides a useful example of the stage interacting with spectator perception, through its extensive adaptations of plays and new writings. Playwrights from the period used mechanics, large set pieces and scenes to enhance new and existing plays, generating stimuli. These additions excited the Restoration audience through displays of lavish, visual and audible spectacle, creating an interaction between stage and audience, including large scale, unrealistic spectaculars featuring people and objects descending from the skies. These produced a new trend in performance. As Hume suggests, 'fickle breezes of fashion and sudden gusts of fad were of enormous importance to any Restoration playwright who wanted to eat.'[116] Spectators held critical sway over the success of a particular play, and Hume continues: 'even the well-to-do writers tried for hits, and almost all of the professional writers were exquisitely sensitive to what was currently successful. Hence they imitated each other, plagiarized, adapted, and burlesqued each other's works'.[117] It is apparent, therefore, that the addition of the spectacular was popular amongst spectators.

An analysis of the way that spectacle affected Restoration audiences is helped by the fact that there were several well-known figures from the period who recorded their experiences of some shows. The challenging of perception by playwrights, and the act of object transference prompted responses from audience members such as Samuel Pepys,

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[112] J.L. Styan, *Drama Stage and Audience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1975), p. 224.
[113] For example, see Willmar Sauter, *The Theatrical Event: Dynamics of Performance and Perception* (University of Iowa Press, 2000); these include recognisable references to race, nationality, culture, and politics whilst developing a 'theatrical event' through the perception of the spectator and the work of the performer.
[114] Michael W. Levine and J. Shefner, *Fundamentals of Sensation and Perception* (Oxford New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).
[115] OED.com *Perception*, n. 1.b.
[116] Hume, *Development,* p. 17.
[117] Hume, *Development*, p. 17.

Colley Cibber, and John Evelyn, who all kept diaries detailing their attendance at spectacular performances, and their enjoyment of such shows. Colley Cibber for instance explains

> [Sir William Davenant, therefore, master of the Duke's company, to make head against their success, was forced to add spectacle and music to action; and to introduce a new species of plays, since called dramatic operas, of which kind were the *Tempest, Psyche, Circe*, and others, all set off with the most expensive decorations of scenes and habits, with the best voices and dancers.] This sensual supply of sight and sound coming in to the assistance of the weaker party, it was no wonder they should grow too hard for sense and simple nature, when it is considered how many more People there are, that can see and hear, than think and judge. So wanton a change of the public taste, therefore, began to fall as heavy upon the King's company as their greater excellence in action had before fallen upon their competitors: Of which encroachment upon wit several good prologues in those days frequently complained [118]

Cibber here provides direct proof that the Restoration stage introduced a range of stimuli which were perceived as spectacular due to their altered usage or new employment, designed to appeal to both the 'thinkers' and the 'watchers' – these include for example, women, machines, scenery, costumes, singing, dancing and performance styles such as Commedia dell'Arte. He also notes the success of the Duke's Company over the King's when these additions were added, confirming that spectacular performances appealed to the Restoration audience with increasing popularity.

## Current Restoration Research

Spectacle and theatre practice in the Restoration period is clearly a complex matter. Before starting another investigation into Restoration theatre, and specifically spectacle, it is therefore important to consider how current research on the Restoration outlines what is already understood about theatre in this period, and the way in which spectacle has been examined and explored. Milhous's defining work on the 'Dorset Garden Spectaculars' is of course a key text for the development of this thesis. Her research demonstrates the variation in quantity of spectacle as a means of establishing the pinnacle of spectacular presentation. Milhous is not the only scholar to have considered the role of spectacle in Restoration production though. As has already been outlined, the work of Sager and Butterfield provides a brief history and context for the use of special effects, and the findings of Milhous offer a current characterisation of spectacular. Previous research has also traced the history of

[118] Colley Cibber, *An Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber* < http://www.gutenberg.org/files/44064/44064-h/44064-h.htm> [Accessed 17 October 2015], p. 182.

spectacle from the court masque to the public playhouse. In his book, *Court Masques*, David Linley concludes that

> [t]he masque had a brief but splendid life as the dominant mode of entertainment at the early Stuart court, and it has increasingly come to be recognized as a genre offering a fascinating insight into the culture and politics of the early seventeenth century.[119]

Court masques are, therefore, an important consideration for the foundation of the Restoration spectaculars development. Further existing understandings of Restoration theatre can be acquired from Robert D. Hume, Jocelyn Powell, and Dawn Lewcock, as they provide a detailed exploration of the period. While other interesting research has been published that has relevance to this thesis, it tends to focus on a specific playwright, play, or theme. For that reason, Hume, Powell and Lewcock have been identified as providing a fitting framework for exploring the spectacular.

Robert D. Hume suggests that the Restoration period starts with a flourishing of Carolean drama (1660-85). Highlighting the addition of actresses, new playhouses, scenes and machines, and music and dance, he argues:

> [i]n brief, the important factors are the creation of a patent monopoly; the introduction of actresses; new designs for playhouses; a rapid increase in the use of scenery and machines; and growing emphasis on music and dance. The result is a fairly quick appearance of new fashions in drama. The years 1660-5 see clear signs of the new directions. Then the theatres were closed for nearly a year and a half on account of plague, and thereafter one finds not post-Caroline experiments but the exuberant flowering of 'Restoration' – or more properly, Carolean – drama. [120]

Hume's work is particularly important when constructing a full picture of the Restoration stage, and its diverse play genres, but his key interest is in plays that were more successful for their meaning than for their spectacular dimensions. In this, Hume follows the lead of John Dryden, who scorned stage spectacle in his prologue for the opening of the new playhouse in 1674. Dryden indicates that playwrights and theatre managers were effectively required to make use of spectacle because of its popularity:

> [f]or fame and honour we no longer strive;
>
> We yield in both, and only beg to live;
> Unable to support their vast expense,

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[119] David Linley, *Court Masques: Jacobean and Carolean Entertainments, 1605-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p 52.

[120] See Hume, *The Development of the English Stage*, p. 7; see also p. 9 for his further discussion of the term 'Carolean'.

> Who build and treat with such magnificence […]
> To build a play-house, while you throw down plays;
> Whilst scenes, machines, and empty *opera's* reign,
> And for the pencil you the pen disdain.[121]

Understanding that spectacular elements were added to plays through popular insistence is essential in concluding that spectaculars cannot be seen as a genre in itself. Rather, spectaculars are elements which appear in all of the categories outlined by Hume.

In contrast, Jocelyn Powell provides a detailed analysis of the many operations of the stage, providing a valuable insight into its practical workings. For instance, using the 1674 performance of *The Tempest*, he explores the use of machinery, plot changes, and the resulting audience response. Powell concludes of Restoration drama that

> It was, indeed, a new kind of theatre, and the introduction of scenes and actresses, the delight in music and spectacle, and the determination to appeal to the educated and fashionable audience created a new style in English Drama.[122]

Powell's exploration of physical practices of the Restoration stage is important for identifying spectacle as a mechanical device, positioning stage practices in relation to audience response, and prompting a consideration of why spectacle was being added to plays. This thesis seeks to develop his understanding, widening his explanations and allowing some of his analysis to be applied to a larger number of plays. Powell's semi-practical perspective will be furthered in this thesis's commitment to assess the playing spaces first, before approaching the plays.

Focusing on the developments of the two theatre companies, a third key critic, Dawn Lewcock, concludes that Restoration theatre is characterised by its use of a scenic stage and elaborate effects. She identifies a genre which she refers to as 'operatic spectacle', arguing that

> the changes in theatrical conventions which followed in presentations by the Duke's Company, were due in part to Davenant's imaginative use of certain of the physical components of masque staging, especially the sliding shutters in a theatre with a forestage. Whereas the developments of operatic spectacle, which occurred in parallel, derived in part from the use by King's Company of the techniques for engineering the spectacular effects of the transformation scenes of the masque stage.[123]

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[121] John Dryden, *The Poems of John Dryden* (London: 1913).
[122] Jocelyn Powell, *Restoration Theatre Production* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984), p. 4.
[123] Dawn Lewcock, *Sir William Davenant, the Court Masque, and the English Seventeenth-century Scenic Stage* c.1605 – c. 1700 (New York: Cambria Press, 2008), p. xix.

Lewcock's work provides an interesting comparison to Milhous's. Lewcock provides evidence for the King's Company against Milhous's Duke's, suggesting that there were more forms of spectacle than the Dorset Garden ones set forth by Milhous, and defining spectacle as a genre through comparison between the two companies. Although such a comparison between the two companies is vital in understanding the use of spectacle, an adequate definition of spectacle needs to cover both the Duke's and the King's, and, indeed, the later United Company, as well as exploring the period's many performance spaces.

## Framing Spectacle with Contemporary Critical Theory

Re-tracing these scholars' steps is not the intention of this thesis. Rather, by re-examining the play texts and practices of the period, it hopes to shed new light on the role of spectacle in the theatre. One way of achieving this is through the application of more contemporary frameworks. Applying present-day theory to the plays produced during the Restoration allows us to understand, in greater detail, the successes and failures of the Restoration playhouse. Laura Mulvey's gaze theory is interesting here, as it allows us to draw on more contemporary understandings of spectating, and as such, to appreciate further the response to watching both male and female performers on the stage, as she offers an informative explanation of the power which can be employed through watching. Drawing on Freud's work, Mulvey argues

> [a]t the extreme, it [gaze] can become fixated into a perversion, producing obsessive voyeurs and Peeping Toms, whose only sexual satisfaction can come from watching, in an active controlling sense, an objectified other.[124]

Moreover, Mulvey suggests,

> [i]n a world ordered by sexual imbalance, pleasure in looking has been split between active/male and passive/female. The determining male gaze projects its fantasy onto the female figure which is styled accordingly.[125]

Referring specifically to the newly added actress then, a similar analytical framework defined by psychologist Karen Horney also remarks that there is a 'socially sanctioned right of all males to sexualize females, regardless of age or status.'[126] Elizabeth Howe indeed suggests

[124] Laura Mulvey, 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema', *Screen*, 16:3 (1975), 6-18.
[125] Mulvey, 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema', p. 11.
[126] cited in Marcia Westkott, *The Feminist Legacy of Karen Horney* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 95.

that during the Restoration there was a shift in attitudes generally which helped to position the actresses as a popular form of visual entertainment. She explains that

> [t]he acceptance of women players after 1660 has been related to a profound change in contemporary attitudes to women, female sexuality and theatre among the upper and middle classes […]. Whereas during the late sixteenth century representations were […] subject to vigorous attack, after 1660 they were positively relished.[127]

Research into male and female performers in this period, then, can be enlightened by the continued application of such theories – in this case, to better understand how the desires and delights generated by watching performers might have secured them as visual and aural forms of spectacle. This will be explored further in both chapters seven and eight.

Moreover, the study of semiotics can help to illuminate the workings of Restoration theatre. While this thesis will not draw directly on the complex and intricate network of sign systems, it will draw some understanding from the range of research conducted into the semiotic theatre. This thesis will not, therefore, be attempting to apply to performances in the late seventeenth century theatre a rigorous and detailed semiotic analysis which critics such as Elam might deem appropriate, because a full semiotic analysis of a performance which exists only in the past is not possible. This thesis will, though, attempt to imagine what that live performance might have been in all its complexity and apply some semiotic thinking to the event, even though we can only partly reconstruct performance based on the available evidence. For this reason, the discussion of semiotics will be used to draw our attention to the various sign-systems which are present in theatrical performance, whether that be one performed in the present day or a historical account of one. A simple and broad understanding of semiotics then will be used when rationalising the role of nature and weather, actors, and automata in this thesis as a means of teasing out some of the intricately woven layers of spectacle. While semiotics as a discipline was not developed until the 20th Century, theatre practitioners have always had an instinctive grasp of sign-systems and signifiers, and the founding principles on which semiotics is based can be seen in action in the performances of the Restoration. In *The Field of Drama,* Martin Esslin contends that

> [a]ll elements of dramatic performance – the language of the dialogue, the setting, the gestures, costumes, make-up and voice-inflections of the actors, as

[127] Howe, *The First English Actresses*, p. 21.

> well as a multitude of other signs – each in their own way contributes to the meaning of performance.[128]

Esslin here attempts to define semiotics as a sign-system which communicates with the audience, in order to share with them a further meaning than the one being expressed. As Esslin proposes, such meaning-making can be detected in many elements of performance, and when this understanding is applied to the theatre of the Restoration, such interwoven meanings can be found in the formation of spectacle. Numerous leading scholars have developed understandings of theatrical semiotics, including Keir Elam whose *The Semiotics of Theatre and Drama* provides a historical overview of the study's developments, proposing that as our understanding and appreciation of the intricacies of performance develop, so does our understanding of the hidden language of the theatre.[129]

While many definitions and variations of semiotics exist, Elam provides the most fitting for this thesis with his explanation that theatrical presentation is dependent on the de-coding of information. He proposes that there are terms, or signs: objects, people or moments which are understood for what they are, such as a traffic light. These signs share a code, a meaning or signification which is connected to the sign. In order for the code to represent a further meaning, it must have a pre-existing relationship with the sign. Semiotics, therefore, analyses the 'correlational rules' of meaning between the thing being represented and the thing it signifies, meaning that in order for an object to act as a semiotic device, it must possess some relationship to the audience; again Elam uses the red traffic light representing danger as an example.[130] Developing these ideas, John Franceschina proposes that in different periods of time, these 'correlational rules' alter and are shaped by 'sociological, political, acoustical , semantic, and theatrical constructions or conventions'.[131]

Semiotics concerns itself with three inter-related categories: semantics, the relationship between things and what they represent; syntactics, a linguistic term relating to sentence structure; and pragmatics, the way in which meaning is advanced through context. For this thesis, the concepts of semiotic meaning-making, and semantic representation will be applied, in order to understand how the Restoration stage uses the connections between nature and other forces, such as religion. C.S. Pierce's tripartite typology is especially useful here, using the concepts of icon, which 'represents its object "mainly by similarity" between

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[128] Martin Esslin, *The Field of Drama: How the Signs of Drama Create Meaning on Stage and Screen* (London: Methuen, 1987), p. 16.
[129] Keir Elam, *The Semiotics of Theatre and Drama* (New York and London: 2003).
[130] Elam, *The Semiotics of Theatre and Drama*, p. 30.
[131] John Franceschina, 'Shadow and Substance in Aphra Behn's *The Rover*: Semiotics in Restoration Performance', *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660-1700*, 19:1 (1995), 29-42 (p. 29).

the sign-vehicle and its signified'; index – 'a sign which refers to the object that it denotes by virtue of being really affected by that object'; and symbol – 'a sign which refers to the object that it denotes by virtue of a law, usually an association of general ideas.'[132]

A further understanding of semiotics which will be useful to this work is provided by Tadeusz Kowzan. Kowzan's sign-system highlights the division between auditive and visual signs of performance, and can additionally be used to dissect the attributes of the actor and the stage. By dividing stage practices into smaller connected categories, Kowzan is able to assign elements of performance a role within the broader semiotics of a performance. For example, in the table below we can see that 'word and tone' fall within the spoken text category, whereas physical movements such as 'mime and gesture' fall within 'expressions of the body', giving each performative element a narrative purpose. Additionally, Kowzan assigns the action and the category to either the 'actor' or 'outside of the actor', signalling the variation between the semiotic signs which can be achieved and generated by the material elements of the stage and the human element.

[132] Charles S. Peirce, *Collected Papers (*Cambridge, MA: Harvard U.P., 1931–58), pp. 248-99.

Table 1: Sign System - Tadeusz Kowzan

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Word<br>2. Tone | Spoken text | Actor | Auditive signs | Time | Auditive signs (actor) |
| 3. Mime<br>4. Gesture<br>5. Movement | Expression of the body | | Visual signs | Space and time | Visual signs (actor) |
| 6. Make-up<br>7. Hairstyle<br>8. Costume | Actor's external appearance | | | Space | Visual signs (actor) |
| 9. Props<br>10. Décor<br>11. Lighting | Appearance of the stage | Outside of Actor | | Space and time | Visual signs (outside of actor) |
| 12. Music<br>13. Sound effects | Inarticulate sounds | | Auditive signs | Time | Auditive signs (outside of actor) |

Importantly for our exploration of spectacle, Kowzan's division between visual and auditive signs confirms that both the aural and the visual attributes of the stage had the ability to carry and transfer additional meaning for the audience.[133] This typology of semiotic signs will be important for all of the explorations in this thesis as it attempts to address not only what the audience saw and heard, but what these elements of spectacle generated in terms of a complete performance. As the study of semiotics is vast, with many scholars having

[133] Kowzan's section grouping surrounding mime, gesture, and movement is aligned with the character style of Commedia dell'Arte and its physical stock-characters which demonstrates that the spectacle of this performance system is centred on their visual and physical signs. Likewise, his third category defines ornamental adornments as part of the sign system of the actor, for the Restoration this specifically can be related to the character of the Fop or the beau, a character visually spectacular for his use of costume and cosmetics as a defining characteristic. Lastly, the final of the visual systems of signs attributed to the actor includes props, décor and lighting, closely aligning with the stage properties drawn upon by mythological characters of the Restoration whom used the mechanical and scenic capabilities of the Restoration stage to further their visual spectacle. This will be discussed at length in chapter eight on Masculine Spectacle.

developed their own understanding of the framework, this thesis will draw upon on the visual, physical and audible elements of spectacle featured in the understandings above.

However, while this thesis will draw on the study of gaze and semiotics as a way of further explaining or exploring some elements of spectacle, on the whole it will endeavour to limit the application of present-day practices, instead exploring the developments of Restoration spectacle from the physical stage and performance itself, drawing as much from history and the plays as possible. With a reliance on stage directions, written accounts in support of those, and illustrations of performance techniques, this thesis will be grounded in historical evidence where possible, rather than assumption.

## Outline of Thesis

By paying attention to the more intricate elements of spectacle, alongside the use of machinery and large set pieces, this thesis will identify alternative forms of wonder which contribute to a spectacular performance. This will be presented in nine chapters. Seven of these will represent individual elements of theatrical presentation which I believe need to be re-framed or explored, in order to fully appreciate their contribution to Restoration spectacle, and to identify elements which could be illuminating as unexamined forms of spectacle. The beginning and end of this thesis feature more fulsome discussion of two plays in particular: *The Siege of Rhodes* (1663), and *The Emperor of the Moon* (1687). The thesis begins with the elements of spectacle previously addressed by scholars, before moving to new elements which this thesis contends to be spectacular, and therefore, part of the reframing of spectacle in this period. As such, these chapter lengths are smaller to begin with and lead to larger chapters towards the end, where elements not previously examined for their spectacular qualities will be explored. The discussion will draw on both well-known and lesser-known plays by a range of writers, so as to broaden current perceptions of plays from the period, especially those which utilised some form of spectacle.

**Chapter one** explores early forms of spectacle in William Davenant's *The Siege of Rhodes* (1663). Staged at the beginning of the period, and being adapted from earlier work in order to include changing scenery, *The Siege of Rhodes* provides a helpful example of the early Restoration use of spectacle.

**Chapter two** further examines the performance space and its use of the trap door. Drawing on previous scholarly research, this chapter seeks to understand exactly what it was about the Restoration stage space and its floors that enabled spectacle to be created.

**Chapter three** focuses on changing scenery. While there has been important scholarly work conducted into the spectacle of scenery, this chapter will look to reframe the purpose of scenery, seeing it as a visual delight, a moving wonder and a scene-setting device.

**Chapter four** considers representations of nature in the playing space. Drawing upon semiotic theory, this chapter seeks to understand the ways in which representation of nature, such as thunder and storms, added to the spectacle of theatre through meaning, audible and visual displays.

**Chapter five** addresses machinery in the theatre. With a distinct focus on large-scale machinery, such as flying machines, this chapter draws on stage directions to understand what the theatres could achieve through the addition of machinery, and how this affected the spectacular nature of the plays.

**Chapter six** deals with the spectacle associated with puppetry, automata and stage monsters. Drawing on new and historical developments in this area, this section seeks to comprehend how such elements were used in Restoration theatre, and in what ways they were an alternative form of spectacle to the actor.

**Chapter seven** is concerned with the role of the actress in Restoration plays. Framed by both semiotics and gaze theory, it explores the sexually driven delight as well as the spectacle of beauty connected with actresses' bodies and their skills.

**Chapter eight** addresses the male actor, who has not previously been considered as a particularly notable spectacle in plays of the Restoration. This chapter considers the training of the actors from oration to action and then applies those teachings to two characters: Harlequin and the Fop, in order to examine the ways in which they were physically and visually spectacular.

**Chapter nine** begins by incorporating Baker's reflection on *The Emperor of the Moon*, which offers a view-point that prompts a challenging of current assumptions. Despite using the same machinery as *Albion and Albanius,* performed the previous season, Behn's play is

not part of the spectacular list put forth by Milhous in her definition of the 'Dorset Garden Spectaculars'.[134] On the contrary, this thesis will seek to argue that *The Emperor of the Moon* is as – if not more – spectacular than those in Milhous's list. Chapter nine thereby concludes this thesis by applying the elements of spectacle outlined throughout the thesis to a play which is not included in Milhous's definition of 'spectaculars' but which requires re-examination in terms of spectacular delight. Performed in the middle of the period that this thesis addresses, it is representative of Restoration plays which contained extensive amounts of spectacle that current definitions overlook.

[134] Milhous, 'The Multimedia Spectacular', p. 43.

# Chapter One

# Early Spectacle: William Davenant's *The Siege of Rhodes* (1656, 1659, 1660, 1662)

*The Siege of Rhodes,* first staged at Rutland House in 1656, established William Davenant as the founder of painted scenography on the English public stage, owing to his inclusion of 'prospective scenes' in the opera.[1] From its move in 1659 to the Cock-Pit Theatre and its later transfer to Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre in 1663 once the patent had been issued, the play gathered spectacular momentum; this was through the insertion of additional scenery, described by Davenant as 'lately enlarged'.[2] From the first script, to those later edited, *The Siege of Rhodes* signals the beginning of an important shift in theatrical presentation, where spectacle made its way into plays and operas of the period, not just the masques played at court. Moreover, the opera commenced a pivotal period in scenic, mechanical and musical development, all of which contributed to the overall spectacle of the performance. As Jocelyn Powell notes, this play was the first time 'scenic apparatus of the Court masque and the musical conventions of the Italian opera' were utilised on the public stage during the Restoration'.[3] This chapter will build on Powell's insight by comparing Davenant's adapted and updated scripts, paying particular attention to their different playhouses, in order to better understand how *The Siege of Rhodes* contributed to the formation and growth of spectacle in English theatre.

The Court masque had utilised painted, perspective scenery long before it became a feature in public Restoration theatre. In *The Illusion of Power: Political Theater in the English Renaissance*, Stephen Orgel recounts the numerous attributes of the masque, which positioned them as an early form of performance spectacle. He notes, '[m]asques were games and shows, triumphs and celebrations; they were for the court and about the court, and their

[1] William Davenant, *The Siege of Rhodes* (London: Henry Herringman, 1659), title page. The term opera is adopted in this period to relate to any play containing music as part of the performance. For more information, see the work of Judith Milhous, Curtis Price and Robert D. Hume, *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-century London: The King's Theatre, Haymarket, 1778-1791* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), and Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker, *A History of the Opera: The Last Four Hundred Years* (London: Penguin, 2012)
[2] William Davenant, *The Siege of Rhodes* (London: Henry Herringman, 1663), title page. Davenant's play also exists in a further copy, suggesting that the play was revived in 1670 season, detailed as being performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields.
[3] Jocelyn Powell, *Restoration Theatre Production* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984), p. 39.

seriousness was indistinguishable from their recreative quality'.[4] Earlier, Lily B. Campbell had linked masques to 'pageants'; 'the early masques,' which she says, 'had scenery of a pageant nature constructed on moveable cars'.[5] Masques were, however, known for more than their scenic spectacle, as Dawn Lewcock further elaborates,

> [p]resenting a masque was not simply a matter of designing and building elaborate scenery as background to the singing and dancing. The writers, the designers, and the audience believed in involved cultural and philosophical ideas in a multimedia event.[6]

It was this elaborate style of decoration and the presentation of philosophical and political ideas, alongside the restraints placed on public performance that influenced William Davenant's first endeavour at Rutland House: *The First Day's Entertainment at Rutland House by Declamation and Musick; after the Manner of the Ancients* (1656).

As far as we know, Davenant's original 'entertainments' at Rutland House contained no visual acts of spectacle, although his script contained repeated discussions of its possible inclusion into theatrical practices. Rutland House itself did not have any great capacity for ambitious staging, being a small room not designed as a theatre.[7] Davenant was, however, intrigued by the possibilities of spectacle in other performances and in *The First Day's Entertainment at Rutland House,* he writes a fictional debate in which he demonstrates his own delight in scenery, and seeks to undermine the arguments of those who do not appreciate it. As an advocate of scenery Davenant writes,

> [w]ould you meet to be delighted with scenes? Which is, to be entertained with the deception of motion and transposition of lights; where, whilst you think you see a great battle, you are sure to get nothing by the victory. You gaze on imaginary woods and meadows, where you can neither fell nor mow; on seas, where you have no ships, and on river, where you catch no fish. But, you may find it more profitable to retire to your houses, and there study how to gain by deceiving others, then to meet in theatres, where you must pay for suffering yourselves to be deceived […] He proceeds next against the ornaments of a public *opera*, music and scenes. […] He is offended at scenes in the *opera*, as at the useless visions of imagination.[8]

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[4] Stephen Orgel, *The Illusion of Power: Political Theater in the English Renaissance* (Berkley, LA and London: University of California Press, 1975), p. 38.
[5] Lily Bess Campbell, *Scenes and Machines on the English Stage during the Renaissance: a Classical Revival* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1960), p. 103.
[6] Dawn Lewcock, *Sir William Davenant, the Court Masque, and the English Seventeenth Century* (New York: Cambria Press, 2008), p. 30
[7] This is later acknowledged by Davenant as he discussed the limited size of the scenery he could use, and the way in which the space 'hindered the splendour of our scenes'. Davenant, *The Siege of Rhodes*.
[8] William Davenant, *The First Day's Entertainment at Rutland House by Declamation and Musick; after the Manner of the Ancients* (London: Henry Herringman, 1656)

Here, Davenant highlights the delights of scenery and the spectacle it could create. In framing this discussion as false dislike of spectacle, Davenant's passage acts a double bluff and hopes to spark interest and debate around its use. It perhaps came as no surprise therefore, that when Davenant staged his first public opera, its focus was on the extent to which he could create a spectacular scenic display.

We cannot, of course, know exactly what these various performances actually looked like. However, we do have some unusually detailed evidence from which we can imaginatively reconstruct the development of the play in performance. Three published versions of *The Siege of Rhodes* still survive and these trace the three performance spaces which Davenant and his early opera occupied. From a comparative analysis of these published versions of the opera, it becomes apparent that he was increasingly aware of the values of scenic design, with its spectacular and appealing outcomes, adapting and re-performing his play numerous times with the added scenery.

It is not the case that *The Siege of Rhodes* simply plays an important role in our current understanding of Restoration spectacle merely because it was the first play on the public English stage to utilise scenographic decoration. Rather, it is more closely concerned with the detail and dedication with which Davenant recorded and commented on his desires for, and use of, this early form of spectacle. Additionally, Davenant perceives it to be his purpose to actualise the spectacle of scenery in Restoration theatre, as he becomes increasingly aware of the possibilities. On the title page of his 1656 version, Davenant provides our first record of his use of scenery. He writes,

*THE SIEGE OF RHODES*

Made a representation by the art of prospective in scenes. And the story sung in *recitative* music.[9]

After which he notes in the foreword '[t]o the reader' that

> [i]t has been often wished that our scenes (we having obliged our selves to the variety of five changes) according to the ancient dramatic distinctions made for time) had not been confined to eleven foot in height and about fifteen in depth

demonstrating that while the scenes were not as large as he would have liked, they did provide spectacle through their ability to represent a variety of places.[10] While plays much later in the period, and indeed Davenant's own adaption of this play in 1663, contained many

[9] Davenant, *The Siege of Rhodes,* (1656), sig. title page.
[10] Davenant, *The Siege of Rhodes,* (1656), sig. A2.

more than five scene changes, the first performance of *The Siege of Rhodes* presented multiple beautiful images, places, and a clear advance in theatre style.

Included in the opening scene before the first entry are a range of scenographic effects, and the stage directions read:

> [t]he curtain being draw up, a lightsome sky appeared, discovering a maritime coast, full of craggy rocks, and high cliffs, with several verdures naturally growing upon such situations; and afar off, the true prospect of the city of Rhodes, when it was in prosperous estate with so much view of the gardens and hills about it, as the narrowness of the room could allow the scene. In that part of the horizon, terminated by the sea, was represented the *Turkish* fleet, making towards a promontory, some few miles distant from the town; […] town besieged; […] prospect of Mount *Philermus*; […] representation of a general assault on the town; […] *Castle on the Mount Philermus.*[11]

To those unable to watch the show and enjoy the detailed spectacle of the painted scenes, Davenant describes the assembly of his scenery beautifully, providing some additional invaluable detail on the construction of the scenes themselves. Stating first that they are 'confined to eleven foot in height and about fifteen in depth', Davenant acknowledges that the size of these scenes was restricted by the size of Rutland House, as he suggests it was too narrow to make allowance for anything larger.[12] The detail in which Davenant preserves the scenic design of his play says something more than that they were beautiful; his details provide a source for understanding the significance of spectacle generated in Restoration theatre, and that size-restricted scenes could be just one small element of a much wider intrigue. Moreover, his descriptions permit the reader to capture the scene, to imagine it in the mind's eye and to draw on their own experiences. Creating the wonder of the outside into the theatre space was something that Davenant's plays suggest he was increasingly eager to achieve. Despite contemporary critics arguing that this performance paved a way for the inclusion of painted scenery on the public stage, Davenant felt it important that his reader note the scenes did not have the 'splendour' they ought, forming an apology for not equalling the presentations of the masques, or a suggestion for where he saw spectacular scenes heading in the future.

While many of the opening pages of the three versions remain the same, an address to the Earl of Clarendon and a change to the number of characters are added to the 1663 copy. In the two earlier versions, published in 1656 and 1659, the play contains just seven

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[11] Davenant, *The Siege of Rhodes,* (1656), pp. 2-3.

[12] Davenant, *The Siege of Rhodes,* (1656), sig. A3. Rutland house was not designed to be a theatre and was in fact Davenant's private residence at the time of staging *The Siege of Rhodes.* See Darryll Grantley, *Historical Dictionary of British Theatre: Early Period* (Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2013).

characters, with a note from Davenant suggesting that this is all that the space could hold. Interestingly, only one of these characters was female. Despite their official inclusion in public performance not taking place until after the 1660 patent, it is important to note that this character does appear to have been played by a woman, Mrs. Coleman, and that Davenant was equally progressive in his casting choices as he was in his scenic designs. By 1663, there were 14 characters, four of which were female, adding a further degree of spectacle – that of the actress.[13] Along with the rest of the play, the two later versions additionally contain four choruses, including a chorus of women, soldiers, and men, suggesting that the Cock-Pit and the Lincoln's Inn Fields had the ability to hold more performers, which implies they had a larger stage space.

In comparison to the 1656, both the 1659 and the 1663 versions have more scenic opportunities added. While both versions of the opera contain a second part, Davenant also includes additional spoken scenes in the first half of the 1663 version, calling for additional settings constructed by the use of scenery. The stage direction for the first new scene described by Davenant says *'[t]he scene is changed, and the city, Rhodes, appears beleaguered at sea and land'.*[14] While this early scene presented by Davenant gives the audience another visual display to enjoy, the real spectacle of this change is apparent when

> [t]he further part of the scene is opened, and a Royal Pavilion appears displayed; representing *Solyman's* imperial throne and about it are discerned the quarters of his *bassa's*, and inferior officers.[15]

Although we cannot know what this actually looked like in practice, the intention is clear, and this passage suggests that both the Cock-Pit and the Lincoln's Inn Fields provided Davenant with the opportunity to present additional scenes and extend the stage's perspective.[16]

In a further use of spectacle, Davenant includes a prologue in the 1663 version and, much like his foreword '[t]o the reader' he uses this direct address to discuss some of his scenographic choices. He notes

> [t]hen his contracted scenes should wider be,
> And moved by greater engines, till you see
> (whilst you securely sit) fierce amies meet,
> And raging seas disperse a fighting fleet.[17]

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[13] For more information, please see chapter seven on the Restoration actress.
[14] Davenant, *The Siege of Rhodes* 1663, p.9.
[15] Davenant, *The Siege of Rhodes* (1659), and (1663), p. 14.
[16] The full spectacular advantage of changing scenery will be discussed in chapter three.
[17] Davenant, *The Siege of Rhodes* (1663), sig. B.

Here Davenant assists with our understanding of the extended playing space, and the additional room on the stage floor to support the housing of larger scenery. Additionally, he adds more scenic locations, such as a 'base camp', 'Rhodes by night', and the sound of battle – all of which would call for further forms of technical design, such as lighting, props, and sounds effects, which were not called for in the previous versions.

The information provided by Davenant in the recording of his play is invaluable in its reference to stage practices and design. However, without further evidence it is not possible to distinguish between those records which recount was desired, and those that were actualised in performance. Davenant's meticulous recordings of the expectation for his scenes have contributed to the extensive research conducted in to the viability and possible staging. Fortunately, the illustration (below) of the frontispiece from *The Siege of Rhodes* drawn by John Webb, survives, giving invaluable evidence and support to Davenant's desired staging, regarding the use of painted scenery in Davenant's performances. These appear to align specifically with the scenes added in the 1659 and 1663 versions of the opera.[18] The image of the opera's frontispiece below details the presence of columns, and behind that, rock formations painted onto the shutters at the side of the stage. The images for the play are drawn with the proscenium frame and demonstrate a perspective view for the audience. The drawings by Webb are detailed, and the representations of some of the play's later scenes are elaborate and spectacular, even on paper. In conjunction with the detail provided by Davenant, including the gardens, hills and the '*Turkish fleet*', the spectacular appearance of this scenography is easily seen and further imagined in drawings.

[18]Janet Clare, 'Theatre and Commonwealth', *The Cambridge History of British Theatre, Volume 1*, ed by. Jane Milling and Peter Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 458-77 (pp. 472-3)

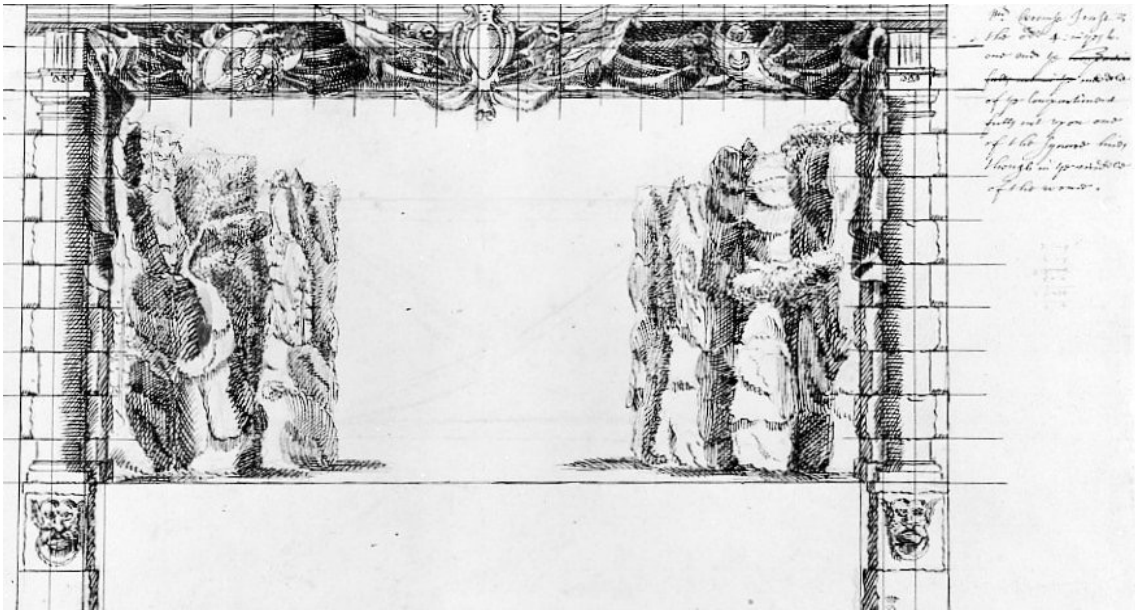

Illustration 1: The Siege of Rhodes. Frontispiece and wings. John Webb.Held by The Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement. Cited in Jane Milling and Peter Thomson, *The Cambridge History of British Theatre, volume 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

While the frontispiece for *The Siege of Rhodes* (Illustration 1) provides a visual example of the opening of the play, the true spectacle comes from the new ability to visually move a play's setting from place to place. Davenant's play and John Webb's designs provide the most significant contribution to our knowledge of painted scenes; this is due to the number of surviving images and the extensive manner with which Davenant recorded his visions. Below is a selection of shutter designs – these were almost certainly background shutters, moving the audience visually through the scenes of the play.

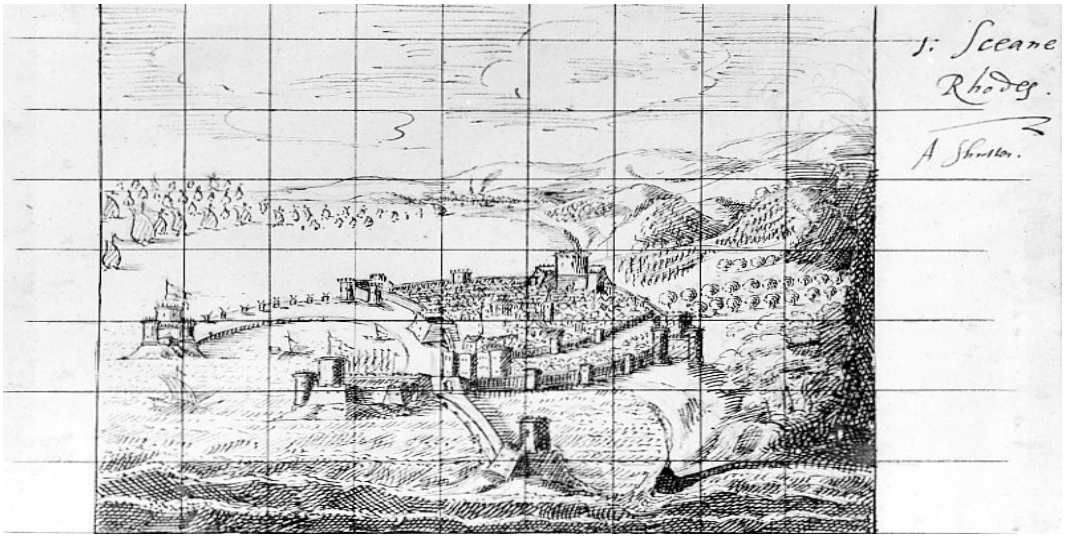


Illustration 2: The Siege of Rhodes. Design for shutters. John Webb.Held by The Trustees of Chatsworth Settlement. Prospect of Rhodes. Cited in Jane Milling and Peter Thomson, *The Cambridge History of British Theatre, volume 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

Illustration two depicts the town with its surrounding land. As this was one of the backdrop designs, the shutters, in perspective, would have led to a detailed encapsulation of the scene of Rhodes. The amount of detail provided by Webb frames the scene with the spectacle of an on-looking city.

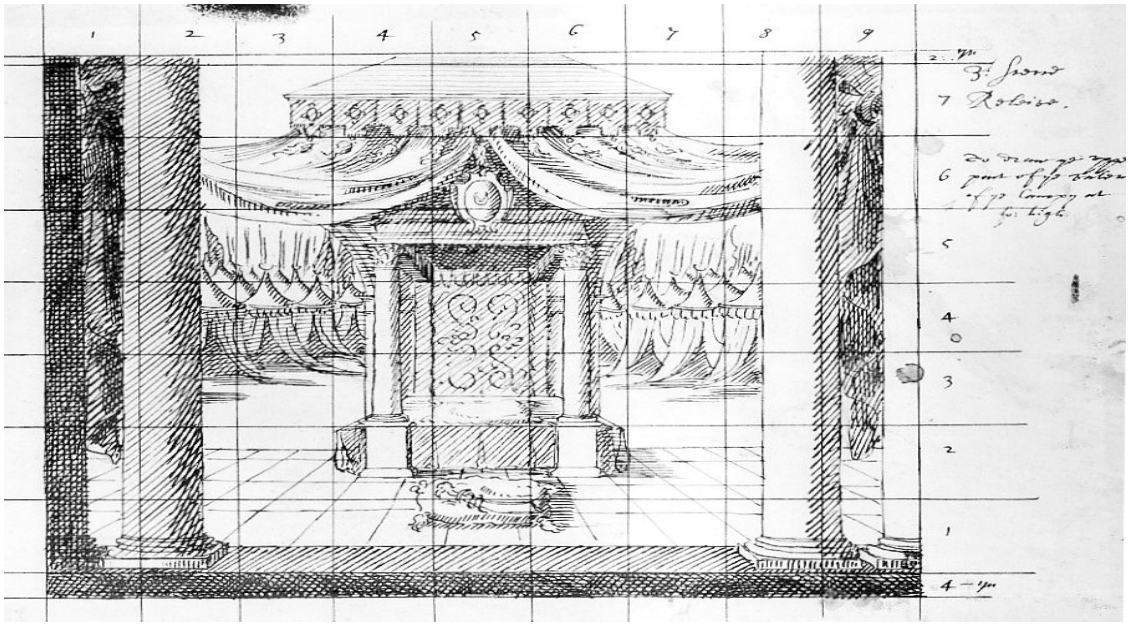

Illustration 3: The Siege of Rhodes. Design for shutters. John Webb.Held by The Trustees of Chatsworth Settlement. Solyman's Throne and Camp. Cited in Jane Milling and Peter Thomson, *The Cambridge History of British Theatre, volume 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

In illustration three, Webb has captured the inside of Rhodes through a depiction of Solyman's throne and camp. Once more, the detail provided in this image demonstrates the elaborate yet simple nature of Davenant's spectacle, with the intricate detailing and setting of the place being represented on printed backdrops.

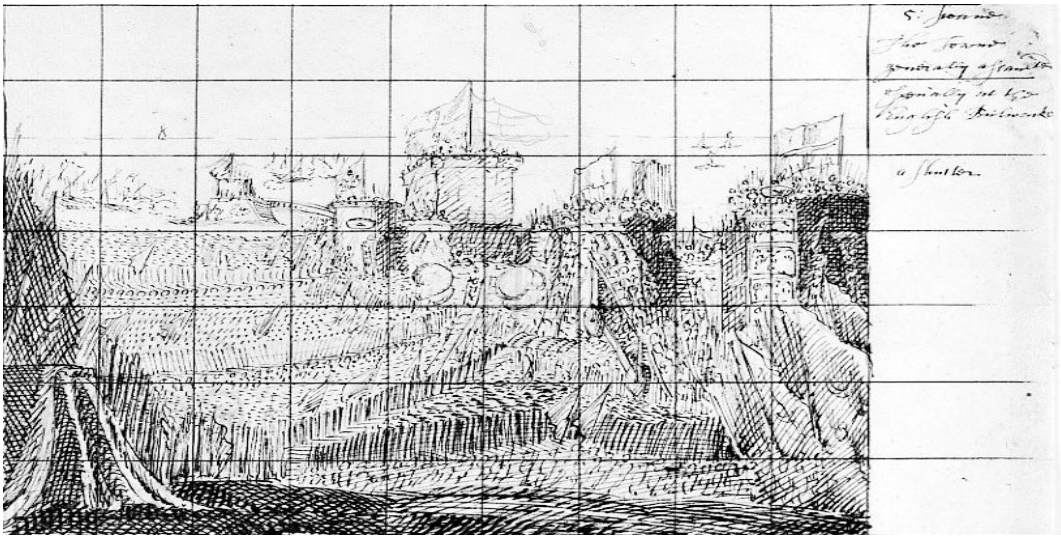

Illustration 4: The Siege of Rhodes. Design for shutters. John Webb. Held by The Trustees of Chatsworth Settlement. The General Assault. Cited in Jane Milling and Peter Thomson, *The Cambridge History of British Theatre, volume 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

Finally, in illustration four, Webb presents 'the general assault'. This backdrop is the most intricate of all, depicting multiple members of the army, buildings and land, and is the most pictorial in its vision. The designs by Webb show the intricate and realistic detail that the back shutters were able to display, representing believable places spectacular in their construction and depictions. From these illustrations, it is possible to see that scenic backdrops made a significant contribution to the overall pictorial design of the stage. Furthermore, these backdrops could be raised during a scene to offer a larger amount of playing space, and could reveal another painted scene behind it. In *Scenery and Technical Design*, Colin Visser refers to the area behind these shutters as the 'discovery area', a spectacular addition to the stage space and 'here new scenes and characters could be revealed', extending the role of the painted backdrop.[19]

Examining the use of stage practices in Davenant's *The Siege of Rhodes* provides a valuable starting point for this thesis. Until now, the founding principles of the current

[19] Colin Visser, 'Scenery and Technical Design', in *The London Theatre World, 1660-1800,* ed. by Robert Hume (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980), pp. 66-118 (p. 73)

definition of the Restoration spectacular from Davenant's play provides a record of his use of early spectacle, but more importantly enables further consideration on how other forms of spectacle could have been developed to become part of the theatre experience. This thesis will extend Davenant's early thinking and intentions by drawing out the various and distinctly different forms of spectacle being used on stage by the end of the period. All elements of spectacle, including those used by Davenant, will be discussed at length in the remainder of this thesis. Once identified and explored for their own spectacular potential, the established frame of spectacular elements shall be applied to plays throughout the period in order to identify how spectacle developed on the Restoration stage.

# Chapter Two

# Theatrical Spectacle: The Evolution of Performance Spaces Throughout the Restoration

In this chapter theatrical spectacle, namely developed theatre buildings, their stage floors and the use trap doors, will be explored in order to demonstrate the ways in which spectacle was created through a layering of performance outputs, which started from and centred on the playing space itself. Understanding that the theatres used during the Restoration period had similar features to pre-Restoration performance spaces, and that some of the features of the Restoration theatre were adapted from surviving Renaissance theatres, as well as new advances in building and mechanical technology, this chapter explores the ways in which the playing space was utilised and updated in order to present theatre with a focus on spectacle. It will demonstrate the important principle that the foundation of spectacular performance was dependant on and assisted by the theatre buildings themselves, making them more central to the possibilities of staging spectacle than is currently appreciated.

Research into the stage's design and practical workings during this period has been prolonged and lengthy. However, this work has often not paid sufficient attention to the important role that theatre spaces themselves played in generating Restoration spectaculars, as this thesis proposes. Retracing and expanding the knowledge of the playing space is important in our attempt to understand the full extent of spectacle in performance. It will track the developments of the adaptation and building of Restoration playhouses, to provide a detailed analysis of their abilities and alterations in relation to spectacle in performance during this period.

## Performance Space

The developments and re-constructions of playhouses in the Restoration affected all aspects of theatrical design. Theatres dating from the sixteenth-century such as the Globe, the Red Bull, and the Fortune Theatre, with their raked seating, pit standing areas, and raised stage provide helpful comparisons to the theatres of the Restoration. As Colin Visser has identified,

theatrical practices were often 'passed down from pre-Restoration theatres, which in many ways the Restoration playhouses resembled. The most accomplished playwrights exploited these conventions'.[1] Likewise, in his chapter 'Performance: Theatres and Scenery', Peter Holland provides a detailed and widely researched history of theatrical developments in stage designs and the uses of scenery. Holland suggests that, at least in the early part of the Restoration, theatres used many of the conventions of pre-Restoration spaces, and were developed with their primary function to better accommodate scenery.[2] It is clear that some of the advances made in order to better display scenery began with alterations to the existing stage spaces. It would be inaccurate to suggest that all scenic display and acts of visual spectacle were newly invented by the theatres of the Restoration; rather it is better to assert that they became more important to the success of a Restoration performance, becoming enlarged and exploited for their full spectacular potential.

The Restoration is a pivotal point in English theatre history where spectacle and the scenic design used in court masques begins to be appropriated for performance in the English public playhouses. The use of trap doors, raked floors and perspective staging, which had all been utilised in masques before this point, shifted to the commercial playhouses, producing a requirement for stage spaces to be adapted, and sometimes rebuilt, in line with the potential of spectacle. In order to fully evaluate these developments, we can garner information from the Renaissance spaces and the re-developments of the stage in line with the wider spectacular advances. From a range of surviving theatrical designs, reconstructed drawings and stage records, it is possible to trace these important changes in stage size, shape and design, along with larger set pieces, more shutters and extensive machinery.

It is not necessary to conduct a full history of theatrical design in this chapter, as a number of leading critics have effectively provided us with this information. This chapter will draw upon this information to explore the stages that directly impacted the formation of spectacle in theatres of the Restoration period. Because of its use of scenery and spectacle, a suitable starting place for this kind of investigation is in the pre-Restoration masquing stage. The Cockpit-in-Court serves as a valuable example of such a theatre. From surviving illustrations, it is also possible to ascertain the audiences' perspective and how effective the theatre's design was in generating and framing spectacle.

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[1] Colin Visser, 'Scenery and Technical Design' in *The London Theatre World 1660-1800*, ed. Robert D. Hume (Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980), pp. 66-118 (pp. 66-7)
[2] Peter Holland, *The Ornament of Action*: *Text and Performance in Restoration Comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 19-55.

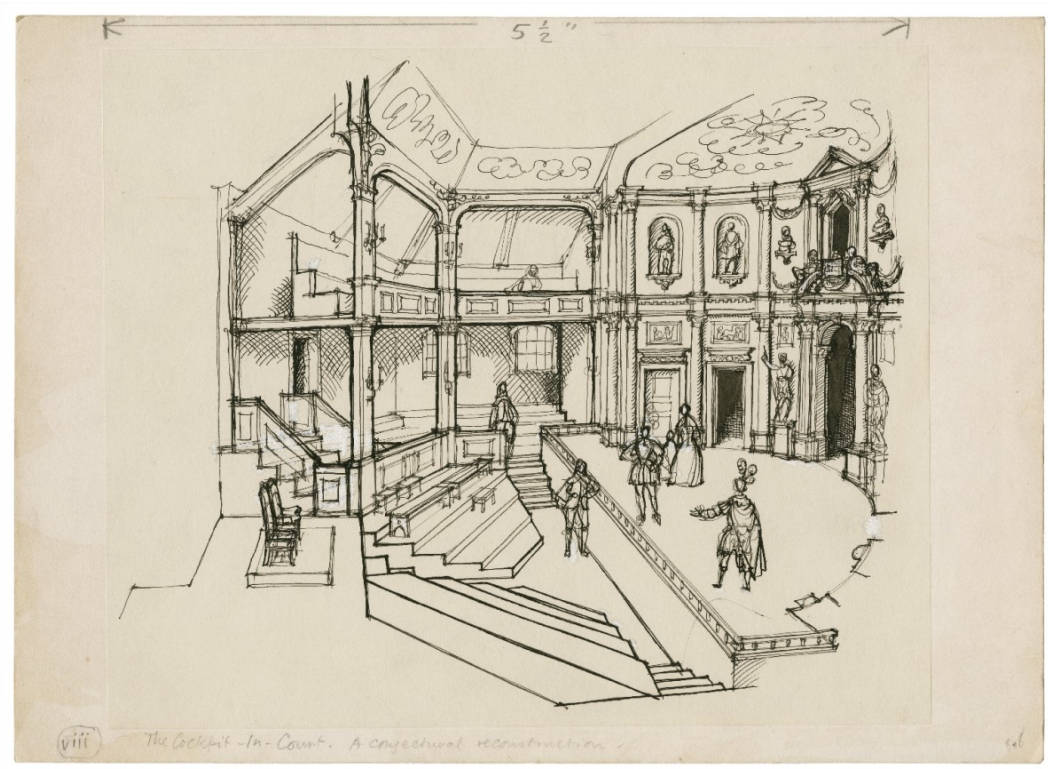


Illustration 5: Interior of the Cockpit-in-Court Theatre, 1632. Folger ART Box H688 no.3.8. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.

The illustration above, (illustration 5) from the Cockpit-in-Court is a reconstructed image by Cyril Walter Hodges, presenting details of the stage in 1632. The stage space, according to Edward A. Langhans, has a depth of 'c. twenty six', a forestage depth of 'just sixteen' and a forestage width of 'twenty five to thirty five', making it a small space in comparison to those built during the Restoration period.[3] Additionally, the illustration permits us to see that the stage is end on, with the majority of the audience being at the foot of the stage with clear sight lines. The stage is open, with no proscenium, and the back of the space is provided by a solid wall constructed with doors for entrances and exits.[4] From this illustration the stage also appears to be complete, with no trap doors present, and suggests that the these masquing style stages presented little opportunity for staging large scale spectacles with extensive scenery, partly due to its size and construction. However, other masquing theatres present a more capable picture. The theatre in Somerset House, for example, provides an alternative example with its use of scenery. Surviving illustrations of the setting and scenery for plays in this

[3] Edward A. Langhans, 'The Theatre', in *London Theatre World,* ed. by Robert. D, Hume (Illinois: Southern Illnois University Press, 1980), pp. 35-65 (p. 61)

[4] The importance of the door, or entrances and exits, has been examined at great length. See the work of Tim Keenan: " Scaenes with Four Doors": Real and Virtual Doors on Early Restoration Stages', *Theatre Notebook,* 65:2 (2011), 62-81.

theatre detail the use of framed scenery, suggesting that 'Jones must have intended his stage to reach across from wall to wall, for he provided pilasters at either side to support entablature', therefore confirming that the stage space and scenery was adapted, and not altered.[5]

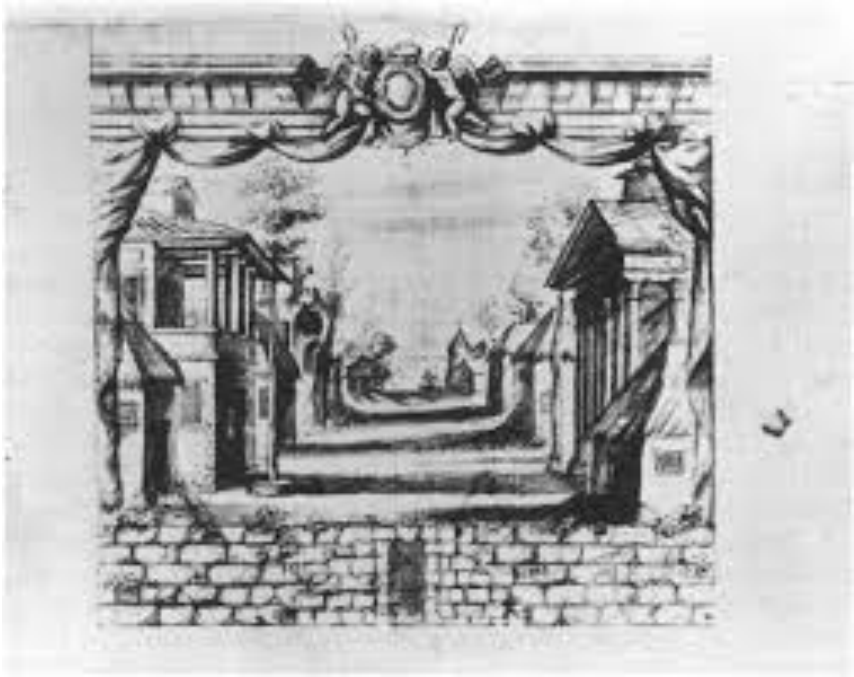

Illustration 6: Inigo Jones. Standing Scene for Artenice.Held by The Trustees of Chatsworth Settlement. Cited in John Orrell, *The Theatres of Inigo Jones and John Webb* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 82.

The capabilities of this theatre were however, still notably limited in comparison to later playing spaces. Orrell notes, that in the Harvard annotations for *Artenice* 'that Jones's scene changed many times [but] it could have done so only at the back shutters', suggesting that while the designs were drawn to represent the perspective of place, they had not yet the capacity to change the scenic design rapidly or fully through the use of side shutters (illustration 6).[6]

We know, from extensive research, that Inigo Jones adapted some of the playing spaces in order to provide a more immersive spectacular experience for the audience members, starting first with masquing stages before moving on to public playhouses.[7] Throughout their careers Inigo Jones, and his apprentice John Webb, created multiple theatre

[5] John Orrell, *The Theatres of Inigo Jones and John Webb* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 82.
[6] Orrell, *The Theatres of Inigo Jones*, pp. 83-4.
[7] Felicia Hardison Londré and Margot Berthold, *The History of World Theater: From the English Restoration to the Present* (New York: Continuum Publishing, 1999), p. 1.

designs, which provide useful evidence for the alterations and adaptations of the early Restoration playhouses. Such surviving illustrations provide unique and reliable sources of information concerning the speed and degree with which spectacle in the playhouses became the forefront of theatrical display. These theatrical and scenic designs, including the later drawings by Christopher Wren, additionally provide an important basis for developing our understanding of how the stage floor assisted in creating a spectacular performance. As the demands on the theatrical presentation advanced so did the stage space, continually developing and expanding in size to house the addition of scenery, proscenium arches and extra stage spaces. In terms of spectacular possibility, Jones and Webb were responsible for designing some of the more recognisable and important theatres of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In 1616 Christopher Beeston and Inigo Jones added a further theatre to the collection in London, the Cockpit Theatre – Drury Lane. After acquiring a lease for the Cockpit, designed originally for cock-fighting, Beeston transformed the space into a playhouse, increasing the space from (typically) forty feet for a cockpit, to fifty two by thirty seven feet as a theatre.[8] While the surviving information of the Cockpit Theatre is sparse, there are a small number of illustrations still extant, which grant a general understanding of the stage space. The size of the stage at The Cockpit Theatre was considerably smaller than those later in the period, with a stage depth of just twenty-five feet, a forestage depth of fifteen feet, and a proscenium width of twenty-three feet. While this space in relation appears small, Langhans suggests that the theatre could hold around 496 people, perhaps thanks to additional forms of seating.[9] As already established, the 1659 version of *The Siege of Rhodes* is believed to have been performed in this theatre, and this contained moving scenes. As such, it certainly appears that the theatre possessed more space and technical capacity than those that came before it. The designs for this theatre are widely thought to be those of Inigo Jones, however, it is not possible to truly confirm that this was the case.[10] Nonetheless, the Cockpit Theatre shows the adaptation of earlier stage designs for the masquing halls, like Jones's, for the first spectacular public performance spaces. Additionally, in his book *Changeable Scenery*, Richard Southern promotes the idea that the new Cockpit was more advanced than the previous one, and boasted the ability to house and stage scenic spectacle. In this he contends,

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[8] Andrew Gurr and John Orrell, *Rebuilding Shakespeare's Globe* (London: George Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989), p. 142. Glynne Wickham, *Early English Stages: 1576-1600: Volume Two 1576 to 1660, Part II* (London: Routledge, 1972), p.78. Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 162.
[9] Langhans, 'The Theatres', pp.64-5.
[10] See John Orrell, 'Inigo Jones at The Cockpit', *Shakespeare Survey*. 30 (1977), 157-168

that for *The Siege of Rhodes* in 1659 '[it was] unlikely that scenery was dispensed with at this presentation since Davenant so clearly conceived of it as being part of his show, but as yet has not set a precedent for all shows'.[11]

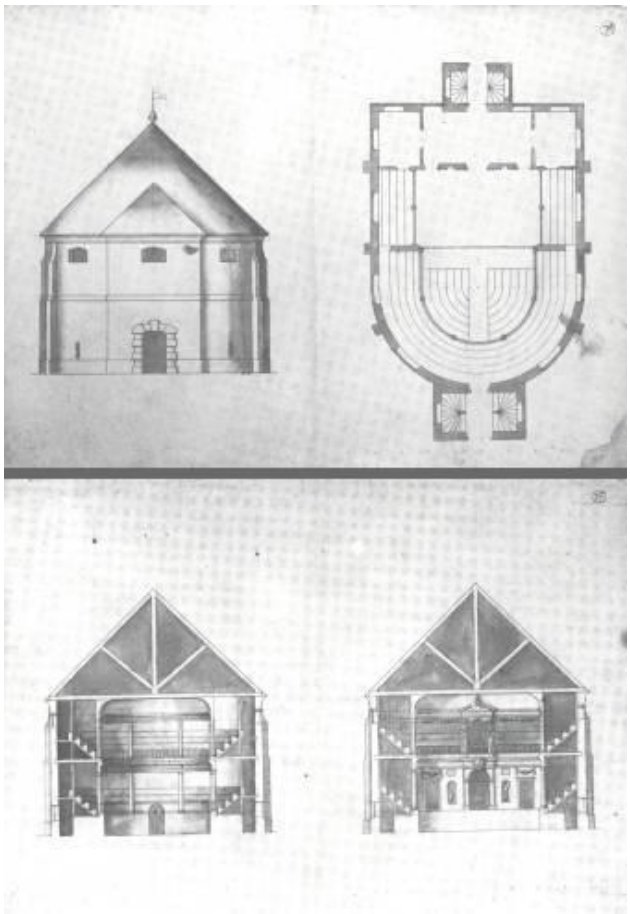

Illustration 7: The Cockpit Theatre: designed by Inigo Jones.[12] Held by Worcester College, Oxford. Cited in Andrew Gurr and John Orrell, *Rebuilding Shakespeare's Globe* (London: George Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989), p. 131.

Unlike the reconstructed illustration of the Cockpit-in-Court, the surviving illustration (7) of the Cockpit in Drury Lane appears to show the audience seated to the front and sides of the stage, suggesting that this is now a 'three-sided deep thrust' style theatre. This illustration reveals wing space for scenery on either side of the playing space. While this style of seating may have provided a more immersive experience for the spectator, it would also have presented further problems for the playwrights, actors and stage managers with regards to the

[11] Richard Southern, *Changeable Scenery: Its Origins and Development in the British Theatre* (London: Faber and Faber, 1952), p. 110.

[12] There is a large amount of controversy surrounding the drawing by Jones. It has been suggested that this illustration could be the designs for multiple theatres in London, including the Salisbury Theatre, and even that this theatre may not have been built. However, recent research conducted by John Orrell seems to give the strongest connection for this drawing to the Cockpit in Drury Lane, therefore the illustration has been used.

placing of scenery in order to create a spectacular performance for all. Moreover, the drawings suggest that those sitting closest to the stage on both sides of the building would have seen through the scenic shutter into the wings of the stage, thus potentially breaking the illusion being performed. The drawing additionally alludes to a pit at the foot of the stage. Richard Southern proposes that '[i]t is presumed that the Cockpit in Drury Lane has at this period a platform stage related to the little-known stages of the typical Elizabethan private houses' and the raising of the stage floor itself from the ground suggests that the audience were expected to gather in front of it, as well as in the gallery seating surrounding it, potentially losing some of the perspective generated by the scenes.[13]

The position of the audience is also important when considering the use and variations of stage floors, and the various arrangements that ensured that the aristocratic attendees of the theatre had the best view. The theatres of the Restoration appear to have all followed a similar general design of seating; this included a pit, boxes and a gallery, all set in front of a raised, raked stage floor.[14] As Mullin suggests, '[o]ne has visions of the nobility elegantly isolated in plush boxes while the rabble rioted in the pit below'.[15] While the stage floor itself was developing it is likely that the seating remained the same, and that the best sightline was still achieved from the centre, costliest seats. Direct evidence is hard to come by, but pictures and engravings in frontispieces from plays staged at the *Cockpit*, as well as theatrical designs, such as illustration four below, offer an important contribution to our knowledge of the theatre spaces.

[13] Richard Southern, *Changeable Scenery*, p. 110. The *Cockpit Theatre* is not the first, and only theatre of the sixteenth-century to have a raised floor, other outdoor theatres such as *The Globe* and *The Red Bull* also made use of this.
[14] See Edward A. Langhans, 'The Theatre', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre*, ed. by Deborah Payne Fisk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 1-18.
[15] Donald Mullin, *The Development of the Playhouse* (Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970), p. 62.

Illustration 8: Inigo Jones, scene design for the Cockpit, Drury Lane, 1639. Held by The Trustees of Chatsworth Settlement Cited in John Orrell, *The Theatres of Inigo Jones and John Webb* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 61.

This frontispiece (illustration 8) captures the beautiful details of performance, but also the stage space, further suggesting that those front centre would have had the best view. Along with the inclusion of scenery and a proscenium arch, the illustration demonstrates that the Cockpit theatre was progressive in both design and capability, showcasing its greatest talents to those in the front centre.

In 1663, Davenant pioneered a further advancement in the staging of spectacle when he transferred the *The Siege of Rhodes* to his newest theatre, Lincoln's Inn Fields, after the patent for the King's and Duke's companies had been passed. This time the play contained a second part, with the first part 'lately enlarged'.[16] Adapted from a tennis court, Lincoln's Inn Fields, fuelled by Davenant's desire to create spectaculars, was the first theatre of the Restoration with ability to truly transform the playing space through scenic display.[17]

[16] William Davenant, *The Siege of Rhodes* (London: Henry Herringman, 1663), p. 1.
[17] Dawn Lewcock, *Sir William Davenant, the Court Masque, and the English Seventeenth-century Scenic Stage* c.1605 – c. 1700 (New York: Cambria Press, 2008), p. 136

Although there are no surviving illustrations to detail the exact changes to the space, Edward A. Langhans suggests that

> Davenant refashioned Lisle's tennis court in Lincoln's Inn Fields into a version of the kind of theatre in which he has seen his *Salmacida Spolia* performed in 1640 and equipped it with scenes and machines.[18]

Whilst there is no certainty over the size of the Lincoln's Inn Theatre, Robert Wilkinson's depiction of the ruins of the building suggest that the dimensions could have been just twenty three feet by sixty four feet, making it little bigger than the theatres that came before it.[19] Although Edwin Wilson and Alvin Goldfarb propose that it was probably larger than this, measuring seventy five feet long by thirty feet wide, it is still not a sizable space.[20] In this regard, frontispieces, supposedly detailing the setting of the stage for various plays, depict the stage space with the most elaborate and detailed scenic display – though it has to be acknowledged that we cannot expect frontispieces (part of whose function was to "sell" the excitement of the theatre to the reader) to provide photographic detail as we would now expect. In any case, the most significant aspects about the developments exemplified by the Lincoln's Inn stage design were to do with size, as well as versatility. The use of painted shutters now enabled the stage to be adapted and changed in shape and style, with scenes alternating without the need to stop the action. Additionally, the theatre also contained the beginnings of a divided playing space, which became increasingly popular in the latter part of the period. As Edward A. Langhans notes

> [e]ven Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre, built within the confines of a roofed tennis court, could have accommodated two such inner stages, each about four feet deep and fifteen feet wide, towards the back of the scenic area.[21]

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[18] Edward A. Langhans, 'The Vere Street and Lincoln's Inn Fields in Pictures', in *Educational Theatre Journal,* 20:2 (1968), 171-185 (p. 171)

[19] Langhans, 'Vere Street and Lincoln's Inn Fields', pp. 178-9. Also see 'Statistical Comparisons', Langhans, *The Theatres*, pp.64-5

[20] Edwin Wilson and Alvin Goldfarb, *Living Theatre: History of Theatre, 6th Edition* (New York: McGraw-Hill Company, 2012), p. 249.

[21] Edward A. Langhans, 'The Post-1600 Theatres as Performance Spaces', in *A Companion to Restoration Drama* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), pp. 3-18 (p. 8.)

Illustration 9: Inside of the Dukes Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields. Held by the Bridgeman Art Library. Cited in Donald Mullin, *The Development of the Playhouse* (Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970), p. 65.

The above engraving (illustration 9) of the Lincoln's Inn Fields by Richard Sawyer demonstrates the extensive use of scenery to create the realistic view of a stone chamber. This illustration provides evidence to propose that the stage was both in perspective for the audience, and framed with a proscenium arch. The proscenium arch has a detailed history in Greek and European theatre for framing the action of a stage play, and as John Peacock infers, Jones used it in his early masques to provide a window through which the stage action and spectacle could be created.[22] Applied in this way to frame the action of the stage, the proscenium arch presented an opportunity to stage spectacles that took full advantage of the

[22] John Peacock, *The Stage Designs of Inigo Jones: The European Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 212-3.

limited sightlines of the audience – moving wings and scenery, and the increasing ability to hide the actual mechanics and operation of the stage machinery, added to the visual wonder.

With the development of the proscenium arch also came the introduction of the fore, apron, thrust or proscenium stage. Positioned at the front of the proscenium arch, the forestage extended into the pit, meaning the audience and the actors were in very close proximity to each other, immersing the audience in the performance spectacle.[23] The intimacy provided by the compact nature of the Renaissance stage was exploited and capitalised with a forestage at the front, and a scenic stage at the back. Langhans concludes

> [t]he forestage provided actors, singers and dancers with a sizeable downstage, well-illuminated performance space, raked but free from grooves. […] It was the actors' most useful and desirable performing space, though spectators could think of it as a piece of their part of the theatre. It served as a vital link between the audience and the performers, the auditorium and the stage, the playgoers and the play.[24]

The size of the forestage varied between theatres, but was generally used as a way of taking the action directly to the audience (textual stage directions frequently refer to actors as 'coming forward') and as such, was at least a suitable size for actors and small set pieces. For example, at the Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre, the forestage is estimated to have been ten feet by thirty feet.[25] At the edges of these forestages were seated balconies or raised boxes – which were very popular, but actually provided some of the worst viewing for the spectaculars, due to the proscenium arch obstructing the view.

In direct contrast to the forestage was the scenic stage, located behind the proscenium arch and much larger in size. The Theatre Royal in Bridge Street, the Dorset Garden and the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane all contained both a forestage and a scenic stage of varying sizes. The Theatre Royal in Drury Lane started life in 1663 as a competitor to the Duke's Company's Lincoln's Inn Fields, where spectacular performances were already being staged. Interestingly, John Dryden proposed a lack of spectacular capabilities housed at the Theatre Royal in his prologue for the opening of the theatre.[26] Despite Dryden's less than enthusiastic

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[23] See Paul Kuritz, 'Theatre Architecture', in *The Making of Theatre History* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1988), pp. 233-235.
[24] Langhans, 'The Post-1600 Theatres', p. 10
[25] Langhans, 'The Post-1660 Theatres', p. 10.
[26] The selection of the prologue reads: 'A plain built house after so long a stay, will send you half unsatisfied away, When, fallen from your expected pomp, you find a bare convenience only is designed. You who each day theatres behold, like Nero's palace, shining all with gold, our mean ungilded stage will scorn, we fear, and for the homely room disdain the cheer. For the complete prologue see: John Dryden, *The Poems of John Dryden: Volume Two: 1682-1685, Volume 2*, ed. by Paul Hammond (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 282-4. This prologue must one more be read with caution as it cannot be confirmed to be representative of the theatre, or a tongue-and-cheek opening to the new theatre.

introduction to the space, it was evidently an expensive building of a good size, and Walter Thornbury concludes that it incurred a 'cost of £1,500, […] [and] the dimensions of which were one hundred and twelve feet by fifty nine feet', making it significantly larger than Lincoln's Inn.[27] After the theatre burnt down in 1672, Christopher Wren, theatre designer and architect, was commissioned to redesign the playhouse to ensure it was advanced enough to house spectacular performances. The measurements of the new theatre were the largest yet, being sixty six feet (stage depth), twenty one feet (forestage depth), thirty one to thirty six feet (forestage width), and holding a up to a massive 2,300 people by 1762.[28] A surviving drawing of this theatre produced by Wren clearly details the multiple performance areas of the stage space.

[27] Walter Thornbury, 'Drury Lane Theatre', in Old and New London: Volume 3 (London, 1878), pp. 218-227 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/old-new-london/vol3/pp218-227> [accessed 17 October 2015].
[28] Langhans, 'The Theatres,' p.62.

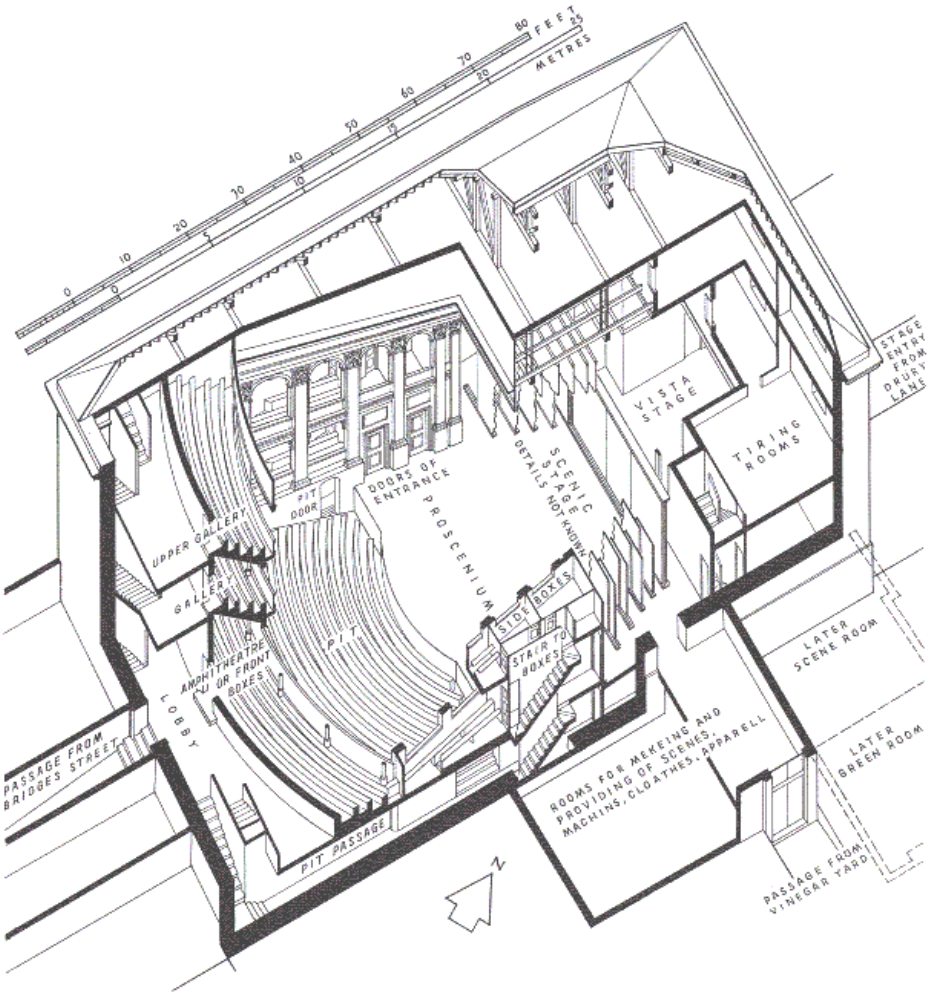


Illustration 10: Reconstruction of Theatre Royal, Drury Lane 1673. TheatresTrust.org. Cited in, Edward A. Langhans, 'The Theatre', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 6.

From the illustration above (illustration 10), it is possible to distinguish an open stage at the front, referred to on the illustration as the proscenium – but also known as the apron, thrust or forestage. Behind that, the scenic stage designed to house the painted scenes; it was in this section that perspective was created. With the introduction of moving scenes in the seventeenth century, the perspective stage developed a spectacular style of its own, allowing the audience to not only gaze into the distance, but also to see a stream of new places change before their eyes. While the creation of the perspective stage added to the visual delight of the performance, Martin Banham notes that the '[s]cenery tended to be stock scenes of rooms, palaces, parks and so on; and of course, the perspective illusion allowed for little interaction between actor and scenery'.[29] Further behind the scenic stage there is a vista stage,

[29] Martin Banham, *The Cambridge Guide to Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 1093.

as detailed on the illustration above. While the vista could be cut-off from the rest of the playing space, there was also the opportunity to open it up and increase the depth of the stage, allowing it to be extended past the initial scenery.[30] The development of individual stage spaces, which could have been used singularly or in unison, altered the appearance of performance for the audience. Colley Cibber recorded his experience of the advance stage design,

> [i]t must be observed, then, that the area or platform of the old stage projected about four-foot forward, in a semi-oval figure, parallel to the benches of the pit; and that the former lower doors of entrance for the actors were brought down between the two foremost (and then only) pilasters; in the place of which doors now the two stage-boxes are fixt. That where the doors of entrance now are, there formerly stood two additional side-wings, in front to a full set of scenes, which had then almost a double effect in their loftiness and magnificence.[31]

The new Theatre Royal in Drury Lane is thought to have been forty to fifty feet wide, and ninety to one hundred feet long – one of the biggest theatre spaces in London. It possessed an advanced ability to stage many moving scenes. Of these, Duke Cosmo III of Tuscany remarked,

> The scenery is very light, capable of a great many changes, and embellished with beautiful landscapes. Before the comedy begins, that the audience may not be tired with waiting, the most delightful symphonies are played; on which account many persons come early to enjoy this agreeable amusement.[32]

Perhaps the most famous theatre of the Restoration period, which utilised large amounts of mechanical spectacle, was the Dorset Garden Theatre, built in 1671. It is this playhouse that is usually thought of as exemplifying the spectacular capacities of the theatre of the Restoration period. However, where I argue that this spectacular aspect is one of the great strengths of many theatres in this period, not all experts would agree. Established authorities such as Judith Milhous and Jocelyn Powell reserve this capability for just the Dorset Garden, describing it as 'gilding the lily' of London Theatres.[33]

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[30] Peter Thomson, *The Cambridge Introduction to British Theatre, 1660-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) pp, 49-51.
[31] Colley Cibber, *An Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber* < http://www.gutenberg.org/files/44064/44064-h/44064-h.htm> [Accessed 17 October 2015], p. 85.
[32] Duke Cosmo III, cited in A. M. Nagler, *A Source Book in Theatrical History* (New York: Dover Publications, 1959), p. 204.
[33] Jocelyn Powell, *Restoration Theatre Production* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984), p. 14, Judith Milhous, 'The Multimedia Spectacular on the Restoration Stage', in *British Theatre and the Other Arts, 1660-1800*, ed. by Shirley Strum Kenny (London and New Jersey: Associated University Presses, 1984) pp. 41-62

Although no detailed floor plans of the Dorset Garden survive, some informative drawings from the script of *Ariadne,* by Louis Grabu do. When read alongside stage directions, these illustrations form an invaluable resource.

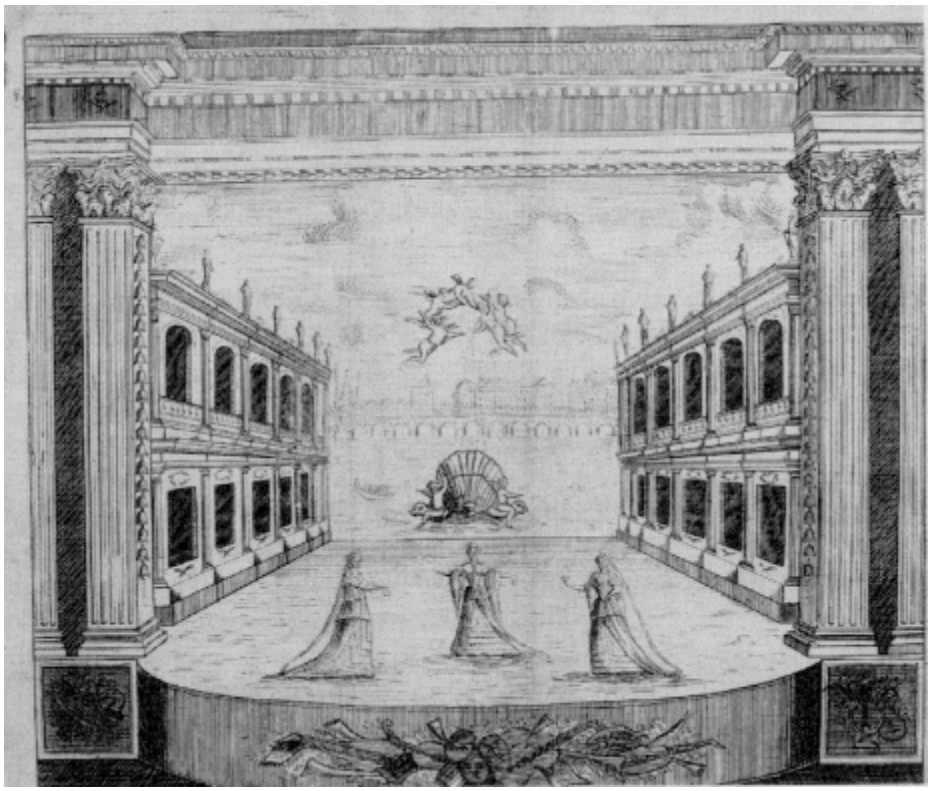

Illustration 11: Louis Grabu, *Ariadne* (London: Tho. Newcombe, 1673-4)

The illustration depicted above (illustration 11) shows three actresses performing on the forestage. While the scenery is relatively plain in this scene, it retains the perspective and back shutters of the other theatres. It is also possible to determine from this image that the stage was raised significantly from the ground and a slight raking of the floor can be determined. The raking (or raising of the stage towards the back) assisted in the creation of perspective, making those at the back of the stage appear higher and, therefore, further away. J. L. Styan contends that it was Jones who introduced the raked stage to the English theatre and in doing so incorporated an 'arrangement which greatly enhanced the stage illusion and its magical effects.'[34] Moreover, the stage directions and images from *The Empress of Morocco,* by Elkanah Settle, further support the suitability of the stage for elaborate scenes. For example,

[34] J. L. Styan, *The English Stage: A History of Drama and Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 193.

*The Scene opened, is represented the prospect of a large river, with a glorious fleet of ships, supposed to be the navy of Muly Hamet, after the sound of trumpets and the Discharging of Guns.* [35]

Illustration 12: Elkanah Settle, *The Empress of Morocco* (London: William Cademan, 1673), p. 17.

Coupled with the supporting image (Illustration 12), taken from the 1673 script, we can establish that the image of the river with boats is likely to have been painted on a backdrop, with accompanying wings showing buildings and adding perspective. The forestage here remains bare for the actors to populate during the scenes.

Despite its smaller size, measuring just fifty one feet (stage depth), nineteen feet (forestage depth) and thirty feet (proscenium width), the Dorset Garden is, as mentioned previously, recognised as the theatre producing the most spectacular performances in the period.[36] It may seem surprising that such elaborate spectacles took place in a comparatively small theatre, yet spectacle depends not just on grandeur of scale, but also on the careful manipulation of machinery, sightlines and visual illusions.

[35] Elkanah Settle, *The Empress of Morroco* (London: William Cademan, 1673), p. 16.
[36] Milhous, 'Multimedia Spectacular', pp. 41-62.

While most of the spectacle was generated through advanced machinery, the stage itself would have had a significant influence. According to Langhans, the interior width of the building itself was one hundred and forty three feet, over thirty five feet more than the Theatre Royal, and also only seated 1,200, implying that the lack of stage space in such a large building was possibly reserved housing for large scale machinery, leading to the possibility for more mechanical forms of spectacle.[37] Even in this sense, the stage floor, due to its compact size, facilitated the inclusion of spectacle by giving space back to the wings. Although the role of the stage floor was not necessarily one involving the creation of large-scale spectaculars in the Restoration period, the changes in their sizes, structures and additions (such as grooves) enabled spectacle to be performed in indoor theatres for the first time in English theatrical history.[38] Throughout the period it is possible to trace an ever-growing concern for the need of spectacle, and this is reflected in the new and adapted theatres of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Subsequently, surviving drawings and stage directions make it apparent that the stage floor was a fundamental foundation of Restoration spectaculars, and should be considered as such in present-day research.

## Trap Doors[39]

One of the most effective pieces of stage machinery, and one of which the Dorset Garden theatre made particularly successful use, was a simple device – the trap door. In fact, the Dorset Garden theatre had an abundance of trap doors. As Langhans put it,

> [t]he Dorset Garden stage was more fully trapped than any other Restoration theatre, if we can believe the remarkable number of stage directions pertaining to traps in plays written for this playhouse by experienced dramatists. One can safely guess that there was at least one small trap (about 3' by 6' minimum) on the forestage, two medium traps (about 4' by 8' minimum) upstage of the curtain line but downstage of the first set of shutters, and two small traps (3' by 6') and one large (about 5' by 10' minimum) trap upstage of the shutters—probably between the first and second sets of shutters.[40]

[37] Langhans, 'The Post-1600 Theatres as Performance Spaces', p. 8.
[38] As J.L. Styan contends, 'The groove and shutter system of scene changing was as much concerned with enhancing the speed of and continuity of the action as augmenting the spectacle.' J.L.Styan, *The English Stage,* p. 239.
[39] The Oxford English dictionary defines a trap door as 'A door, either sliding or moving on hinges, and flush with the surface, in a floor, roof, or ceiling, or in the stage of a theatre.' Whilst the construction and use of a trap door appears, from the definition, to be fairly 'unspectacular', its integration into Restoration performance paints an altogether different picture.
[40] Edward A. Langhans, 'A Conjectural Reconstruction of the Dorset Garden Theatre ', *Theatre Survey,* 13:02 (1972) 74-93, p. 77-8.

Whether used for comic value: '*[g]oing towards the bed with the candle in his hand falls in at a trap-door up to his neck, and puts his candle out*';[41] for spectacular effect: '*lights on a trap, and is let down*';[42] or for both: '*the wenches run down the trap door. […] Stephania whistles, the wenches come up from the trap-door'*, the use of a trap door in Restoration theatre presents a varied and extensive range of spectacle. Of course, as Colin Visser reminds us, trap doors for these styles of performance 'had been exploited in earlier theatres; the Restoration stage simply continued the existing tradition'.[43] But while Visser's historical statement is technically correct, it neglects to consider why, on a stage able to present extensive spectacle due to its growing technical ability, a simple trap door device was still being used to provide illusions.

The history of the trap door is extensive; Langhans contends that it is possible to trace '[its] roots back to the ancient Greeks', who used it to disguise, conceal, and offer the element of surprise.[44] We can get a vivid impression of the ways in which trap doors contributed to the visual spectacle of the Renaissance stage by paying attention to references to them in the stage directions of performance texts through the century. While there is evidence to suggest that traps were used during the earlier part of the seventeenth-century, becoming part of the court masque, the extensive use of them as a form of more elaborate spectacle develops later in the period.

Like many of the plays from this period, Charles Davenant's *Circe* (1677), uses trap doors for the entrances and exits of mythical creatures and spirits. His stage directions consist of '*her spirits appear*', '*[a]n entry of the frightful dreams, Clytimnestra's ghost ascends*', *'[a] spirit rises, and lays a Jarre at Circe's feet*' and later two dragons rising out of the sea.[45] Using the trap door in this way was popular throughout the period as a means of indicating characters entering from another world, or place below our own, something akin to the semiotics discussed in the introduction. Here, the trap door acted as a signal for the other world entering the audience's own, making them aware that something other than the usual was about to happen. For the most part, stage directions such as these are likely to have used small traps, only required to be large enough for one or two a small number of people. However, while the stage directions suggest that these traps were of no great size, other plays suggest that larger traps were required on occasion.

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[41] Ariadne, *She Ventures and He Wins* (London: Hen Rhodes, 1969), p. 19.
[42] Aphra Behn, *The Rover and Other Plays*, ed. by Jane Spencer (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 1-88.
[43] Visser, 'Scenery and Technical Design', p. 94.
[44] Edward A. Langhans, 'The Theatre', p. 10.
[45] Charles Davenant, *Circe* (London: Richard Tonson, 1677), pp. 9, 41, 52.

For example, in Aphra Behn's *The Rover* (1677), performed at the Dorset Garden, a bed 'descends' into the floor, requiring a trap large enough to house furniture.[46] Likewise, in *Tyrannick Love* (1670), performed at the Theatre Royal, a bed is required to *appear* from the ground, rising up on to the stage.[47] The use of traps to create magical effects, including those of people and objects rising from and sinking into the stage floor, were used across the two major theatres by the end of the Restoration period. While these records have their own spectacular merit, the use of the trap door to display entire cities and landscapes more pertinently positions the trap door as one of the key contributors to Restoration spectacle. We see this in *The Prophetess* (1690), where the stage directions read,

> *there rises from under the stage a pleasant prospect of a noble garden, consisting of fountains, and orange trees set in large vases: the middle walk leads to a Palace at a great distance*.[48]

While we must always be cautious of stage directions and interpret them with care, details such as the above stage directions provided by Betterton, open up a world of possibility for the appreciation of stage spectacle. Likewise, in John Dryden's *Albion and Albanius* (1685)

> *the cave of proteus rises out of the sea, it consists of several arches of rock work, adorned with mother of pearl, coral, and abundance of shells of various kinds: thro' the arches is seen the sea, and parts of dover peer: in the middle of the cave is proteus a sleep on a rock adorned with shells, &c. like the cave. Albion and Acacia, seize on him, and while a symphony is playing, he sinks as they are bringing him forward, and changes himself into a lion, a crocodile, a dragon, and then to his own shape again: he comes toward the front of the stage, and sings*.[49]

and in George Powell's *Brutus of Alba* (1697),

> *Coreb waves his wand, and a misty cloud rises out of the earth; as it ascends, a great windmill is discovered, out of which comes millers, and country women, who dance after their dance, the wind-mill is changed into a witch, out of which come several devils, who dance with the witch, and then sink*.[50]

The inclusion of elaborate scenery rising from under the stage asserts that the trap door was indispensable when staging the spectacular effects of the Restoration period. While it might not be possible to conclude that all theatres were using trap doors to a similar degree, it is possible to surmise that while trap doors were a simple form of machinery, which had been

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[46] Aphra Behn, *The Rover and Other Plays*, pp. 1-88.
[47] John Dryden, *Tyrannick Love* (London: H. Herringman 1670)
[48] Thomas Betterton, *The Prophetess* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1690)
[49] John Dryden, *Albion and Albanius* (London: Jacob Tonson,1685)
[50] George Powell, *Brutus of Alba*, *or, Augusta's Triumph* (London: Sam Briscoe, 1697)

creating magical illusions for many years, the Restoration stage successfully utilised its abilities in order to stage large scale spectaculars.

# Chapter Three

# Scenographic Spectacle: The Delights of Changing Scenery

> There is one remarkable fact to be found in a study of scenes and scene-changing which outshines even the intriguing details of the machinery by which the scene-changing worked. This fact is both surprising and important; it controls the whole structure of scenery and supplies the prime reason for stage machinery; it clears up many puzzles in the staging of plays of the past, and its recognition is an essential to any understanding of the development of scenery today. This fact is that the changing of scenes was intended to be visible; it was part of the show; it came into existence purely to be watched. [1]

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The moving of scenery, specifically painted scenes, to reveal new stage delights was undoubtedly one of the key contributors to creating spectacle in Restoration theatre, and will therefore, form the focus of this chapter. Presenting images of gardens, palaces, streets and numerous other places, changing the scenes altered the previous landscape of theatrical performance to something much more visual. Prior to the Restoration, the stage was heralded for its simple setting in order to expose the performance of the actors. This is seen, for example, in Aristotle's definition of his three unities, where he suggests that a key feature of theatrical performance (specifically tragedy) is action; he notes that a play, in order to hold the audience's attention, should take place in only one location.[2] However, the extensive possibilities presented by the inclusion of painted and moving scenes changed this long-standing practice, and instead sought to delight its audience on a journey through many wonderful locations and settings, all of which could be captured in just one performance.

In recent years, scholarly examination of Restoration theatre has moved away from investigating the role of scenography, and turned towards playwright and play analysis. However, the work conducted in the less recent past provides valuable insights on subject of

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[1] Richard Southern, *Changeable Scenery: Its Origins and Development in the British Theatre* (London: Faber and Faber, 1952), p. 17.

[2] Christopher J. Wheatley, 'Tragedy', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre*, ed. by Deborah Payne Fisk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 70-85 (p. 70.)

scenography. This chapter will therefore readdress some of the less recent thinking to consider how scenography directly added to the spectacle of Restoration performance, in order to understand its place within the wider theatrical context.

For us fully understand the use of painted scenes in Restoration theatre it is necessary to understand their role in a wider theatrical history. In *The Development of the Playhouse*, Donald Mullin explores the use of scenery in Roman theatre through Vitrivius' ten books of theatre architecture. He suggests that theatres from the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries utilised Vitrivius' early ideas in the formation of spectacular moving scenery. Mullin cites Vitrivius' plan, where

> [t]he scaena itself displays the following scene. In the centre are double doors decorated like those of the royal palace. At the right and left are the doors of the guest chambers. Beyond are spaces provided for decoration…in these places are triangular pieces of machinery which revolve, each having three decorated faces. When the play is to be changed, or when gods enter to the accompaniment of sudden claps of thunder, these may be revolved and present a face differently decorated. Beyond these are the projecting wings which afford entrances and exits to the stage, one from the forum, the other from abroad.[3]

Details such as these present an opportunity to re-frame the understanding of developments in theatre practice during the seventeenth century, with a focus on praising their impact, rather than their newness. Working with texts as early as Vitrivius' presents significant problems for a researcher, though, as it is not possible to confirm whether his designs were actualised. However, the discussion of such designs raises the important question of why spectacles of the kind envisaged by Vitruvius, as early as the second century, only became popular in England during the Restoration period.

With historical accounts of scenographic spectacle dating back to the second century, tracing the developments of the English moving scenery is no easy task. However, scholarly research tends to argue that one of the closest and most likely influences for the use of scenery of Restoration England is the work of Sebastian Serlio, who in 1545 published one of seven volumes on architecture, theatre building and scenery. These volumes are often referred to as *Tutte l'opere d'architettura et prospetiva* (*All the works on Architecture and Perspective*).[4] It is evident that Serlio took his influence from the works of Vitrivius,

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[3] Donald C. Mullin, *The Development of the Playhouse: A Survey of Theatre Architecture from the Renaissance to the Present* (London and California: University of California Press, 1970), p. 8.

[4] For more information on Serlio's influence on English stage practices see John Orrell, *The Theatres of Inigo Jones and John Webb* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 121, John Barnes, 'Perspective', in

developing them in a manner that respected the original Roman setting, but attempted to make them feasible for smaller, indoor theatres.[5] Susan Crabtree and Peter Beudert provide an informative overview of his theatrical designs, writing

> Serlio's *Architecttura* is a landmark of Renaissance art and perspective scenery based on the Roman model of the tragic, comic, and satiric settings. Serlio illustrated this scenery in an ideal theatre based on Roman form. His proposed theatre was an indoor performance space with semi-circular seating. It has no proscenium arch; however, a small, semi-circular orchestra separated the stage from the seats. The stage was wide and shallow and raised up. At the rear of the stage was a steeply raked platform holding perspective scene units. At the rear of that was a painted backdrop. The vivid perspective was enhanced by the use of a grid drawn on the floor, which diminished to an upstage vanishing point. The composition depended on perspective construction and painting for an illusion of depth.[6]

The style of Serlio's scenography here corresponds directly with the developments of stage space discussed in the previous chapters. This might suggest that the English Restoration stage was not only adapting in order to be able to house spectacular additions, such as painted scenes, but was also learning how to make spectacle from stages of other European countries popular in the public English theatre.

While stages designed to house scenery can be closely connected to Serlio's descriptions, the scenery itself has earlier origins. In 1514 Baldassare Peruzzi designed the stage setting for *La Calandria.* It was Peruzzi's aim to create a setting which transported Rome to the stage of Italy, and as Javier Berzal de Dios suggests 'Baldassare Peruzzi's view of Rome for *La Canandria* has been singled out as signifying a pivotal moment in the history of art, scenography, and theatrical architecture'.[7]

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*The Oxford Companion to Theatre and Performance,* ed. by Dennis Kennedy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 460.

[5] Susan Crabtree and Peter Beudert, *Scenic Art for the Theatre: History, Tools, and Techniques* (Burlington, MA and Oxford: Focal Press, 2005), p. 374.

[6] Crabtree and Beudert, *Scenic Art for the Theatre,* p. 374.

[7] Javier Berzal de Dios, 'Conjuring the Concept of Rome: Alterity and Synechdoche in Peruzzi's Design for La Calandria', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 45:1 (2014), 25-50 (p. 25).

Illustration 13: Baldassar Peruzzi: *La Calandria,* 1514. Cited in, Thomas Ault, 'Baldassare Peruzzi and the Perspective Stage', in *Theatre Design and Technology*, 43:3 (2007), pp. 33.

Illustration thirteen above, shows Vitruvius's architectural descriptions actualised in an indoor playhouse, coupled with Peruzzi's detailed painted perspective scenes; all of this provides the spectacular visual image of a street, and a recognisable part of a town.[8] Pamela Howard describes scenery, or scenography, such as this in her book *What is Scenography?* She notes that scenography

> visually liberates the text and the story behind it, by creating a world in which the eyes see what the ears do not hear. Resonances of the text are visualised through fragments and memories that reverberate in the spectator's subconscious, suggesting rather than illustrating the words.[9]

It is the visualisation of these scenographic pieces, as identified by Howard, which generates the true spectacle of the stage design. Likewise, Joslin McKinney and Philip Butterworth suggest that

> [s]cenography is not simply concerned with creating and presenting images to an audience; it is concerned with audience reception and engagement. It is a sensory as well as an intellectual experience; emotional as well as rational. Operation of images opens up the range of possible responses from the

[8] C. Thomas Ault, 'Baldassare Peruzzi and the Perspective Stage', *Theatre Design and Technology*, 43:3 (2007), 33-49.
[9] Pamela Howard, *What is Scenography?* (Oxford: Routledge, 2009), p. 49.

> audience; it extends the means and outcomes of theatrical experience through communication to an audience.[10]

The audience's response to the use of elaborate scenography, then, not only impacted on, but encouraged the use of painted scenes in the English theatre.

As images of seventeenth-century English theatre are sparse, drawing information from other countries and theatres is essential in order to truly appreciate the impact of this type of scenography. A surviving, still operational, early eighteenth-century theatre in Cesky Krumlov, Czech Republic, provides invaluable information as it still retains the original shutters, both in design and operation, and bears similarities to the drawings and descriptions of the English Restoration theatres.

Illustration 14: Castle Theatre, Cesky Krumlov. Image copyright: Lyndsey Bakewell, July 2013.

Illustration fourteen of the Castle theatre above, contains six, three-dimensionally painted scenes on either side, and at the rear a painted backdrop – which Powell suggests is 'a pair of flats, held upright in a grooved frame' at the rear.[11] In front of this appears a wave machine containing a boat. Above, at the top of the theatre, is a sky created through the arching of stationary curtain scenery, dotted with clouds and cherubs, which could be mechanically lowered and raised. In this image, the details of a spectacular and realistic view of painted

[10] Joslin McKinney and Philip Butterworth, *The Cambridge Introduction to Scenography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 14.
[11] Jocelyn Powell, *Restoration Theatre Production* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984), p. 40.

scenery representing a town leading to the sea are actualised. The intricate detail provided by both the narrowing of the stage towards the back and the in-perspective painting, showcases the beautifully visual spectacle possible for painted scenes. Visiting the theatre has provided a valuable insight into the multiple layers of scenic design, and has additionally provided a first-hand experience of how these scenes not only looked, but also operated. The backdrop, scenes, sky and items, which are lowered and raised, all added to the overall spectacle in a visually impactful way. Moved with early pulleys and simple mechanics, the stage scenery effortlessly glided across, and onto, the stage, and magnificently changed the view. Moreover, the detail in which these items were painted actually made for recognisable scenes and places. While it is not the case that the scenes look real, or even realistic in comparison to today's advanced technologies, the scenery and backdrops were painted in such intricate detail that they, still today, retain much of their original awe.

Although the painted scenes are spectacular to look at, their most remarkable capability is to transport the audience through various places with their ability to move. The purpose of a painted scene was, in the simplest of terms, to present place and time to the audience, allowing a show to take place in multiple locations throughout the performance. Richard Flecknoe, in his *Discourse of the English Stage*, confirms that painted scenes and machinery were used prior to the period, and they were already impacting theatre in 1664. Flecknoe proposes that painted scenes become 'ornaments' of the stage, securing their place as an additional layer of spectacle to the overall performance. He writes,

> [f]or scenes and machines they are no new invention, our masks and some of our plays in former times (though not so ordinary) having had as good or rather better then any we have now. They are excellent helps of imagination, most grateful deceptions of the sight, and graceful and becoming ornaments of the stage, transporting you easily without lassitude from one place to another; or rather by a kind of delightful magic, whilst you sit still, does bring the place to you.[12]

To create the magic discussed by Flecknoe required the operation of the moving shutters, and the perspectives they created, to work in union with each other. The shutters themselves were systematically placed opposite each other along the stage floor, with each group being set

[12] Richard Flecknoe, *Love's Kingdom: A Pastoral Trage-Comedy with a Short Treatise of the English Stage* (London: R. Wood, 1664), pp. 99-101.

closer to the centre of the stage. As Visser further suggests, the wings worked by 'enhancing the perspective effect, [and] decreasing in height as they approached the back shutters'.[13]

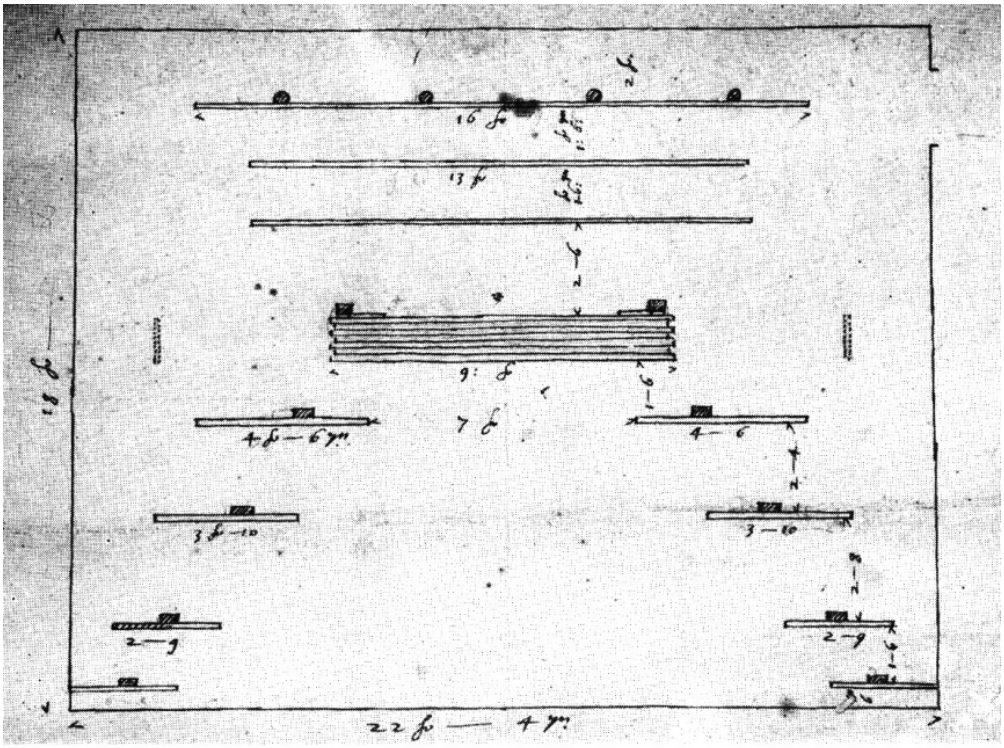

Illustration 15: *The Siege of Rhodes*. Ground Plan. Webb. Reproduced with permission from The British Library Department of Manuscripts, Lansdown MSS 1171.

The surviving illustration, fifteen, shows of the placement and operation of just four of these shutters in Davenant's *The Siege of Rhodes*. In order to operate the scene, however, multiple pairs of shutters (in this case eight) would have been on the stage at any one time, positioned to the side of those on the stage, presenting the opportunity to change the view quickly by removing, or adding the forward most shutters.[14] In order for the shutters to operate seamlessly, changing quickly without any visual intervention, grooves were added to the stage floor, enabling large, changing scenes to enter and exit the stage through hidden man-power. As Powell suggests, 'soap was used to lubricate the wooden grooves so that they would slide smoothly along them'.[15]

In 1683 Nicola Sabbatini, an Italian architect, published *Pratica di fabricar scene e macchine ne' teatri*, a book which changed theatrical presentation dramatically through its

[13] Colin Visser, 'Scenery and Technical Design' in *The London Theatre World 1660-1800*, ed. Robert D. Hume (Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980), pp. 66-118 (p. 72)
[14] Powell, *Restoration Theatre Production*, p. 41.
[15] Powell, *Restoration Theatre Production*, p. 41.

creations and inventions of scenographic machinery. In an English translation it is possible to read the following instructions

> a groove must be made with two lengths of wood; it must be as long as from one side of the stage to the other and not more than an inch and a half deep, and should be well polished; smooth and soaped on the side…it should be exactly as wide as the thickness of the battens of the back scene frame.[16]

Southern comments that 'the halves of the scenes are held upright in the grooves by braces from the back of the wall and the stage'; he notes the continual search for developing the procedures of the stage by recording a suggestion by Sabbatini that the 'scenes slide on wheels in the lower grooves.'[17] While simple and developing techniques such as these enabled the English theatre to significantly advance its opportunity to facilitate spectacle through changing scenery, Dawn Lewcock suggests that other European countries were moving the use of spectacle even further. She writes, '[t]he English theatre was to continue to use the sliding shutters on top of the stage floor, rather than the continental system through the stage floor, for more than a hundred years'; spectacle in theatre still had a lot of potential to aspire to.[18]

How these shutters were able to move along the grooves in the floor cannot be confirmed. While some critics suggest that this was achieved by man-power, others suggest a pulley mechanism was used. This was certainly the case once the shutters were operated through the stage floor. The Castle Theatre is yet again a useful source to draw on here in order to understand how this machinery might have worked.

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[16] Nicola Sabbatini, *Pratica di fabricar scene e macchine ne' teatri*, cited in *Changeable Scenery*, Richard Southern (London: Faber and Faber, 1962), p. 41.
[17] Southern, *Changeable Scenery,* p. 41.
[18] See Dawn Lewcock, *Sir William Davenant, the Court Masque, and the English Seventeenth-century Scenic Stage* c.1605 – c. 1700 (New York: Cambria Press, 2008), footnote 40.

Illustration 16: Scene Grooves. Castle Theatre, Cesky Krumlov. Image copyright: Lyndsey Bakewell, July 2013.

The image above (illustration 16) shows grooves, the same width as the shutter, and a wooden frame within which the shutter would sit. In the image, it is possible to identify 3 shutters that were pulled into place by the ropes attached to the side of them. These ropes were pulled via a pulley system, which would have taken a number of men to operate it, turning a cog on the end of the frame. In this instance, the scenes sat through the stage, rather than on it. This theatre represents the European operation of moving scenes rather than the English. However, the image still suggests the spectacle that these scenes could generate through an ability to be changed quickly and easily.

The continuous advances in scenographic display made the visual pleasure of Restoration performances ever more spectacular through the ease with which it was created. While the English stage clearly utilised both side and back shutters, moving in grooves, to expose new places, it is uncertain whether they used additional forms of machinery to create other spectacular reveals. It is also useful to understand scenic techniques, which were developed to further the possibility of spectacle in this period, and to appreciate the progressive style of scenic design. In the work of scholars such as Nicola Sabbatini, and Ignazio Danti, additional machinery can be found, such as the 'periaktos', a wooden prism

painted with various scenes, revolved on a central axis to reveal new scenes painted on another side. This piece of machinery would have effectively and quickly revealed a new setting, moving seamlessly from one to the other. See illustration 17 below.

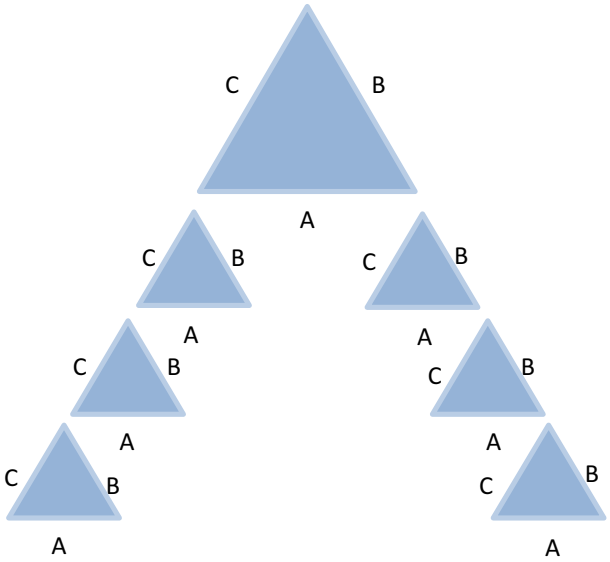


Illustration 17: Reconstruction of Nicola Sabbatini – Periaktos[19]

Additionally, Angel Wings (illustration 18) were developed, which allowed for shutters to layer over the top of each other; not from the side, as with the conventional groove shutter, but rather from the front.

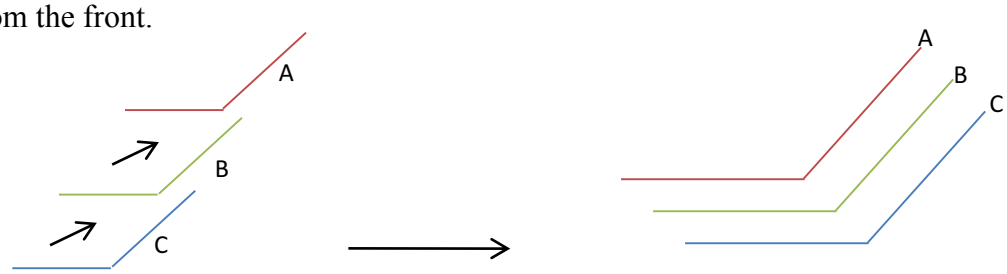


Illustration 18: Reconstruction of Nicola Sabbatini's Angel Wings[20]

Finally, Sabbatini is responsible for designing two styles of scenic curtain, one of which is still used in some contemporary theatres in the form of an iron curtain. His first design involved a painted curtain being raised inside a wooden surround, rising up from the stage floor. The second design saw a rolled, painted curtain being released from above, over the existing one on the stage, and changing the scene instantly. The illusionistic effect of these

[19] Orrell, *The Theatre of Inigo Jones*, p. 34.
[20] To see a video of how these multiple forms of scenes would have worked see: <http://spectacle.appstate.edu/models/scene-change>

mechanical developments continually advanced the spectacular scenic display on offer, revolutionising the visual impact with each new innovation.

It is the case that moving scenery re-shaped the expectations of a theatre spectator during the Restoration period. Its integration into a large number of plays from the period suggests that this was a valuable and exciting addition to the performances. The inclusion of moving scenery permitted playwrights to explore visual possibilities and places, and the style of spectacularly immersive theatre developed in the Restoration period meant that the audiences were no longer required to imagine, but rather see the splendour of the places presented before them. The scenography of the Restoration stage began to speak to the audience, providing more than just a visual display, and instead drawing the audience closer to the action. While the cost of staging such a production would have been high, requiring up to date scenes and technologies, the benefits and draw to the audience appears to have been more valuable. Moving scenes were continually used throughout the period, and the spectacle of such scenery relied on its ability to change seamlessly and reveal new wonders.[21]

While it is possible, and almost easy, to imagine the visual pleasure that moving scenery could generate, it is important to also consider that the scripts possibly suffered in order to take advantage of visual spectacle. Of the importance and spectacle of changing scenery Richard Flecknoe concludes,

> [n]ow, for the difference betwixt our theaters and those of former times, they were but plain and simple, with no other scenes, nor decorations of the stage, but only old tapestry, and the stage strewed with rushes, (with their habits accordingly) whereas ours now for cost and ornament are arrived to the height of magnificence; but that which makes our stage the better, makes our plays the worse perhaps, they striving now to make them more for sight, then hearing; whence that solid joy of the interior is lost, and that benefit which men formerly received from plays, from which they seldom or never went away, but far better and wiser then they came.[22]

Such adaptations demonstrate a shift in emphasis from the spoken word to visual design, something which will be explored in relation to actors in chapter eight.

[21] Edward A. Langhans, 'The Theatre', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre*, ed. by Deborah Payne Fisk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 1-18 (p. 3)
[22] Richard Flecknoe, *Love's Kingdom*, pp. 99-101.

# Chapter Four

# The Spectacle of Nature: The Recreation of Weather in the Theatre

While the technological advances of machinery delighted Restoration audiences with breath-taking displays, more traditional methods of generating spectacle were deployed alongside them, particularly in the ability to recreate weather in the theatre. As with the other forms of spectacle discussed so far, the overall appeal and effect was created in a number of ways: some relied on simple mechanics; other more complex spectacles were produced through mobilising wider cultural understanding of the meaning of the elements. This chapter will explore both how elements of weather were created on stage, both visually and audibly, and address the impact on the spectator. It will be seen that portrayals of weather were significant contributors to the overall formation of spectacle in Restoration theatre, often because of their embedded significances. A full consideration of the role of weather and nature in the formation of Restoration spectacle would necessitate discussion of a long history and a wide range of theatres. However, in order to produce a more specific focus, this chapter will simply outline some of the ways in which the weather had previously been produced in theatrical presentation, and examine what light this sheds on the creation of spectacle in Restoration theatres. For the purpose of this chapter 'nature' and 'weather' will refer to representations of thunder, lightning, rain, storms, hail, light, fire, and clouds – and address their spectacular characteristics through both their meaning and their creation. At various points these will be considered either in unison or as single elements. Due to a restriction of length, this thesis cannot provide a detailed analysis of all the machines used to create weather, but it will present an outline of how these effects might have been achieved, and will detail the most likely form of operating in Restoration theatre.

Using *Early English Books Online* as a wide-ranging, but not exhaustive, resource for the use of nature in Restoration performances, has reinforced the notion that the performance of weather elements are of great significance, particularly when considering the shift of spectacular effects in performance. Searching in stage directions alone, *Early English Books Online* records seventeen plays referencing clouds which ascend, descend or open; fifty-two which used either thunder, or lighting, or a combination of both; and twelve plays that

depicted storms. The frequency with which these elements of nature are employed suggests that the techniques used were effective, attainable, and above all, spectacular enough to impress an ever more demanding audience. Through combinations of both visual and audible effects, nature, and weather are undeniably entwined in Restoration spectaculars. This chapter will examine some of these plays to understand the spectacular potential of weather in Restoration theatre.

One play, which uses all of these elements, is John Dryden's *The State of Innocence and the Fall of Man* (1647). Its opening stage direction reads:

> *[r]epresents a chaos, or a confused mass of matter; the stage is almost wholly dark: a symphony of warlike music is heard for some time; then from the heavens, (which are opened) fall the rebellious angels, wheeling in air, and seeming transfixed with thunderbolts: the bottom of the stage being opened, receives the angels, who fall out of sight. tunes of victory are played, and an hymn sung; angels discovered above, brandishing their swords: the music ceasing, and the heavens being closed, the scene shifts, and on a sudden represents hell: part of the scene is a lake of brimstone, or rolling fire; the earth of a burnt colour: the fallen angels appear on the lake, lying prostrate; a tune of horror and lamentation is heard.*[1]

While this play was never performed, the stage directions firmly demonstrate the weather elements as a feature in Restoration performance. From angels descending through the air from the heavens, to lakes of fire and brimstone, Dryden draws on nature for more than just visual impact: embedded in his description are additional meanings, which could be inferred by the audience. As an operatic adaptation of John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, published in 1674, *The State of Innocence* appears to have been designed to draw on the spectacular possibilities of the Restoration stage; it was able to bring to the stage the religious connotations connected to nature and weather. With lakes of fire suggesting the devil and hell, thunderbolts meaning anger, and angels and heavens used to represent God and religion, Dryden exploits the teaching of Christianity and of Milton's *Paradise Lost* to stage an extensive and deeply meaningful spectacle of nature.[2]

Most importantly, Dryden demonstrates the ability to use spectacle as a form of conversation with the audience. As identified in the introduction, the twentieth-century

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[1]John Dryden, *The State of Innocence, and The Fall of Man* (London: J. Tonson and T. Bennet, 1674), p. 1.
[2] For further information of the connection between religion and nature and Milton and Dryden, see Laura Dodd, '"To change in scenes and show it in a play": "Paradise Lost" and the Stage Directions of Dryden's "The State of Innocence and Fall of Man"', *Restoration*, 33:2 (2009), 1-24; Sharon Achinstein, 'Milton's Spectre in the Restoration: Marvell, Dryden, and Literary Enthusiasm', *Huntington Library Quarterly,* 59:1 (1996), 1-29; Bruce King, 'The Significance of Dryden's State of Innocence', *Studies in English Literature*, 4:3 (1964), 371-91.

semiotic framework can tell us much about the relationship of understanding between a performance and its audience. While semiotics as a school of thought was developed after the Restoration, it does not mean that sign-systems were not in use or understood before this date. Dryden's play presents a clear case to argue the presence of sign-systems in Restoration theatrical performance; weather and nature in his play are used to signal the entrance or inclusion of a particular object or character, and designed to provoke a particular response. For example, clouds part and the moon appears when mythological characters are about to arrive,[3] To use the language of modern semiotics, the elements of nature are indices, and the signifiers are what the sign implies.[4] Such theatrical uses of signifying systems can be traced back to very early Greek forms of performance and philosophy. For instance, while formulating his definition of tragedy, Aristotle wrote,

> [t]error and pity may be raised by the decoration - the mere spectacle; but they may also arise from the circumstances of the action itself, which is far preferable, and shews a superior poet. For the fable should be so constructed, that, without the assistance of the sight, its incidents may excite horror and commiseration in those who hear only.[5]

Aristotle's explanation concludes that the creation of spectacle is not confined to just visual elements of theatre production, but also includes the audible. He argues that through the addition of visual and audible 'decoration', an emotional response can be produced, meaning that the devices act as semiotic signifiers. Similarly, Salvatore Di Maria claims that 'whereas words could only evoke the idea of, say, thunder, the noise simulating the sound of thunder appealed to the spectators' senses, causing them to focus on its signifier'.[6]

In the Restoration period, multiple techniques were employed to link the spectacle of weather with the feeling of fear. For example, the use of light provides the generation of

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[3] This can be seen in John Dryden's *Albion and Albanius* (1685) where the stage directions read: '*the figure of it oval, all the clouds shining with gold, abundance of angels and cherubins flying about them, and playing in them; in the midst of it sits Apollo on a throne of gold: he comes from the machine to Albion*', John Dryden, *Albion and Albanius* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1685), p. 18.

[4] The study of semantics more commonly focuses on language. Good general guides include Bernd Kortmann and Sebastian Loebner, *Understanding Semantics* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002). However, in *Reading Theatre* Anne Ubersfeld provides a detailed analysis of the sign-systems in theatre through both verbal and none verbal styles of performance. Anne Ubersfield, et al, *Reading Theatre,* ed. by Paul Perron and Patrick Debbèche, trans. by Frank Collins (Toronto and London: Toronto University Press, 2006), pp. 11-29. Moreover, semantic understanding is applied to all aspects of performance, including costume and props, by Salvatore Di Maria, who argues that aspects of performance were designed to 'speak' to the spectators of something more than the verbal narrative. He insists, 'the unique fashion of producing meaning and conveying it to the audience is so intrinsic to theatre that no dramatic work can be fully appreciated without a critical evaluation of its semiotic text, often referred to as the performance, or the spectacle, theatrical, or nonverbal text', Salvatore Di Maria, *The Italian Tragedy in the Renaissance: Cultural Realities and Theatrical Innovations* (London: Associated University Presses, 2002), p. 130.

[5] Aristotle, *Treatise on Poetry, Volume 1,* ed. by Thomas Twinings (London: Forgotten Books, 2015), p. 138.

[6] Di Maria, *Italian Tragedy in the Renaissance*, p. 34.

spectacle – prompting an emotional connection to the stage – because the darkening stage suggests to the spectator that something sinister is about to take place. In an article in *The Spectator* in 1711, play-texts of the Restoration are discussed in light of Aristotle's suggestion. Joseph Addision writes:

> Aristotle has observed, that ordinary writers in tragedy endeavour to raise terror and pity in their audience, not by proper sentiments and expressions, but by the dresses and decorations of the stage. There is something of this kind very ridiculous in the English theatre: when the author has a mind to terrify us, it thunders; when he would make us melancholy, the stage is darkened.[7]

Addison's account of stage plays, and their inclusion of 'stage decorations' in order to prompt terror and pity, indicates that spectators were conscious of the connection between the natural decorations and their theatrically applied meanings, as well as expecting such features to be presented as part of the play's spectacular appeal. Moreover, Addison's account, in his usual critical but satirical manner, implicitly confirms that audiences had a specific understanding of the meaning of weather presented in this way – however mundane it was the playwright attempted to make the audience 'melancholy' by darkening the stage. If this understanding of weather and semiotics is considered then as a form of spectacle, which the audience implicitly understood, for Dryden's opening stage directions to *The State of Innocence* (1674) it is possible to read the stage being 'almost wholly dark' as a semantically-driven visual setting, designed to provoke fear and terror for the action to follow.

Addison's account additionally refers to thunder, perhaps the most common form of naturalistic spectacle used in Restoration performance. While the variations of light did carry a meaning of something sinister arriving, it was more commonly used to represent periods of time, such as night and winter. In contrast, thunder was used less in its widely understood aspect as a form of weather, and more commonly to signal the entrance of supernatural characters. Leslie Thomson has indeed argued that

> *thunder and lightning* was the conventional language – or code – for the production of effects in or from the tiring house that would establish or confirm a specifically supernatural context in the minds of the audience.[8]

The supernatural associations with thunder and lightning were also used alongside a character's appearance. For example, in William Mountfort's *The Life and Death of Doctor*

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[7] Joseph Addison, *The Spectator*, 42, 18 April 1711.

[8] Leslie Thomson, 'The Meaning of *Thunder and Lightning*: Stage Directions and Audience Expectations', *Early Theatre* (1999), 11-24 (p.11).

*Faustus* (1697), thunder and lightning signals the rising of the devil from the stage.[9] Seemingly, according to Addison, audiences could be expected to make such connection between magic and representations of the weather.[10] In *The Spectator* on the 20 April 1711 Addison concluded

> [a]mong the several artifices which are put in practice by the poets to fill the Minds of an Audience with Terror, the first Place is due to Thunder and Lightning, which are often made use of at the Descending of a God, or the Rising of a Ghost, at the Vanishing of a Devil, or at the Death of a Tyrant.[11]

Addison here confirms that natural elements, such as thunder and lightning, carried with them their own semantic meanings. They were designed to alert the audience to the appearance or disappearance of something which would likely prompt a feeling of terror, with the added spectacle of them ascending or descending. Although this could be argued as the playwright's inclusion of basic level semiotics, it appears that there existed a clear connection between the generation of spectacle and the development of the semantic in the play texts of the period. As nature was widely used in Restoration theatre as a signifier for the appearance on the stage of a character, it seems it worked as a form of spectacle, or indeed as a 'spectacular alerting' for the audience. Preparing the audience for the play's succeeding action was an important aspect of the spectacle, and helps to re-define the notion of Restoration stage spectacle as more than just machinery and scenery.[12]

Returning again to *The State of Innocence* (1674), where Dryden incorporates thunder into his opening stage directions, with his characters '*seeming transfixed with thunderbolt*' as a way of allowing the '*fall the rebellious angels, wheeling in air*', he connects the elements of weather with the fall of the good, and a visual display of spectacle.[13] Lily B. Campbell has noted that stage-thunder was, in the Renaissance also, 'an accessory of divinity'.[14] In *Scenes and Machines* she further develops the connection between fear, nature and spectacle, suggesting that an 'excess of spectacle, designed to raise pity and terror, came to distinguish

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[9] William Mountfort, *The Life and Death of Doctor Faustus* (London: E. Whitlock, 1697), p. 3.
[10] In her article Thomson concludes that the connection between magic, the supernatural, and thunder and lightning did not originate in the theatre but developed from discourses published on the connections between witches, religion and the weather.
[11] Addison¸ *The Spectator,* 44, 20 April 1711.
[12] 'Spectacular alerting' means a playwright's use of signifiers or practices to build anticipation in the audience that another spectacle will follow. This can relate to all areas of performance and is closely connected with the spectacular nature of the Restoration stage and how spectacle is generated.
[13] Dryden, *The State of Innocence,* p. 1.
[14]Dryden, *The State of Innocence*, p. 1.

heroic tragedy as a type'.[15] Though Campbell's focus is on an earlier period, her bringing together of spectacle, implicit meaning and nature suggests that the three were intrinsically linked in heroic tragedy, and so could be drawn on further in the Restoration period.[16] Baron Walter Aston's later heroic tragedy *The Restauration of King Charles II: or, the life and death of Oliver Cromwell* (1732), for example, repeatedly returns to the connection between nature, spectacle and fear, demonstrating the continuation of weather as a spectacular and meaningful device, even after the period. In Act III, the ghost (or fury, as he is referred to) of Grimbald rises, sinks, and in his fury brings with him a collection of ghosts who form a violent storm. In this moment the three aspects of weather, spectacle and meaning are combined.[17] During this scene, the stage itself assists with the spectacle of the ghost rising and sinking via a trapdoor. The storm is conjured by Grimbald's now other-worldly presence and magic, and uses weather to represent his anger. As a result, fear is provoked in the characters of Cromwell and Ireton, and very likely in the audience too.

In Restoration plays, the spectacle of weather and natural elements can also represent different states, or a change in impetus for the performance. Through an analysis of Restoration play texts, it is possible to identify two significant theatrical moments in which the spectacle of nature is used as a signifier of plot changes and twists. In the opening of Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (1610–11), the change is signified by a storm. The storm, conjured by Prospero, and enacted by the spirit Ariel in *The Tempest* (1610-11), is prompted by humoral distemper, achieved by magic, and results in a display that is both visually and audibly spectacular.[18] The storm itself may deploy multiple aspects of weather including rain, wind, thunder and lightning, which as a whole are recognised in the play as a representation of temper or annoyance.[19] Charles Davenant's *Circe* (1677) provides a valuable Restoration example of a storm being used as a spectacular display of temper, carrying with it details of the narrative. Act V, Scene VI opens:

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[15] Lily B. Campbell, *Scenes and Machines on the English Stage during the Renaissance: A Classical Revival* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1960), p. 19.

[16] Campbell, *Scenes and Machines,* p. 263. Heroic tragedy was distinguished by its moments of couplets in iambic pentameter, its thematic concern with national matters, and its powerful hero. See Elaine M. McGirr, 'Heroic Drama', in *The Encyclopedia of British Literature 1660 - 1789 Set, Volume 1,* ed. by Gary Day and Jack Lynch (Chichester: Wiley, 2015), pp. 576-9.

[17] Baron Walter Aston, *The Restauration of King Charles II: or, the life and death of Oliver Cromwell* (London: R. Walker, 1732), p. 42.

[18] William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, ed. by Alden T. Vaughan and Virginia Mason Vaughan (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2007)

[19] Shakespeare's play opens with a storm signifying Propero's rage at being banished, and ends with calm seas as he reaches forgiveness. See F. D. Hoeniger, 'Prospero's Storm and Miracle', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 7:1 (1956), 33-8. Moreover, use of the word 'storm' to represent a violent rage, or a rush to violence has been a feature of the English language since the sixteenth century, and as such, a long-standing connection between human emotion and physical nature has been formed. *Oxford English Dictionary*. Storm: n. 3.a. and 7.b.

*([e]nter Orestes mad.*
*Storm here.)*
**Ores.** By heaven my prayers shall never this storm appease,
Fight, fight ye clouds against the foaming seas.

*(Storm and Lightning)*

Blow on, blow on, why should the senseless wind,
Or the wild ocean be to virtue kind,

*(The Cave of the God of sleep arises with him, Phobetor and Morpheus.)*

Whom many rougher storms at land pursue,
Where she, alas, is without shelter too.
Be loud thou tempest and disturb the deep

*(Loud storm)*[20]

Shortly after, the scene turns into '*a place of horror*' with '*Darts of lightning, thunder*', while ghosts both ascend and descend. In this action, Davenant's play seamlessly combines the visual and audible spectacle of a storm, with the spectacle of an embedded meaning for the audience and, as such, uses the storm as a semiotic device, which contributes a shift in context for the narrative and prompts an emotional response of fear from the audience.

A further dimension of the presentation of storms, and perhaps one that is more visually spectacular, is its connection with magic, or a divine power. In *The Tempest* (1610-11), Prospero, with the assistance of Ariel, raises the storm through magic, adding an element of spectacle through the act of conjuring. Instances of this kind can also be found in a number plays from the Restoration period. For instance, in Nahum Tate's *A Duke and No Duke* (1685), a storm and magic are combined with spectacular effect. Here, there is a '*storm and thunder'* closely followed by '*storm again, Mago the conjurer rises*'.[21] Likewise, in Thomas Shadwell's *The Lancashire-Witches* (1682), the witches produce a storm with thunder and lightning while they sing, clearly signalling the connection between magic and the weather.[22] Perhaps the most obvious example from the period is John Dryden's *King Arthur* (1691), in which Merlin uses his wand to conjure a storm. The stage directions read,

[20] Charles Davenant, *Circe a Tragedy* (London: Richard Tonson, 1677), p. 50
[21] Nahum Tate, *A Duke and No Duke* (London: Henry Bonwick, 1685), pp. 8-9.
[22] Thomas Shadwell, *The Lancashire Witches and Tegue O Divelly, the Irish-Priest a Comedy* (London: John Starkey, 1682), p. 12.

> *Merlin waves his wand; the scene changes, and discovers the British ocean in a storm. Aeolus in a cloud above: four winds hanging, &c.*[23]

As seen in the stage directions for *King Arthur* (1691), the use of magic and the weather also utilises clouds and the sky to represent angels, gods and divine spirits, meaning Dryden intentionally used nature as a means of representing the divine. Moreover, in Dryden's *Albion and Albanius* (1685), one of the most elaborate deployments of spectacle in Restoration theatre is combined with a use of nature.[24] In Act III, alongside fire and machines appearing from the sea, the following stage directions appear

> *[w]hilst a symphony is playing; a very large, and a very glorious machine descends: The figure of it oval, all the clouds shining with gold, abundance of angels and cherubins flying about them, and playing in them; in the midst of it sits Apollo on a throne of fold: he comes from the machine to Albion.*[25]

Angels and gods (usually Greek) descend from the air to bring messages, or resolve conflict in *Albion and Albanius*, form a common trait in Restoration performance. Dryden's visually spectacular description of them 'shining with gold', suggests that the clouds held some divine power, a belief which is also mirrored throughout the period. This can be seen for example in *Psyche Debauch'd* (1678), where Thomas Duffett added detailed and spectacular stage directions to signal the entrance of mythological characters, such as *Jupiter, Mercury, Cupid* and *Bacchus.* In this staging the characters are accompanied with the visual spectacle of heaven, presented through painted scenery and moving clouds, to deliver an image of divine intervention. The stage directions state:

> *[t]he clouds open, and from the inner part of the heaven, descends Jupiter in his chariot drawn by eagles. […] trumpets are heard a far off, the heavens divide; and from the furthest end Mercury flies down attended by fame, and the whole heaven appears adorned with angels, &c. and music.*[26]

Here, Duffett uses the parting of clouds to represent the heavens and the appearance of something holy. The spectacle of place, which nature creates in this scene, signals a move towards the divinity of the heavens, and a shift in narrative and place. Alessandra Buccher's work on the use and operation of baroque clouds in her book *The Spectacle of Clouds*, contends that, 'as in the traditional Florentine heaven machinery, the extraordinarily

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[23] John Dryden, *King Arthur, or, The British Worthy a Dramatic Opera* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1691), p. 45.
[24] See Judith Milhous, *The Multimedia Spectacular* and *Thomas Betterton and the Management of Lincoln's Inn Fields* where she discusses at length the costs, scenery and machinery and time connected to the performance of *Albion and Albanius* and where she categorises it as one of the 'Dorset Garden Spectaculars'.
[25] John Dryden, *Albion and Albanius* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1685), p. 28.
[26] Thomas Duffet, *Psyche Debauch'd* (London: John Smith, 1678), pp. 80-1.

numerous lamps were hidden and light would either filter through the clouds or be reflected by mirrors' – showcasing the visual spectacle intended in the use of cloud scenography.[27]

The clouds used in such scenes as Duffett's therefore also exhibited spectacle through their contribution to the scenographic design. In examples from the period, bright clouds, which were adorned with gold appear, once more drew a connection with heaven and divinity. Examples include Dryden's *The State of Innocence*, where Gabriel and Ithuriel are described as being '*carried on bright clouds*';[28] Thomas Shipman's *Henry the Third of France* (1678), where Vengeance '*descends in a bright cloud*';[29] and George Powell's *Brutus of Alba* (1697), where there is '*the figure of it is oval, the clouds gold, with figures of cherubims flying about*'.[30] Spectacle in these scenes was created through the visual presentation, and enhanced with the inclusion of a sun or the moon, which was again described a large bright object and directly connected with the heavens. Of this, Thomas Shadwell's *Psyche* (1675) provides a detailed description of the visual effect created by the 'sun' through the use of painted scenes. From his stage directions it is possible to imagine how spectacular this scene would have looked:

> *his temple is just before the sun, whose beams break fiercely through it in divers places: Below the heavens, several semi-circular clouds, of the breadth of the whole house, descend. In these clouds sit the musicians, richly habited. On the front cloud sits Apollo alone. While the musicians are descending, they play a symphony, till Apollo begins, and sings as follows.*[31]

In this scene, Shadwell draws on the technical capabilities of theatrical machinery and the increased size of the playing space to frame nature as a beautiful spectacle.

In stark contrast to the representation of heaven and divinity through bright clouds and the sun, the darkening of the clouds in stage directions indicates a possible double meaning, and confirming that they were also designed to represent a displeasure from heaven, or a divide between good and evil. In *The Cabel of Romish Ghosts and Mortals* (1680), for instance, the following stage directions are found:

> *[a]t this instant the clouds began to thicken, the air to whisper, and a noise was heard, as proceeding from the bowels of the earth, when suddenly one*

[27] Alessandra Buccher, *The Spectacle of Clouds, 1439-1650* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), p. 170.
[28] Dryden, *The State of Innnocence* (1674), p. 18.
[29] Thomas Shipman, *Henry the Third of France*, *stabb'd by a fryer, with the Fall of the Guise a Tragedy* (London: Sam Heyrick, 1678), p. 57. As lighting in the period was confined to candle light and lamp light, it seems reasonable to assume that the light and gold of these images was created through painted representations of clouds, which, through the use of machinery, were able to move.
[30] George Powell, *Brutus of Alba*, *or, Augusta's Triumph* (London: Sam Briscoe, 1697), p. 55
[31] Thomas Shadwell, *Psyche* (London: Henry Herringman, 1675), p. 66.

> *part of the heavens seemed at variance with another, by the terrible blustering of all the winds, and the thick and dark hollow clouds, did with their hanging bellies, cover the tops of towers and steeples, which filled with thunder, raised a general consternation in all Roman Catholic kingdoms, more especially in the city of Rome, when the infernal monarch, at the music of a horrid clap of thunder, made his entry through the ceiling, into the Pope's presence.*[32]

The connection created between religion and nature, captured by the anonymous author of this play, supports Thomson's suggestion that the link between nature and the supernatural, or divine persons, did not originate in the theatre, but in pamphlets and writings of the period. Indeed, this spectacular scene-change would likely have carried with it additional meanings, and acted as a warning.[33]

Further examples of a connection between dark clouds and warnings of a religious kind can be seen in Dryden's *The State of Innocence* (1674), where Lucifer is responsible for the dark clouds that descend from heaven:

> *[t]he scene changes; and represents above, a sun, gloriously rising, and moving orbicularly: at a distance, below, is the moon; the part next the sun enlightened, the other dark. A black comes whirling from the adverse part of the heavens, bearing Lucifer in it; at his nearer approach, the body of the Sun is darkened.*[34]

The visualisation of a dark cloud would have prompted a natural connection for the audience with a storm or bad weather, but with the additional inclusion of characters such as Lucifer, the element of semantic spectacle is heightened to represent fear, religious beliefs, and a conflict between good and evil.[35] Using the clouds to display fear or evil in this way took many forms. Some were subtle, like that of *The Cabal of Romish Ghosts* (1680), whereas others were more overt and spectacularly extravagant, like in Elkanah Settle's *Cambyses, King of Persia* (1671), where a '*bloody cloud interposes between the audience and the spirits*'.[36] Later these features are accompanied by '*flashes of fire'* as the '*bloody cloud interposes again'*. [37] The shouts of treason that accompany these actions highlight the powerful connection between the visual spectacle and the implied meaning, which was generated through the enactment of weather.

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[32] Anon, *The Cabal of Romish Ghosts and Mortals, or, The Devil Deceiv'd and the Sick Pope* (London: Norman Nelson, 1680), p. 9.
[33] Leslie Thomson, *The Meaning of Thunder and Lightning*, pp. 11-13.
[34] Dryden, *The State of Innocence*, p. 8.
[35] Edward Ecclestone's *Noah's Flood* provides an excellent example of religion and nature, just as we might expect to see it from the bible. Edward Ecclestone, *Noah's Flood* (London: M. Clark, 1679)
[36] Elkanah Settle, *Cambyses, King of Persia* (London: William Cademan, 1671), pp. 75
[37] Settle, *Cambyses* (1671), pp. 75-6

Perhaps the most visually spectacular and awe-inspiring presentation of nature in *Cambyses* is the *'flashes'* of fire. Knowing what the use of fire in theatrical presentation during this period was is difficult to gauge. Undoubtedly, real fire would have posed a significant risk to the theatre and its spectators. However, as Rachel Adcock contends in her discussion of the staging for a bonfire in Aphra Behn's *The Roundheads* (1682), the bonfire 'would have needed to be have been a real fire if it were to achieve the powerful visual effects of pope burning'.[38] The visual spectacle of real fire could outweigh the concerns for public safety. The multiple theatre fires during period may very well act as a testament to this, as fire is the hardest element to realistically imitate.[39] The presence of scenes containing such delights as *'[a]ngels with flaming swords'* and *'[i]t rains fire'*, suggests further complications in the staging of fire. These stage directions indicate the importance of the visual to the playwrights, attempting to show the spectacle of nature, even if they were never staged.[40] However, the questions of how such scenes of such weather were created, and what they added to the final performance, remain unanswered.

In his chapter 'Fireworks as Light, Sound, Smoke and Heat', Phillip Butterworth emphasises the use of fireworks to produce many of the special effects prior to the Restoration. As very little evidence exists to suggest that the Restoration practices of displaying nature changed, it is reasonable to assume that the approaches used in the medieval period were still present in the seventeenth century. Butterfield explains:

> [s]ound and light developed by fireworks or firework ingredients is perhaps most skilfully employed in the simulated or representational production of thunder and lightning and one of the simplest methods of producing an effect of lightning is to cast a powder such as rosin into or over a flam to produce a flash of fire.[41]

In William Mountfort's *Doctor Faustus* (1697), fireworks are recorded in the stage directions, where '*Faustus waves his wand, and a woman devil rises: Fireworks about whirls round, and sinks*', as if demonstrating the rising of evil to the stage. As the direction of a staged play, they confirm the desired incorporation of both spectacle and magic, but also the use of fireworks.[42] Similarly, Butterfield suggests that thunder and lightning-bolts were

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[38] Rachel Adcock, "Jack Presbyter in his Proper Habit": Subverting Whig Rhetoric in Aphra Behn's *The Roundheads* (1682)', *Women's Writing*, 22:1 (2015), 34-55 (p. 40).
[39] For more information on the theatre fires during the Restoration period see Leslie Hotson, *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928).
[40] Sir Francis Fane, *The Sacrifice, A Tragedy* (London: John Weld, 1687), p. 56; Thomas Duffett, *The Mock-Tempest, or, The Enchanted Castle* (London: William Cademan, 1675), p. 10.
[41] Philip Butterworth, *Theatre of Fire: Special Effects in Early English and Scottish Theatre* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1998), p. 37.
[42] Mountfort, *Life and Death of Doctor Faustus*, p. 6.

created using fireworks, and concludes that '[t]ypically, thunderbolts are used as a signal or statement from God or Heaven to an earthly recipient', and records an eyewitness account in 1439, where the '"noise of uninterrupted thunder passes down three ropes"'.[43] Butterfield suggests that this is achieved through a technique called 'fireworks on a line', where a number of fireworks were attached to a rope, and once lit, the fireworks moved along it horizontally, creating a spectacularly visual display.[44] Importantly, Butterfield has been able to identify a number of plays from the early seventeenth century that use methods such as a squib, a cylindrical firework that was sealed at both ends. A search of plays produced in the Restoration returns a number of results that discuss squibs, or relate them to the narrative.[45] Confirming definitively if fireworks were in use is not possible, but as far as evidence suggests, it is likely the practice continued into the Restoration, as it is possible to find advanced firework technologies moving into the nineteenth century theatres. Butterfield records a nineteenth-century technique that uses an iron pipe sliding down a wire soaked with asbestos and set alight. While there is no evidence to support the use of this technique earlier than the nineteenth century, it does suggest the continuing advances to theatrical mechanics. With detailed and elaborate techniques, which appear to have been developing since before the Restoration, it seems reasonable to assume that the Restoration audience could have witnessed a truly spectacular display of thunder and lightning bolts created by fireworks.[46]

Quite apart from the use of fireworks and fire, more established techniques of generating weather were available, which utilised early forms of machinery. In the second century, Julius Pollux refers to a machine designed to create the sounds of thunder and lightning.[47] There is little surviving detail about the construction or operation of Pollux's machine, but discussions and possible conclusions can be sought in the work of contemporary critics. Edward Langhans notes that in the Dorset Garden specifically, thunder

> was a standard effect, usually created in a thunder run—a channel with steps, down which cannonballs could be rolled. The ideal location for this would

[43] Butterworth, *Theatre of Fire*, p. 42.
[44] Butterworth, *Theatre of Fire,* pp.42-5.
[45] For example, Susanna Centlivre, *The Man's Bewitch'd; or, the devil to do about her. A comedy* (London: Henry Lintot, 1737); Susanna Centlivre*, The Perplex'd Lovers. A comedy.* (London: Owen Lloyd, 1712); Peter Anthony Motteux, *The island princess. Or, the generous Portuguese:* (London: Richard Wellingman, 1701).
[46] Butterworth, *Theatre of Fire,* p. 43.
[47] Cited in Paul Kuritz, 'The Classical Theatre', in *The Making of Theatre History* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1988), p. 28.

> have been in the attic over the auditorium, though a cross-stage run directly behind the proscenium wall and above the roller curtain may have been used.[48]

Although this machinery was not visible to the audience, the sound created would have produced an audible spectacle to accompany the visual one, which was perhaps formed with fireworks. Furthermore, Italian architect Nicola Sabbatini, provides an early drawing of such a machine, pictured below, which demonstrates how it would have looked and worked:[49]

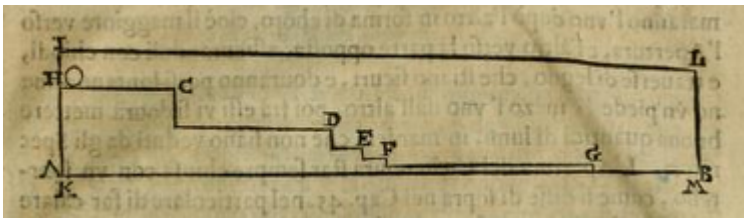


Illustration 19:Nicola Sabbatini: Thunder Run (1638).
https://archive.org/details/praticadifabrica00sabb

In this illustration (19), the circle represents a canon ball, marked H. The machine was operated by rolling the canon ball down the steps C, D, E, F, G, which were set at varying intervals in order to provide a comparison to the rolling and bumping sound of thunder.

While thunder may have been created by a simple machine, more elaborate machinery was also employed. The flying machine, which will be discussed at greater length in chapter five, produced a spectacular scene by raising and lowering the heavens and clouds. Many of the stage directions containing the words 'heavens' or 'clouds' between 1660 and 1714 describe them as 'opening', 'descending', 'ascending', or being positioned high in the performance space, suggesting that the clouds and sky were operated from the fly bar. Use of this can be seen in Thomas D'Urfey's *The famous history of the rise and fall of Massaniello* (1700), where '*the clouds open, and an apparition of St. Genaro is seen, with his sword drawn: He sings this song of comfort, and then disappears*'. Likewise, in Dryden's *Albion and Albanius* (1685), the stage directions read: '*the Clouds divide, and Juno appears in a machine drawn by peacocks; while a symphony is playing*'.[50] Similarly, stage directions include characters 'appearing' or 'disappearing' from the clouds above the stage. For example, the stage directions in Roger Boyle's (Earl of Orrey) *The Black Prince* (1699),

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[48] Edward A. Langhans, 'A Conjectural Reconstruction of the Dorset Garden Theatre', *Theatre Survey*, 13:2 (1972), 74-93 (79)
[49] Nicola Sabbatini, *Practica de Fabricar Scene e Machine ne' Teatri* (1638),
< https://archive.org/details/praticadifabrica00sabb> [accessed 17 October 2015].
[50] Thomas D'Urfey, *The famous history of the rise and fall of Massaniello* (London: John Nutt, 1700), p. 26. Dryden, *Albion and Albanius,* p. 7.

performed at the Theatre Royal, provide invaluable evidence of how lowering characters onto the stage in clouds might have worked. The second act opens:

> *two scenes of clouds appear, the one within the other; in the hollow of each cloud are women and men richly apparelled, who sing in dialogue and chorus, as the clouds descend to the stage; then the women and men enter upon the theatre, and dance; afterwards return into the clouds, which insensibly rise, all of them singing until the clouds are ascended to their full height.*[51]

The 'hollow' described by Boyle, implies that the clouds acted as boxes, or lowering mechanisms, which the actors could stand in, and where the playwrights were able present divine characters. The rising and lowering of the clouds further concludes that a pulley system was employed to move the actors from the heavens to the stage floor. As the characters are singing while in the clouds, it is likely that the clouds were shorter than the height of an average person, but wide and deep enough to hold multiple people.

In contrast to the elaborate and extensive machinery needed to lower people on to the stage, a simple wooden machine also provided the spectacle of weather - the wind machine. Returning once more to the Castle Theatre in Cesky Krumlov, a surviving eighteenth-century wind machine, built in respect to earlier designs, provides an example of how the sound of wind was achieved.

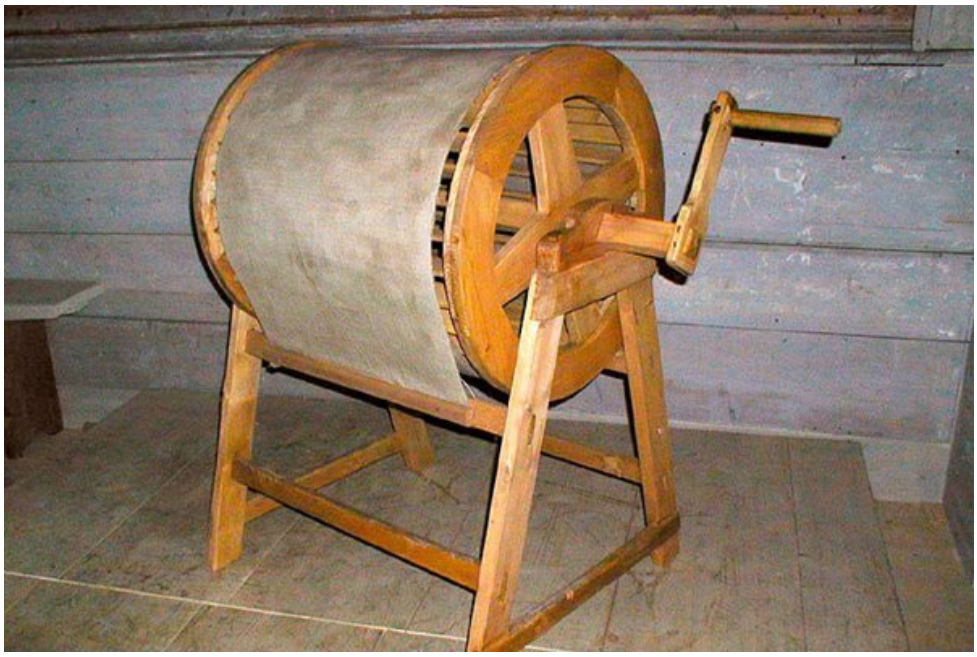

Illustration 20: Wind Machine at Castle Theatre Cesky Krumlov. Copyright Lyndsey Bakewell, 2013.

[51] Roger Boyle (Earl of Orrery), *The Black Prince* (London: H. Herringman, 1669), p. 12.

In the centre of this machine is a large drum suspended on a four-legged frame, with a wooden turning handle on the front. Around the drum is a taut piece of fabric, which runs under the frame, and when the handle is turned the resulting friction produces the sound of wind. To a contemporary ear, the sound generated by this machine does little to resemble the sound effects we are used to. However, the machine does produce a sound that mirrors the movement of wind in a storm; it can be described as imitating the rustlings and whooshing sounds created when wind passes by objects – a recognisable sound of wind, breaking and beginning again with pauses of silence. Visually, this machine provides little contribution in terms of spectacle to the on-stage performance, so it is likely to have been operated at the edge of the pit..[52]

Finally, music also played a significant role in creating the sounds of weather, often used alongside the stage machines. As the period advanced, more operas were written and performed and the music in them contributed significantly to their elaborate spectacular presentations.[53] Considering the use of music in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Richard Taruskin highlights a moment in Handel's no. 7 where there was a 'gathering storm leading to the representation of "hailstones for rain"', which 'calls for a large assortment of new (woodwind and timpani) colours to play'; music was a convenient medium through which nature could be represented.[54]

It is evident that nature, and its theatrical representation, formed an important element of Restoration stage spectacle. The range of associated meanings, operations and forms of weather employed throughout the period indicate that it was an effective way of generating visual and audible spectacles for the audience. Through the use of machinery and scenery, the representation of weather draws on the founding principles of spectacle, but equally forges its own specific delights, not only through its more scientific and chemical elements, such as fireworks and friction, but also in the added psychological depths of nature's varying semantic meanings. Utilised in many plays of the period, the representation of weather can be seen as a form of spectacle, not just because of its reliance on machinery, but also because of the ways in which its visual and audible delights spoke directly to the audience.

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[52] Interview conducted by Lyndsey Bakewell in July 2013, at the Castle Theatre, Cesky Krumlov, Czech Republic. Interviewee did not give her name.

[53] It is possible that musical adaptations such as *Macbeth* by William Davenant and *The Enchanted Island* by John Dryden included representations of storms and thunder in their music.

[54] Richard Taruskin, *Music in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 152.

# Chapter Five

# Mechanical Spectacle: Developments in Large-Scale Machinery

The inclusion of elaborate stage machinery in a great number of plays and operas exhibits the significant advances in theatrical spectacle throughout the Restoration period. Scholars have contended that the widespread use of machinery, in many forms, in Restoration theatre marks its advancement from the simpler Renaissance stage, to that of the elaborate performance spaces of the Restoration.[1] However, by presenting some of the more spectacular uses of machinery, this chapter will address the idea that the elaborate machines were actually only utilised to their full potential late in the seventeenth century.

Machinery does hold a prominent place in theatre history, and as Langhans concludes,

> [m]any devices, such as cranes and trap doors, traced their roots back to the ancient Greeks, and almost all employed machines common in construction work through the ages.[2]

Subsequently, in her chapter, 'The Multimedia Spectacular', Judith Milhous highlights that generating spectacle depended not simply on the *use* of theatrical mechanics, but also on the *extensive*, even *excessive* use of mechanics and machinery. For the purposes of her argument, Milhous draws on plays staged specifically at the Dorset Garden theatre between 1673 and 1692 – a choice of venue made, she argues, because of the space's impactful developments in mechanics.[3] By this, Milhous implies that the theatre assists in elevating a small number of plays from 'ordinary' (those with little or no 'mechanical' spectacle), to 'spectaculars' (those

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[1] For a detailed overview of how the Restoration stage can be seen as distinguishable for its inclusion of spectacle please see the introduction to this thesis. Further reference can also be found in the work of Jocelyn Powell, *Restoration Theatre Production* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984), Judith Milhous, 'The Multimedia Spectacular on the Restoration Stage', in *British Theatre and the Other Arts, 1660-1800*, ed. by Shirley Strum Kenny (London and New Jersey: Associated University Presses, 1984), Colin Visser, 'Scenery and Technical Design' in *The London Theatre World 1660-1800*, ed. Robert D. Hume (Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980), pp. 66-118, Edward A. Langhans, 'The Theatre', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre,* ed. by Deborah Payne Fisk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 1-18, Edward A. Langhans, 'The Theatres', in *London Theatre World,* ed. by Robert. D, Hume (Illinois: Southern Illnois University Press, 1980), pp. 35-65, and Dawn Lewcock, *Sir William Davenant, the Court Masque, and the English Seventeenth-century Scenic Stage* c.1605 – c. 1700 (New York: Cambria Press, 2008).

[2] Edward A. Langhans, 'The Theatre', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre,* ed. by Deborah Payne Fisk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 1-18 (p. 10)

[3] Judith Milhous, 'The Multimedia Spectacular', in *British Theatre and Other Arts, 1660-1800*, ed. by Shirley Strum Kenny (London: Associated University Presses, 1984), pp. 41-66 (p. 42)

containing extensive usage of machinery to generate spectacle).[4] Likewise, Jean Marsden, in her chapter 'Spectacle, Horror, and Pathos', concludes that spectacle adds a 'quantifiable' aspect to stage development through its use of stage machinery. Noting how this affects the theatres in which these machines appear, she writes,

> [o]ften dependent on the physical capabilities of the theatres in which they were staged, spectacle [in these plays] can be traced in part to quantifiable developments in the staging. Thus some of the most sensational special effects appear only in theatres such as the new theatre at Dorset Garden which could accommodate the machines needed to make witches fly and fire stream from the firmament.[5]

Again, Marsden's conclusions relate directly to the Dorset Garden, and are based on its assumed advancement of mechanics. Furthermore, in his book *Restoration Production*, Jocelyn Powell determines that one of the most significant plays from the period, due to its mechanically generated spectacular effects, was *The Tempest*, *or, The Enchanted Island* (1675), staged, again, at the Dorset Garden.[6]

The question of how and why the Dorset Garden became the leading theatre for mechanical presentation resides in a number of factors: its owners; its perceived advances in comparison to other theatres; the misfortune of the Theatre Royal; and its extensive collection of machinery and scenes – the likes of which were commented on even during the seventeenth century. John Evelyn, for example, remarks that he 'stepped in at the theatre to see the new machines for the intended scenes, which were indeed very costly and magnificent'.[7]

Contemporary documentation establishes, therefore, that the Dorset Garden was technically the most advanced theatre of the period, being built to exact specifications, and reducing audience capacity in order to increase the size of backstage and showcase extensive mechanical spectacle.[8] It is reasonable to propose that these developments were in part due to the demands of the audience, who anticipated an ever-increasing display of spectacle. Confirmation of this appears in a great number of plays performed at the Dorset Garden, including Dryden's *Albion and Albanius* (1685), Shadwell's *Psyche* (1675), and Elkanah

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[4] Milhous, 'The Multimedia Spectacular', pp. 41-62.
[5] Jean L. Marsden, 'Spectacle, Horror, and Pathos', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre*, ed. by Deborah Payne-Fisk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 174-190. (p. 174)
[6] Jocelyn Powell, *Restoration Theatre Production* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984), pp. 62-83.
[7] John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn, Volume 2,* ed. by William Bray (New York and London: M. Walter Dunn, 1901), p. 68. <https://archive.org/details/diaryofjohnevely02eveliala> [accessed 18 October 2015]
[8] Robert D. Hume, 'The Dorset Garden Theatre: a Review of Facts and Problems', *Theatre Notebook*, 33:2 (1979), 4–17.

Settle's *The Empress of Morocco* (1687).[9] Milhous, however, limits her definition of the spectacular to just eight plays, all staged at the Dorset Garden, implying that these formed a 'sub-genre', 'which took Restoration Theatre into a whole new realm', although she goes on to acknowledge that the demand for a least some machine-based spectacle was so great that machines were utilised in a number of plays at the Dorset Garden – meaning the theatre developed a trend of adding spectacle to almost everything.[10] She refers to this as a 'machine farce boom' in the 1680s, which made use of the mechanical capabilities of the Dorset Garden stage. Moreover, Milhous argues that

> serious drama, whether of the 'heroic', 'horror', or 'high tragedy' type, often included a scene or two which showed off the perspective stage or used some simpler machinery.[11]

Milhous defines the spectaculars at the Dorset Garden as early experiments with opera, something that, later in the period, would develop into a genre utilising extensive amounts of machinery and other forms of spectacle. By this, she defines spectacle as an addition to the operatic genre, but suggests that machines could also be used in other styles of theatre at the Dorset Garden.[12] I contend, however, that the spectacular advances of the Restoration were not merely confined to opera or early operatic styles, nor were they limited to the 1680s, but rather that the use of mechanics and machinery allowed many theatrical genres, and theatres, to utilise the success of mechanical spectacle, throughout the period.

With the considerable amount of research conducted into stage machinery during this period (including that which has been done, or prompted by Milhous herself), it is not necessary for this chapter to provide another detailed account of how the spectacle of machines operated, or indeed of the subsequent battle between theatres to provide the most spectacular performances. Powell's chapter, focusing on *The Enchanted Island* (1674), provides detailed analyses of a range of stage machinery. Powell notes that flying machines were operated by pulleys, perspective scenery added to the visual display of the scene through machinery to slide them on and off the stage, lamps with lowering lanterns were used to darken the stage, and wave machines and thunder machines (as discussed in the previous chapter) were all utilised in order to add visual and audible elements to the spectacle of the

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[9] John Dryden, *Albion and Albanius* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1685), Thomas Shadwell, *Psyche* (London: R. Bentley,1675), and Elkanah Settle, *The Empress of Morroco* (London: William Cademan, 1673)
[10] Milhous, *The Multimedia Spectacular*, pp. 41-66.
[11] Judith Milhous, *Thomas Betterton and the Management of Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1695-1708* (Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979), p. 44.
[12] Milhous, 'The Multimedia Spectacular', pp. 41-66.

shows.[13] Similarly, in her chapter 'Spectacle, Horror and Pathos', Jean L. Marsden concludes that machinery ranged from the 'low tech' spectacle such as processions and scenic settings, to more elaborate spectacle, which generated its wonderment through complex and costly machinery, allowing for the ascending and descending of performers, scenes and props, which she contends was a 'dazzling spectacle' that outshone the other theatres.[14]

To broaden the scope of the current research, this chapter will re-visit some of the thinking around spectacle, and re-address Milhous's definition of 'Dorset Garden Spectaculars' in order to expand the classification of spectacle to include other theatres and genres. Furthermore, through a close reading of plays from performance spaces other than Dorset Garden, I will show that other theatres operating in the Restoration possessed much of the same mechanically spectacular powers and equipment of the Dorset Garden, and that their performances contained equally significant quantities of large-scale spectacle. By focusing specifically on Lincoln's Inn Fields, the two Theatre Royals, and the Dorset Garden plays that do not fall into Milhous's definition, this chapter will identify a range of other significantly spectacular plays, which deserve recognition. In doing this, I am seeking not to redefine the term spectacular in relation to mechanical spectacle, but rather to build on the existing scholarship and expand the current set of plays from the period deemed to be 'spectacularly' noteworthy. This chapter will not focus on the complex practical issues presented by the merging of the two theatre companies in 1682 to become the United Company, beyond making the general acknowledgement that during this period of unity, machines were shared between the multiple spaces they performed in. Instead, this chapter will address what was created in each of the theatres, rather than by whom they were created, and demonstrate the ubiquity of the spectacular in all theatres during this period. This approach will in turn broaden our appreciation of, and draw attention to, the shows currently omitted from the consideration of Restoration spectacular.

Before proceeding, it is important to acknowledge the issues of working with stage directions as evidence for an actual performance; we need to do so with caution, as what is written may not necessarily have represented what was actually done. Stage directions are sometimes included by writers more in hope than in expectation – a cue to the producing company about what *might* happen. Moreover, it is quite possible that the publishers or printers included some stage directions to provide a more colourful description for the reader

[13] Powell, *Restoration Theatre Production*, pp. 62-83.
[14] Marsden, 'Spectacle, Horror, and Pathos', p. 175-6. Other important scholars include: Edward Langhans, Tim Keenan, Dawn Lewcock and Colin Visser.

– one that was not the case in the audience's experience. In the case of Restoration London, however, the conditions of both publishing and playing, the relatively limited numbers of both audience members and readers, and the extent of the likely overlap between the two, all give us some justification for believing – albeit with caution – that the published stage directions do bear some relation to the performance experience.

As Milhous notes, the ownership of elaborate machinery, such as flying machines, was very costly, and as such the quantity and quality of machines varied between playhouses.[15] Dorset Garden, some have argued, possessed the most elaborate and effective machines. For example, Colin Visser asserts that

> [a]t Dorset Garden the machines were of a complexity unsurpassed during the following century. There, individuals or groups could descend onto or ascend from the stage in chairs, thrones, chariots, or on lines and platforms[.][16]

But the Dorset Garden machines were not the only ones; there are also accounts of other theatres possessing similar equipment, and Visser equally notes that '[b]oth Lincoln's Inn Fields and Theatre Royal Bridges Street possessed machines for descents onto the stage' and

> [a]t Covent Garden in 1744 painted pieces in the shop included 'twelve pieces of breaking clouds in Apollo and Daphne'. A machine which that would allow clouds to descend at differing speeds […] The clouds are suspended from barrels of different circumferences, turning on a single axis. The revolution of the barrels lowers the clouds at different speeds.[17]

Moreover, Samuel Pepys offers evidence for the use of machinery at Theatre Royal:

> we walked to the King's play-house, all in dirt, they being altering of the stage to make it wider. But God knows when they will begin to act again; but my business here was to see the inside of the stage and all the tiring-rooms and machines; and, indeed, it was a sight worthy seeing. But to see their clothes, and the various sorts, and what a mixture of things there was; here a wooden-leg, there a ruff, here a hobbyhorse, there a crown, would make a man split himself to see with laughing; and particularly Lacy's wardrobe, and Shotrell's. But then again, to think how fine they show on the stage by candle-light, and how poor things they are to look now too near hand, is not pleasant at all. The machines are fine, and the paintings very pretty.[18]

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[15] Milhous details the extensive costs in 'Multimedia Spectacular', noting that in order to lower costs some machinery was 'off the rack' and used across many plays and operas. She further contends that if one production failed, another was quickly created making use of the previous shows spectacle. pp. 42-4.

[16] Colin Visser, 'Scenery and Technical Design', in *London Theatre World, 1660-1800*, ed. by Robert. D. Hume (Illinois, Southern Illinois Press, 1980), pp. 66-118 (p. 101)

[17] Visser, 'Scenery and Technical Design', p. 101

[18] Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys,* 19th March 1666. <www.pepys.info> [accessed 05 October 2015]

The machinery recorded at multiple theatres implies that it played a significant role, to a greater or lesser degree, in the generation of theatrical spectacle at all playhouses during the period. The most elaborate and impressive of the machines, detailed above, is the machinery used to 'fly' actors and large set pieces into the playing space. With the capability of lowering, raising and moving through the playing space, this machinery presented a great number of spectacular possibilities.[19] John Downes recorded that Thomas Shadwell's *The Lancashire Witches* (1681), was 'a kind of opera, having several machines of flying for the witches and other diverting contrivances in it; all being well performed, it proved beyond expectation very beneficial to the poet and actors'.[20] The capacity of this form of machinery to create a truly magnificent spectacle was partly dependent on the audience not seeing what was enabling the movement; the machinery itself was often disguised, or masked from view so the scenic illusion of the stage was created by the technology hidden behind it. Visser explains that 'the machine was masked with a "blind" of boards or canvas[.] When appropriate, the blinds took the form of clouds.'[21] The disguise allowed for the machine to take on the current stage setting, providing and becoming a realistic part of that setting.

The 'flying machines' were responsible for the most elaborate special effects, presenting numerous opportunities to the theatres and playwrights of the period. Following a fire at Theatre Royal Bridges Street, a new Theatre Royal was built in Drury Lane, and it is here that flying machine-based spectacle began to play an important role in performance. A chariot was a frequent feature of flying effects in the new theatres. Thomas Duffett's *Psyche Debauch'd*, performed at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane in 1678, provides one the most striking examples of flying machine spectacle at a theatre other than Dorset Garden.[22] Containing over thirty major stage directions, utilising elaborate forms of spectacle including machinery, puppetry, singing and dancing, the play matches those performed at the Dorset Garden in both the quantity and quality of the spectacular effects. On page sixteen of Duffett's 'Mock Opera', a representation of Venus, Woosat, '*appears in a chariot drawn by two brooms*' before '*ascending*' and marking the first mechanically spectacular effect in the

[19] In her article 'Seeing Places: The Tempest and the Baroque Spectacle of the Restoration Theatre', Cary DiPietro discusses the use of mechanical spectacle in *The Enchanted Island.* Her she notes, that the flying machine was vastly important to the spectacle of the scene as it called for two fly tracks in order to operate, meaning the flying machine presented great dexterity of movement. Cary DiPietro, 'Seeing Places: The Tempest and the Baroque Spectacle of the Restoration Theatre', *Shakespeare,* 9:2 (2012), 168-186.
[20] John Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, ed. by Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume (London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1987), pp. 80-1
[21] Colin Visser, 'Scenery and Technical Design', p. 101.
[22] Thomas Duffett, *Psyche Debauch'd, A Comedy* (London: John Smith, 1678).

play.[23] This is quickly followed by stage directions that signal '*the white bear of Norwich, and at the end of the dance his shape flies off, and he appears dressed like a Cupid*'. Later, '*[m]other Woossat flies over the stage, and calls Justice Crab, who comes out in his chariot*', which concludes in an impressively spectacular scene, created by *'[t]he clouds open, and from the inner part of the heaven, descends Jupiter in his chariot drawn by Eagles*.'[24] Finally,

> *[t]rumpets are heard a far off, the heavens divide; and from the furthest end Mercury flies down attended by fame, and the whole heaven appears adorned with angels, &c. and Music.*[25]

If these stage directions, provided by Duffett, are representative of what could be staged at the Theatre Royal, then they not only indicate the ownership of impressive machinery at the theatre, but that the stage space itself was capable of holding such machinery, and it was incorporated extensively in their plays. *Psyche Debauch'd* (1678) makes frequent use of the trap door in order to create stage spectacle. The trap door facilitates a wishing chair, rising and sinking, along with a '*little spirit [who] rises*', before concluding with '*King Andrews ghost rises crowned, and Redstreak* […]—*attended with two spirits.* […] *they vanish*'.[26] Presenting the opportunity for characters and spirits to appear and vanish, the trap door, alongside the flying machine, allows *Psyche Debauch'd* to not only include elaborate hovering spectacles, but also utilised the entire playing space.

However, Duffett's *Psyche Debauch'd* is not the only example of an elaborate mechanical spectacle staged at Theatre Royal. Further examples of plays incorporating similar spectacle include: *The Mock Tempest* staged in 1675 containing '*[w]enches come up from the trap-door*', '*Ariel flying down*', and '*the sun rising — the music sitting in an arch of chariots*'.[27] John Dryden's *Amphitryon*, staged in 1690, contained stage directions calling for extensive machinery, including, '*Mercury and Phoebus descend in several machines*', and an instruction for '*[a] second peal of thunder. After which, Jupiter appears in a machine*'; these episodes utilise both the spectacle of machinery and that of nature, when '*[n]ight appears above in her chariot*'.[28] A further example is Thomas D'Urfey's *Cinthia and Endimion*, staged in 1697, which takes advantage of the theatre's ability to make characters ascend and

[23] Duffett, *Psyche Debauch'd*, p. 16.
[24] Duffett, *Psyche Debauch'd*, p. 34, 52, 81.
[25] Duffett, *Psyche Debauch'd*, p. 82.
[26] Duffett, *Psyche Debauch'd*, p. 57, 37.
[27] Thomas Duffett, *The Mock-Tempest* (London: William Cademan, 1675), pp, 5, 12, 55.
[28] John Dryden, *Amphitryon, or, The two Socia's a Comedy* (London: J. Tonson, 1690), pp. 2, 57, 6.

descend in the following stage directions: '*Night, ascends from the stage*', '*Mr. Dogget, dressed like Collin, rises from under the stage as frightened*' and '*Cupid hovers over*'.[29]

While the Theatre Royal plays discussed so far contain significant examples of mechanical spectacle, one of the most illuminating plays from this theatre is *Ariadne* – a play discussed briefly in chapter two. Written originally in French by Louis Grabu, *Ariadne* was, according to its title page, performed at the Theatre Royal by the Royal Academy of Music in 1673.[30] From its opening stage direction, we can understand that mechanical spectacle appeared throughout, generating a significant number of spectacular scenes and using a range of machinery. The initial stage direction calls for

> *[first opening of the theatre by a symphony, shewing a prospect of Thames opposite to London, on the waves of which is seen floating, a great shell as it were of mother of pearl, bearing 3. nymphs, representing 3. Rivers, Thamis, Tyber and Seine; which nymphs sing the PROLOGUE.*[31]

In this direction, a wave machine was required. Whether this particular machine belonged to the Theatre Royal, or it was brought with the visiting company, is unclear, however, the theatre itself was clearly capable of housing and incorporating it into the play. Below are images of an earlier wave machine, provided by Nicola Sabbatini, which demonstrate how the Theatre Royal's machine might have looked and worked.

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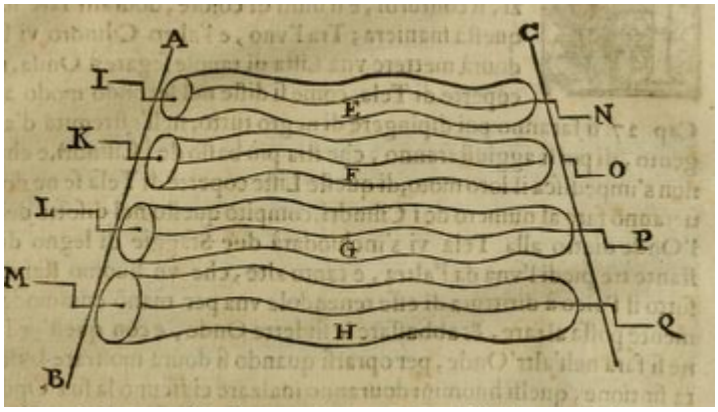
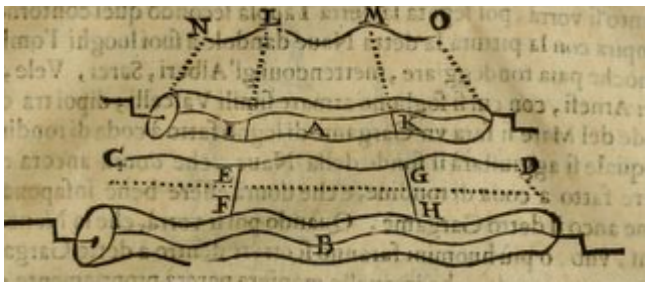
[29] Thomas D'Urfey, *A New Opera, Call'd, Cinthia and Endimion: or, The loves of the Deities* (London: Sam Briscoe, 1697), pp. 4, 5, 13.

[30] The Theatre Royal in Bridge Street burnt down in 1672, and the replacement in Drury Lane did not open until 1674. In John Dryden's *The Critical and Miscellaneous Prose Works*, it is suggested that this performance actually took place in March 1674 when the theatre reopened. John Dryden, *The Critical and Miscellaneous Prose Works: Now First Collected*, ed. by Edmond Malone (London: H. Baldwin and Son, 1800), p. 265. A record of this performance can also be found in the *Poetical Register* (1720). Jacob Giles, *The Poetical Register: Or the Lives and Characters of English Dramatick Poets* (London: E. Curll, 1720), p. 13. < http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.$b182768;view=1up;seq=60> [accessed 17 October 2015]

[31] Louis Garbu, *Ariadne or, The marriage of Bacchus an opera or a vocal representation* (London: Tho. Newcombe, 1673-74), p. 7.




Illustrations 21: 'Wave Machine' Nicola Sabbatini, *Practica Di Fabricar Scene, E Machine Ne'Teatri* (1638) < https://archive.org/details/praticadifabrica00sabb>

The illustrations above (21) are taken from Sabbatini's *Practica Di Fabricar Scene, E Machine Ne'Teatri*, written in 1638. Roughly translated, its description suggests that a taut piece fabric was placed over the rollers, which, when the handle was turned, lifted the fabric, making the appearance of waves.[32] The stage directions provided by Grabu in *Ariadne* imply that multiple pieces of fabric were part of the machine used at the Theatre Royal, and would have provided gaps into which the performers could fit. Moreover, the directions suggest that the machine could move, perhaps forwards and backwards over the stage floor, making it seem as if the sea was pushing the actors. The directions here read

> *the waves and billows do force them back to the shore […]*
> *several sea-gods, and plunges into the sea. […]*

[32] Nicola Sabbatini, *Practica de Fabricar Scene e Machine ne' Teatri* (1638), <https://archive.org/details/praticadifabrica00sabb> [accessed 25 October 2015], pp. 111-113. From the Italian: Sia tra i cilindri A. B. e le onde fatte con liste di tavole coperte di tela colorita nel modo detto di sopra C. E. G. D. e siano le due stag gie E.F. e G.H di lunghezza quanto si disse di sopra, & inchiodata nell'onde dietro la tela in E. e G. distante tre piedi tra l'uno, e l'altra, e la detta onda sia posta tanto più bassa de i cilindri quanto, che la sommità di C. D. non venga veduta da gli spettatori; nel tempo poi, che si vorrà far mutare di colore il mare, gli huomini, che havranno le staggiette F. H. in mano alzaranno tanto l'onda, che F. H. venga in I.L. e conseguentemente la sommità dell'onda C.E. G. D. diverrà in L.M.N.O & abbassandola, & inalzandola con maggior frequenza de i cilindri, come si disse di sopra, si mostrarà quanto si dovrà mostrare. Il simile si darà con l'altre onde, che si dovranno porre fra gli altri cilindri, colendo parere di rabbonaceiare il mare, si ritorneranno l'onde al suo luogo, ripigliando il moto de i cilindri, come si disse de sopra. Il simile si farà con l'altre onde, che si dovranno porre fra gli altri cilindri.

> *These fall a wrestling with the Bacchants, and do form a regular fight, after which they grasp each other fast in their arms, and precipitate themselves all into the Sea.*[33]

While there is no further evidence to indicate how this scene might have been achieved, the physical movements of the actors were likely to have played some part in creating the visual spectacle, using gesture to represent the pushing and pulling of water and working in union with the machinery. It is also feasible for the trap door(s) to have been used in this scene to assist the mythological characters, such as Mars, Bacchus, Diana and Apollo, to ascend and descend, to and from the stage. Later, these characters rise from the stage floor, and the stage directions read,

> *[t]hree furies breaking forth from beneath, flee up into the air to meet Mars and Bellona, upon which they all come down.* [34]

At the top of the playing space, Garbu signals that

> *Mars appears in the clouds riding on a chariot, speaking to Bellona who rides on another* [chariot]
> *Little cupids fluttering about Bacchus, do charm him with chains of flower* […]
> *Apollo and Diana fly down from one side, and Hercules from the other side of the theatre to meet Mars and Bellona.*[35]

The stage directions go on to specify that '*Ariadne passes over the theatre without speaking, only sighs*'.[36] This may have been achieved by means of an extension of the machinery, which stretched out over the audience, but it would be difficult to confirm.

The stage directions above, while proceeding with caution, may be taken as a demonstration of the use of machinery in *Ariadne*, including the suspension of cupids, the lowering of chariots and the raising of furies. Garbu additionally drew on further forms of spectacle including fire, automata and painted scenery towards the end of the play, to create scenes of truly spectacular magnificence, and an awe-inspiring finale, suggesting that the Theatre Royal's spectacular advancements stretched to the culmination of mechanical, scenic and object-based spectacle. For example,

> *[t]he fury with her burning torch in her hand flies up into the air, with dragons following her.*[37]

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[33] Garbu, *Ariadne,* p. 22.
[34] Garbu, *Ariadne,* p. 22.
[35] Garbu, *Ariadne,* pp. 9, 27, 30.
[36] Garbu, *Ariadne*, p. 31
[37] Garbu, *Ariadne*, p. 22.

This representation of a dragon bears some resemblance to Charles Davenant's play *Circe* (1677), performed at the Dorset Garden, where '*[a]s they go to kill Orestes, dragon rises out of the earth, and bear him away; Circe appears in a chariot drawn by dragons*', marking a possible sharing of machinery, or indeed a competition between the playhouses to stage similar spectacles.[38] As a spectacular closing statement to the play, Garbu envisions,

> *[a] glittering palace comes down from heaven, on the middle of which is seen a royal throne; over the throne hands a crown made of seven precious stones, the crown suspended by four little cupids flying. Venus with the three graces sits on the throne with bands of symphonists about her. during the symphony, the palace and throne descend slowly upon the theatre.*[39]

And then finally,

> *[t]he seven gems which composed her crown, are inflamed of a sudden, and changed into so many bright stars, known in heaven by the name of Ariadne's hair.*[40]

The frequent use of mechanical spectacle in the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane provides valuable examples of spectacular performances after 1674. The Lincoln's Inn Field theatre, however, offers a more inclusive timeline of the development of mechanics in the theatre.

The Lincoln's Inn Field was used from 1661 through to the end of the Restoration period and beyond. Its incorporation of machine-based spectacle was gradual, but it eventually showcased widespread mechanical spectacle late in the seventeenth century. From the seemingly elaborate scenery presented in *The Siege of Rhodes*, discussed in chapter one, to the use of advanced mechanical machinery, Lincoln's Inn Fields demonstrates the steady inclusion of mechanical spectacle to the theatre of Restoration England, and, more importantly, signifies the important role spectacle played in drawing spectators to the theatre.[41] After being a haven for both the King's and the Duke's companies in the middle of the period, it was not until the 1690s, under the guidance of Betterton, that mechanical spectacle became a substantial part of the plays and operas performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields.

Richard Luckett argues that 'Betterton seems for a time to have concentrated on self-contained "masques" within plays', suggesting that the masques were a way of incorporating

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[38] Charles Davenant, *Circe* (London: Richard Tonson, 1677), p. 30.
[39] Garbu, *Ariadne*, p. 50.
[40] Garbu, *Ariadne*, p. 51.
[41] It is of course the case that the Lincoln's Inn Field theatre was little used for a period of time due to the opening of new theatres. However, as fire damaged or destroyed a number of the new theatres, Lincoln's Inn Fields was continually revisited throughout the period, and appropriate alterations were made to ensure 'spectaculars of varying degrees could still be staged and generate funds.

extensive spectacle, both mechanical and otherwise.[42] Machine-based spectacle appeared in the plays and operas performed at the theatre in varying amounts and a variety of practices. Examples include John Banks's *Cyrus the* Great (1696), with its vanishing ghosts;[43] Peter Anthony Motteux's *The Novelty Every Act a Play* (1697), making use of depictions of '*A Poetical heaven appears in perspective, and a fire under it*';[44] and Colley Cibber's *Xerxes* (1699), using the trap door to make characters appear and arise.[45] These plays sit in contrast to John Dennis's *Rinaldo and Armida* (1699), which utilised all of the mechanical spectacle the space could offer; unfortunately, as Luckett points out, 'it was not a financial success'.[46] However, with elaborate stage directions such as '*[t]he enchanted palace rises to music*', '*Cupid flying down*', and with a little help from magic, *'Carlo goes round waving his wand and the spirits vanish*', the production integrated the mechanics of spectacle in a visually meaningful way.[47]

Dennis's tragedy, along with Charles Gildon's *Measure for Measure* (1700), were both performed in Lincoln's Inn Fields and provide supporting evidence to argue that playwrights did not feel the need for mechanical spectacle to be continuous or overly elaborate. While both plays contain a sizable amount of mechanical spectacle, including flying machines and trap doors, they do not detail elaborate sets, multiple characters descending at once and moving about the stage, or large pieces of set being removed from the stage via the trap door. Rather, the plays performed under the management of Betterton indicate that any form of mechanical spectacle was, still late into the seventeenth century, deemed to be an important inclusion, and, as such, featured as a long-standing form of entertainment for the audience. With their use of machine spectacle all of these plays should therefore be considered spectacular.

It is apparent from the plays discussed in this chapter that mechanical spectacle formed a vital part of Restoration performance in more theatres than the Dorset Garden. In light of this, plays written and performed prior to the Restoration period were altered and adapted to include machinery. Of all of these William Shakespeare's *Macbeth* (1674) – one

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[42] Richard Luckett, 'Exotick but Rational Entertainments: The English Dramatic Operas', in *English Drama: Forms and Development: Essays in Honour of Murial Clara Bradbook,* ed. by Marie Axton and Raymond Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 123-41 (p. 126).
[43] John Banks, *Cyrus the Great, or, The Tragedy of Love* (London: Richard Bentley, 1696)
[44] Peter Anthony Motteux, *The Novelty Every Act a Play: Being a Short Pastoral, Comedy, Masque, Tragedy, and Farce, After the Italian Manner* (London: Rich. Parker, 1697), p. 31.
[45] Colley Cibber, *Xerxes, A Tragedy* (London: John Nutt, 1699)
[46] John Dennis, *Rinaldo and Armida, A Tragedy* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1699). Richard Luckett, 'Exotick but Rational Entertainments', p. 126.
[47] Dennis, *Rinaldo and Arminda*, pp. 5, 29.

of the eight plays considered by Milhous as spectacular – was reworked by patent owner William Davenant with additional scenery and machinery. While *Macbeth a Tragedy* (1674) provides a significant account of the mechanical and other forms of spectacle discussed in this thesis, most importantly, due to its performance in both theatre spaces under the United company, it provides an informative comparison between the capabilities of the stages at Dorset Garden and Theatre Royal.[48] *Macbeth* moved to the Theatre Royal in 1687, and if both the 1674 and the 1687 texts are compared, no amendments to the setting or stage directions can be found. Both scripts include directions for flying witches, descending machines, caves moving downwards, witches vanishing and ghosts rising. Davenant's *Macbeth* is a preserved example of the true mechanical spectacle of Restoration theatre, revealing the capabilities of both the Dorset Garden and the Theatre Royal. While one must, of course, treat these stage directions with caution, and cannot say for certain that the machinery used was identical, the play retaining the same stage directions in both spaces acts as confirmation from Davenant that spectacular performances were possible outside the Dorset Garden, and that our current thinking on the spectaculars of the period needs to be widened.

As further confirmation, John Downes wrote in 1687

> *The Tragedy of Macbeth* altered by Sir William Davenant; being dressed in all it's finery, as new cloths, new scenes, machines as flying for the witches; with all the singing and dancing in it.[49]

Moreover, the 'Dorset Garden Spectaculars' identified by Milhous span both the end of the independent King's and Duke's Companies, and the newly formed United Companies.[50] All of the spectaculars selected by Milhous were performed at the Dorset Garden in a space of 19 years. These plays and operas were not, though, the only ones to be presented in the theatre at that time, and many other performances, with substantial amounts of spectacle, are excluded from Milhous's discussion by the way that she has defined the category. I believe that the plays and operas performed in the Dorset Garden, but not considered by Milhous, such as Elkanah Settle's *The World in The Moon* (1697), are vital to the expansion of research into understanding and defining Restoration spectacle.

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[48] William Davenant, *Macbeth a Tragedy* (London: P. Chetwin, 1674)
[49] John Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, ed. by Judith Milhous and Robert D.Hume (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1987), p. 71.
[50] By 1685 the Dorset Garden was renamed the Queen's Theatre; when James ascended the throne, he named it for his wife. Jonathan Law, *The Methuen Drama Dictionary of the Theatre* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011), p. 156.

Settle's play contains beautifully descriptive stage directions, including

> *[t]he flat-scene draws, and discovers three grand arches of clouds extending to the roof of the house, terminated with a prospect of cloud-work, all filled with the figures of fames and cupids; a circular part of the back clouds rolls softly away, and gradually discovers a silver moon, near fourteen foot diameter: after which, the silver moon wanes off by degrees, and discovers the world within, consisting of four grand circles of clouds, illustrated with cupids, &c. twelve golden chariots are seen riding in the clouds, filled with twelve children, representing the twelve celestial signs. The third arch entirely rolling away, leaves the full prospect* [.][51]

The play also contains descriptive passages of the effects created by flying machines and scenery:

> *[a] dance of four swans. To them enter five green men, upon which the swans take wing and fly up into the heavens. The green men dance; which concludes the act* […]
>
> *A palace of Cynthia, near twenty foot appears within the clouds*
> *flotoons of flowers, bound with ribbons of gold, and held up with flying cupids.*[52]

And there is even a suggestion of the size of trap door in the floor, which had to be big enough to fit a bed and other furniture: '*The Bed and all the furniture drops down under the stage*'.[53] These details from the play all provide examples of elaborate machines and make use of the mechanics the theatre had to offer, but which Milhous has not categorised as part of her spectacular classification.

It may be argued that plays such as *The World in The Moon* used 'off the rack' scenery, or machinery designed and constructed for other plays and are therefore not spectacular in their own right. However, I would argue that the spectacle of machinery comes more from its intricate weaving into play texts, and the overall wonder created, rather than whether the machinery and scenery were specifically designed for it. While Milhous's definition clearly sets forth that the plays included in the spectacular category are done so for their extensive use of machinery, the other categories provided by Milhous provide little differentiation between any other plays performed in the Dorset Garden, and fail to take into account any that were performed in other theatres. Reconsidering the definition of spectacle in terms of mechanical machinery means that it should be broadened to include anything that uses machinery in a way that enhances the visual impact of the scene.

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[51] Elkanah Settle, *The World in the Moon* (London: Abel Roper, 1697), p. 7.
[52] Settle, *The World in the Moon*, pp. 8, 15, 32.
[53] Settle, *The World in the Moon,* p. 27.

Although the impact the Dorset Garden had on the theatrical practices of the Restoration is undeniable, and the theatre, the plays, and the playwrights responsible should be recognised for their significant contribution to the way in which theatre is now enjoyed, theatres other than the Dorset Garden, and plays other than the eight defined by Milhous as spectacular, can and should be appreciated for their ambitious and even risky inclusion of spectacular scenes. As the *Gentleman's Magazine* records,

> One James Todd who represented the miller's man, in the entertainment of Dr *Faustus*, this night, at the theatre in *Covent-garden*, fell from the upper stage, in a flying machine, the wires breaking, fractured his scull, and died miserably; 3 others were much hurt, but recovered. Some of the audience swooned, and the whole were in great confusion upon this sad accident.[54]

After all, the performers, playwrights and theatre owners went to great lengths to appeal to the spectators' delights, despite the risks and costs presented by machinery.

[54] John Nicols, *Gentleman's magazine, or, Monthly intelligencer*, October 1736, p. 617

# Chapter Six

# Street Spectacle: Puppets, Automaton and Monsters on the Public Stage

Street performances, freak shows (the viewing of people with birth defects) and puppet theatres were exceedingly popular past times before and during the Restoration period. Providing cheap, on-street entertainments, carnivalesque performances demonstrated many new advances in performance technique, as well as well-known past times. Three key elements of street performance: puppetry, automata, and the representation of 'monsterous' people, found their way into the public playhouse through their recognised popularity. This chapter will consider the many ways in which these kinds of performance assisted with the creation of a spectacular public performance.

## Puppets

> Observe the audience is in pain
> When Punch is hid behind the scene,
> But when they hear his rusty voice
> With what impatience they rejoice.[1]

*

On the 7 September 1661, Samuel Pepys claimed that he had seen the first appearance of 'Bartholomew Fayre' in England following the restoration of the Monarchy. He wrote

> […]here was acted 'Bartholomew Fayre,' with the puppet-show acted today, which had not these 40 years (it being so Satirical against Puritanism, they durst not till now, which is strange they should dare do it, and the King do countenance it), but I do never a whit like it the better for the puppets, but rather the worst.[2]

While Pepys was clearly not a fan of Jonson's use of puppets in *Bartholomew Fayre*, he does provide some evidence for the place puppetry held amongst the extensive developments of other kinds of performance, as does John Evelyn. In his diary, Evelyn records the appearance

[1] Jonathan Swift, *A Dialogue Between Mad Mullinex and Timothy* (London: W. Bower, 1728)
[2] Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 7 September 1661. < http://www.pepys.info> [accessed 22 October 2015] Pepys claims that this performance took part in 'the theatre', although he provides no indication of which one.

of puppet-shows from the 1640s, but distinguishes them from the puppet plays of the 1660s, which, he concludes, developed from Italian practices.[3] Evelyn implies that a new interest in – and perhaps new techniques for – the puppet show was another European theatrical import at the time of the Restoration. More importantly, he records specific performances with exact detail, such as one in 1672 where 'figures and puppets made as big as the life, of wax-work, curiously clad and sitting round a large table'.[4] Records such as these are important for our understanding of the various styles of puppetry and puppets that were used in performances of the period. From Evelyn's diary we can ascertain that puppets and puppetry in the Restoration were designed to be representations of human beings and real life; a performance technique that was extensively utilised in both puppet-shows and stage shows of the period, something which will be discussed at length later in this chapter.

By 1692, Evelyn's diary recorded a puppet-show in London that represented an earthquake. This implies that puppet theatre was both a form of early visual entertainment, and a performative comment on the period, which captured events and entwined meaning through performance. Evelyn's account records that the representation of the earthquake in Jamaica was subverted by the use of puppets, writing 'the dreadful one in Jamaica this summer was profanely and ludicrously represented in a puppet-play, or some lewd pastime in the fair of Southward, which caused the Queen to put down that idle and vicious mock show'.[5] While Evelyn displays clear disdain for the use of puppets in this manner, his passage suggests that puppets were appreciated for their visual appeal, rather than as a means of satirising terrible events. Accounts, such as those from Pepys and Evelyn, demonstrate the layered and multidimensional usage of puppetry in this period, identifying interesting points of investigation for how puppets and puppet-shows formed a popular style of entertainment.

The earthquake performance, according to Evelyn, took place at a fair in Southwark. Travelling puppet-shows were still in vogue during and after the Restoration period, but the late-seventeenth century also saw the development of static puppet-theatres such as Martin Powell's Punch's Theatre in the Little Piazza at Covent Garden, and Charlotte Charke's

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[3] Although there is no record of *Bartholomew Fayre* being performed after 1614, it is possible that performances took place in private theatres or without the knowledge of the puritans and the state as it would have been unwise to perform such a politically charged play once the professional theatres had been closed.

[4] John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn, Volume 2*, ed. by William Bray (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1912), p. 324. < https://archive.org/stream/diaryofjohnevel02evel#page/n9/mode/2up> [accessed 19 October 2015], 4th April, 1672, p. 79.

[5] John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn,* 15th September 1692, < https://archive.org/stream/diaryofjohnevel02evel#page/n9/mode/2up> [accessed 19 October 2015] p. 318.

Punch's Theatre at the Old Tennis Court, St James's.[6] In this period, it is possible to see a shift in purpose and popularity of the puppet-shows, and a distinct connection with the large-scale playhouse productions, which shall be discussed later. The development in performance capabilities saw puppets become a more prominent, if not permanent feature of public performance. Arguably, the visual spectacle and comic performances of the puppets secured their place as part of the popular theatre culture.

Pepys and Evelyn additionally comment on the interesting ways in which performative spectacle was generated through puppets; at various times, both men record puppetry and puppet-shows as equally positive and negative styles of performance. For example, an account from Pepys in 1668 sits in contrast to Evelyn's account of the earthquake performance, and his own account of *Bartholomew Fayre*. In it Pepys wrote 'to Southwarke-Fair, very dirty, and there saw the puppet-show of Whittington, which was pretty to see; and how that idle thing do work upon people that see it, and even myself too!'.[7] From these diaries we can begin to establish the extent to which the puppet-shows grew in popularity through the period, and how they would eventually become an important feature of audiences' expectations of performances. Although puppetry was most prominent outside of the playhouse it became a significant part of the theatrical culture of the period. Scott Cutler Shershow argues that during the early modern period

> […] puppets also carnivalized the subject matter of the human stage, performing a mélange of biblical, historical, and conventional dramatic stories […], mixed up with topical allusions, music and dance, and the kind of farcical violence that the mere materiality of the performing object seems always to invite.[8]

In terms of spectacle in puppet performance, there is an increasingly significant connection between the playhouse stages, and the spectacular performances they created, and puppet-shows which, by mimicking this large-scale spectacle, became spectaculars in their own right – both in public performance and in miniature.

Subsequent criticism on puppetry and puppet-shows has recurrently re-defined puppetry and the features that constitute a puppet-show. As far as the diaries of Pepys and Evelyn show, performance in the Restoration was varied and forever changing, with

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[6] Lydia Mia Thompson, 'Charlotte Charke', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) < http://www.oxforddnb.com /view/article/5141>, George Speight, 'Martin Powell', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22656> [accessed 27 October 2015]
[7] Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* < http://www.pepys.info> [accessed 22 October 2015]
[8] Scott Cutler Shershow, *Puppets and "Popular" Culture* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 46.

performers looking for the next spectacular or entertaining act in order to draw an audience. With this in mind, the chapter will not seek to define puppetry according to twenty-first century scholarly definitions, but will instead focus on examples from the period which demonstrate how objects were manipulated to act, look, behave or represent humans, as well as the moment in which performers were manipulated to resemble those puppets as forms of stage spectacle. This will provide a means of better understanding what constituted puppet spectacle in this period. Drawing direct examples from the Restoration will allow us to understand exactly what puppetry meant to the Restoration audience, and how it formed its place in the spectacle of theatre.

The Punch and Judy show constitutes an early form of Restoration puppet spectacle and street theatre. It is thought that the earliest performance of the famous Punch and Judy (or Joan as she was better known as in the period) show in England was in 1662.[9] George Latshaw provides a detailed account of the importance of Punch in English performance history. He notes that

> [i]n May, 1962, a ceremony was held to celebrate the 300-year run of this durable devility. A commemorative plaque on the portico of St. Paul's Church, Covent Garden (The Actor's Church), reads, "Near this spot Punch's puppet show was first performed in England and witnessed by Samuel Pepys, 1662" Long live Mr. Punch![10]

The importance of puppetry in the Restoration, and Punch specifically, is indicated in the decision to commemorate its appearance and long-held popularity in England.[11] Pepys' record of this performance reads: '[t]hence to see an Italian puppet play that is within the rails there, which is very pretty, the best that ever I saw, and a great resort of gallants'.[12] Punch's popularity grew partly from the puppet's ability to demonstrate a connection with both the spectacle of his stage performances and his physical performability.

It is acknowledged that the 'traditional British Punch and Judy puppetry traces its roots to the 16th century to the Italian *Commedia dell'Arte*'.[13] As will be explored in chapter eight of this thesis, Commedia dell'Arte was a performance technique for actors and

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[9] For a detailed history of Punch and Judy see George Cruikshank , *Punch and Judy: A Short History with Original Dialogue*, ed. by John Payne Collier (New York: Dover Publications, 2006).
[10] George Latshaw, *The Complete Book of Puppetry* (New York: Dover Publication, 1978), p. 16.
[11] While there is a distinct variation between the hand puppet operation of punch and the marionette puppets which Max Von Boehn argues became a significant part of 16th and 17th century puppetry, this chapter will not seek to differentiate between the two, but rather will consider the spectacle generated by puppetry through its manipulation and representation of people. Max von Boehn, *Puppets and Automata* (New York: Dover Publications, 1972)
[12] *Samuel Pepys Diary, 9 May 1662* < http://www.pepys.info> [accessed 19 October 2015]
[13]Helen Binyon, *Puppetry Today:* Designing and Making Marionettes, Hand Puppets, Rod Puppets, and Shadow Puppet, (Danvers, MA: Watson-Guptil Publications, 1966), p. 36.

playwrights who wanted to add comic value, spectacle and recognisable characteristics to their performances. The characters and the physical humour that accompanies Punch and Judy performances can certainly be seen as having emerged from the Italian Commedia dell'Arte manner. Importantly, these characters form a comparison between the spectacular practices of the playhouse stages, and those of the puppet theatres. Part of Punch and Judy's performance spectacle was the slapstick nature of their physical action, given to them by Commedia. Tracing the history of slapstick comedy and Punch and Judy, Louise Peacock notes that

> Punch engages in physical encounters (a whole stream of them in fact, most commonly involving Judy, the baby, the policeman, the Beadle, the distinguished foreigner, Toby the Dog, the hangman and the devil). He uses props (primarily his stick but this is often joined by sausages and sometimes by a frying pan); Mr Punch's chases across the puppet booth stage and his appearance through the curtains below the stage ledge provide an alternative to traps and flaps. There is inspired lunacy and most definitely victimisation.[14]

While performances of Punch and Judy have been adapted in their lengthy history, and Peacock's account draws reference from a more modern period than the Restoration, the physical, slapstick comedy of Punch and Judy is likely to have been part of Punch's Restoration performance, when ascertaining his conception from Commedia. The stock characters of Commedia dell'Arte meant that actors had very specific roles to fulfil and many of their movements and actions were pre-determined for them, much like that of the puppet. Whether the puppets were hand-puppets, marionettes or other forms, the slapstick performances had a close connection to playhouse comedies, such as *Scaramouch a philosopher, Harlequin a school-boy, bravo, merchant, and magician a comedy after the Italian manner* (1677) and *The Life and Death of Doctor Faustus* (1697), which were presented in theatres throughout the period.

The physical performances presented by Punch, and similar puppets, had a significant role to play in generating the spectacular appeal of puppet-shows in their ability to combine an entertaining and visually stimulating performance; one with the added comic value of physical slapstick and stage violence. The visual stimulation fashioned through the physical appearance and decoration of the puppets had the most overt role in composing the spectacular image that accompanied the physically active performance. The greatest way to understand exactly how these puppets might have been presented, and what the visual impact

[14] Louise Peacock, *Slapstick and Comic Performance: Comedy and Pain* (New York: Palgrave McMillan, 2014), p. 20.

of these puppets might have been, is through the recordings from the period. In an account from *The Spectator* in 1712, we read of a puppet that was

> dresse[d] in a cherry-coloured gown and petticoat, with a short working apron over it, which discovered her shape to the most advantage. Her hair was cut and divided very prettily, with several ribbons stuck up and down in it. the milliner assured me, that her complexion was such as was worn by all the ladies of the best fashion in Paris. Her head was extremely high, on which subject having long since declared my sentiments, I shall say nothing more to it at present. [...] Her necklace was of an immoderate length, being tied before in such a manner, that the two ends hung down to her girdle; but whether these supply the place of kissing-strings in our enemy's country, and whether our British ladies have any occasion for them, I shall leave to their serious consideration.[15]

The visual spectacle of the detailed, elaborate dressing and presentation of the puppet is recorded clearly. By clothing the puppet to mimic a human being, the owner gave the puppet an artificial life. Imagining such puppets with artificial lives upon the stage and coupling their appearance with their physical action, adds an interesting element to Restoration spectacle. This element can be seen in Thomas Burnet's play, where he records the following account of a puppet's impressive impact in *Tale in a Tub* (1715). He writes

> [h]is Wires are perfectly invisible, his puppets are well joined, and very apt to follow the motions of his directing hand; and as for *Punch*, who used heretofore to be nothing but a roaring, lewd, rakish, empty fellow, a perfect *Mohock*, he now speaks choice apothegms and sterling wit, to the amazement of the applauding audience both in pit and boxes.[16]

It appears that these puppets provided, in some cases, a replacement for the actors or actresses, seemingly designed to showcase the same elaborate levels of visual and physical spectacle, but occasionally in a smaller, more intimate setting.[17] Equally, in *The Author's Farce* (1730), Henry Fielding furthers the connection between the actors and puppets while noting the importance of the comedic physicality and the appealing visual of the puppet-show itself. He writes

> [t]he aim of farce is but to make you laugh.
> Beneath the tragic or the comic name,
> Farces and puppet-shows never miss of fame.
> Since then, in borrowed dress, they've pleased the town,

[15] Addison, *The Spectator*, January 17 1712 (No. CCLXXVII)
[16] Thomas Burnet, *A second Tale of a Tub or, The History of Robert Powel – The Puppet-show Man* (London: J. Roberts, 1715), p. XXVXI
[17] Although Burnet's account details the audience in the pits and the boxes the vast majority of puppet-shows took place in small purpose built theatres, often outdoors. Therefore, it is more accurate to suggest that the majority of people enjoyed such performances away from the main playhouses.

Condemn them not, appearing in their own.[18]

Connecting farce – a performance style made popular in the Restoration with its extravagant and improbable narratives – with puppet-shows, Fielding demonstrates the importance of visual and physical spectacle in the period, suggesting that both performers and puppets were capable of achieving such.

The idea that actors and puppets were interchangeable forms of spectacle when creating entertainments reasserts the role of the puppet in generating appealing and interesting performances. This is not to suggest that actors and actresses were simply replaced by puppets, but rather, that some of the spectacle accompanying performers could be imitated by the puppets; in this way puppet-shows could exhibit some of the same wonder of performer-acted stage plays through their mimicking of human life. Anthony Aston provides an excellent account of this idea. He describes how, visiting Berkshire, Thomas Betterton takes his friend, Roger, to see a puppet show and a play. In this account, Roger demonstrates how the spectacle of puppetry and performance could result in puppets and performers being considered alike, and jokes that the naïve spectator could mistake the two. He records,

> Roger was hugely diverted with *punch*, and bred a great noise, saying, that he would drink with him, for he was a merry fellow. Mr. *Betterton* told him, he was only a puppet, made up of *sticks and rags*: however, *Roger* still cried out, that he would go and drink with *punch*. When master took him behind, where the puppets hung up, he swore, he thought *punch* had been alive. *However*, said he, *though he be but* sticks and rags, *I'll give him six-pence to drink my health*. At night, Mr. *Betterton* went to the *theatre*, when was played *The Orphan*; Mr. *Betterton* acting *Castalio*; Mrs. *Barry*, *Monimia*. W*ell* (said master) *how dost like this play*, Roger? *Why, I don't knows*, (says *Roger*) *its well enough for* sticks and rags.[19]

While this account may be an extreme example from the period, it does contend that puppets were designed to generate spectacle through their human likeness. In the imagination of a spectator, willingly suspending their disbelief, the effect could be dramatic. Although the range of movements and the visual image of the puppets bore only superficial likeness to the actors and actresses themselves, it appears that there was a significant connection between the performances created by puppets and those by the actor in the Restoration period.

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[18] Henry Fielding, 'The Author's Farce', *Henry Fielding - Plays: Volume I, 1728-1731: 1728-1731 Vol 1*, ed. by Thomas Lockwood (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 223.

[19] Anthony Aston, *A Brief Supplement to Colley Cibber Esq: His Lives of the Late Famous Actors and Actresses* (London: Anthony Aston, 1747), p. 302.

I contend that the two are intrinsically linked, and that it is partly due to this connection that spectacular puppet performances were created. This connection, I believe, was threefold. Firstly, it has been suggested by Latshaw that one of the key purposes of the puppet was to directly imitate and represent the body of the actor. He suggests that

> [o]n stage the actor and the marionette would have looked very much alike. The masked actor was a magnifying mirror for the puppet, as the puppet was a miniature reflection of the human.[20]

He implies that puppets of the Restoration presented an opportunity for the actor and puppet to be mistaken for each other, but particularly when actors are mimicking puppets. Additionally, Esther A. Dagan concludes that actors and puppets were also connected in speech, noting that 'puppets have been used since the earliest times to animate and communicate the ideas and needs of human societies'. [21] She suggests that the puppet was able to portray similar, or even more daring, dialogues than those present in the plays of the playhouses, providing further connections between actors and puppets. By recounting and expressing the experiences of humans, the puppets re-claim these events as their own through mimicry. On this point, Latshaw claims that

> [p]uppets borrowed farce themes from the actors, and actors in turn borrowed movements and gestures from the puppets. Such exchanges between the actor and the puppeteer recur at scattered moments throughout history.[22]

If we look again at the description of a puppet in *The Spectator,* it appears that what was being referred to was a fair representation of both a real person and a puppet. Addison's record provides an invaluable account of the degree to which the visual representation of a real person was a significant part of a puppet's role and spectacle. The detail, and the desire to make it as close a representation of a human as possible, as well as the expensive and elaborate clothing for the puppet, showcases the visual delight that could be generated through elaborate costumes in the main playhouses.

Secondly, the connection between the physical attributes of the actors being like that of a puppet is presented in play texts, meaning the actors could possess a similar stiffness or immovability, or that they could have been as easily manipulated by the audience, the playwright or their character. For example, in *Freeholder's Journal* from April 1722, the

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[20] Latshaw, *The Complete Book of Puppetry*, p. 16. When Latshaw refers to the masked actors he is making a direct connection to Commedia dell'Arte which was discussed earlier in connection to the generation and origins of Punch. Additionally, Commedia dell'Arte and the effect this style had on spectacle in the Restoration period will be consider in connection with the Restoration actor in Chapter Ten.

[21] E. A. Dagan, *Emotions in Motion: Theatrical Puppets and Masks from Black Africa* (Montreal: Galerie Amrad, 1990), p. 30

[22] Latshaw, *The Complete Book of Puppetry*, p. 16.

following description of Joseph Haines appears, in which his obedience to playwrights and play texts is proposed. It reads,

> Mr H gives none; hears nobody, returns no answer, and despises us, but not withstanding all his triumphs over us, he is so far from being free or independent in his actions, […] Mr, Dryden expresses himself, that like a puppet, he is played at his time by one behind the curtain.[23]

Dryden's suggestion that Haines is controlled like a puppet reasserts the argument that actors were likely used in a similar manner to the puppets to recount the playwright's opinions. Similarly, in Dryden's play *Marriage a-la Mode,* Polydamas says, '[m]ethinks we move and talk just like so many over-grown puppets'.[24] Even if this can be read as a mere insult to the woodenness of his performance, the connection made between the actor and the puppet demonstrates the likeness of the two. It also highlights the manner in which the spectacle of performance was generated through the manipulation and likeness of the actor and the puppet, as well as the awareness of the Restoration audience concerning such a suggestion. A further example of this can be seen in James Drake's *The Sham Lawyer* (1697), in which he writes '[i]n my opinion, your Lord moves like a puppet by wires, I've seen many a better figure in gilt ginger-bread'.[25] In George Powell's *The Treacherous Brothers* however, a further connection is proposed between the speaking of the actor and the ventriloquism of the puppet. The lines read,

> What's nature, and the power that governs it?
> Man is the puppet of the Gods, and moves—
> Backwards and forwards as they please to dance him[26]

Here, Powell highlights the connection between the way humans and puppets were seen; through movement and speech both could be regarded as manipulative spectacle. This is seen most clearly where actors were directly represented as puppets, or puppet masters. In Thomas D'Urfey's *The Comical History of Don Quixote*, the character Gines de Passamonte Peter is described as a puppet master who has seven children that perform as his puppets. The scene and stage directions of the puppet-show read,

> *puppet-show discovers one puppet dressed like the Emperor Charlemain seated, another like Orlando Furioso, and a third like Arch-Bishop Turpin standing by. On both sides of the stage without, are seated Don Quixote, Basilius, Carasco, Quiteria, Altisidora, Jaques, Mary. Then enters Sancho,*

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[23] *Freeholder's Journal,* April 9 1722 (No. XIII)
[24] John Dryden, *Marriage a-la Mode* (London: Henry Herringman, 1673), p. 53.
[25] James Drake, *The Sham Laywer* (London: Abel Roper, 1697), p. 34.
[26] George Powell, *The Treacherous Brothers A Tragedy* (London: James Blackwell, 1690), p. 47.

*who sits down by Gines, who stands with a rod in his hand to explain the motion; then Don Gayferos enters as prologue.*

Gines: Gallants, and noble auditors, in the first place, be pleased to observe, that before I discover who those noble persons are that appear yonder in motion---I must inform ye that this is the Valiant Don Gayferos, who respectfully introduces himself by way of prologue. Come, noble knight, make your honours, and begin.

*The puppet bows to the company, and Don Quixote rises up, and bows to the puppet.*[27]

The actors and the children interacting like puppets and humans in this scene blur the lines between the real and the imagined, adding a further degree of spectacle to the performance.[28]

In Henry Fielding's *The Author's Farce* (1730), there is a similar puppet-show which contains twenty-two actors representing puppets, including the characters of Punch and Judy. The puppet-show held its own popularity outside of its inclusion in stage plays, and may well have been used by Fielding to advance the popularity of his play.[29] Furthermore, in Thomas Burnet's *The Second Tale of a Tub or, The History of Robert Powel – The Puppet-show Man* (1715), he includes a witty and informative epilogue. It is important to note that Burnet is referring to the real puppeteer Martin Powell in this play, and draws direct comparison between them. The epilogue is supposed to be read as him speaking:

I'm come to beg your favour of our stage,
The lively emblem of the present age.
For as my puppets, when you hear them squeak,
Are but the wooden tubes through which I speak;
So many now a-days strut and look vain
With the productions of another brain.
King Bladud played to night the conjurer's part,
The only prince that ever skilled that art.
His eloquence you heard was mighty great,
But thanks to me, his minister of the state.
He never had spoken, nor acted with such fire,
Had not Lord Powel stood behind the wire.
You can't imagine, Sirs, what art can do;
It will make a wooden head, a wife one too,
So have I often in a play-house see

[27] Thomas D'Urfey, *The Comical History of Don Quixote* (London: Samuel Briscoe, 1694), p. 37. N.B The word poppet is mistaken here for the word puppet. Both are used to mean the same thing throughout the play.
[28] The present-day ventriloquist Nina Conti plays with the connection between the real and imagined in her work with masks. By masking the majority of the participant's expressions, Conti is able to apply speech and action to the participants without their assistance, much like action and meaning is applied to puppets in this period.
[29] Henry Fielding, 'The Author's Farce', *Henry Fielding - Plays: Volume I, 1728-1731: 1728-1731 Vol 1*, ed. by Thomas Lockwood (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 221-293.

> The pompous figure of a buskin queen,
> Start from her throne, and make a solemn speech,
> Which hidden downs stood prompting at her breech.
> The gazing crowd never smelt the subtle joke,
> But thought poor moppet her self had spoke.[30]

This epilogue encapsulates the spectacle of manipulation, which is present in puppet theatre where its visual and physical appeal is used to represent a real actor. In the opening lines of the epilogue, Burnet presents the idea that puppet-shows are one of the significant performance styles of the period, and an extensively popular pastime that was becoming a part of popular culture. Additionally, he notes that the shows performed in the playhouses were 'vein', confirming that stage performances during the Restoration period were designed to be overly elaborate and spectacular, something he did not feel puppetry was.

The reference to the 'wooden tubes through which I speak', provides valuable evidence as to how the puppets were operated, and highlights the connection between actors, actresses and the puppets by giving them their own voices. The epilogue confirms the connection between puppets and actors, especially where Burnet discusses the figure of the 'buskin Queen'. Subsequently, in the final lines, he contends that even the real actors and actresses of the main playhouses required lines to be fed to them, making them no more spectacular than the puppets in his show. Burnet demonstrates that the spectacle puppets presented to the audience was through their movements, voice, display and manipulation, which were all as spectacular as the real players. This epilogue, alongside actors playing puppets in stage plays strengthen the connection between the popularity of puppets and the interest in turning actors into manipulated physical forms.

Finally, further evidence regarding the appeal of puppet-shows can be found in advertisements. These frequently mentioned the names of actors and actresses who were famous from the playhouses for representing the puppets. While this helped to sell the shows – it also further advanced the connection I am positing between the large theatres and the place of puppet-shows in the performance culture of the period. An example can be found in the puppet-show advertisement in the *Daily Post* in 1730, where a connection between the actors and the Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre is drawn. The advert notes,

> PUNCH's ORATORY: OR, The Pleasures of the Town. Continuing several diversing passages; particularly a very elegant and learned dispute between

[30] Thomas Burnet, *The Second Tale of a Tub* (London: J. Roberts, 1715), pp. 220-1.

> Punch and another great orator. [...] The part of Punch by Mr. Reynolds; his wife Joan, Mrs. Egelton, From the Theatre Royal in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields.[31]

Moreover, advertisements provide evidence for the spectacle embedded in puppet-shows, particularly through their promotion of the shows' scenic settings. Highlighting the use of machinery and scenery, the advertisements conclude that the presentations of these shows were designed to reflect the spectacle of the large-scale plays and operas presented in the main playhouses. For example, in the *Post Man and the Historical Account,* 1710, the following advert appeared,

> [a]t Punch's opera, at Litchfield Street End, [...] will be seen Powell's puppet show from the Bath, called, The History of Chast Susannah, and the 2 wicked elders. [...] and is delivered with an antic from his body with the Scaramouch and tumbler, & all the figures performed by Powell, with scenes and machines, with a prologue coherent to the play.[32]

In this advert the spectacle of machinery, popular in the public theatre, and puppetry is combined, suggesting that the two could work together to generate a performance reflective of the main playhouse. Furthermore, the inclusion of Scaramouch and a prologue confirm the puppet-play's ability to replicate the performance delight of the playhouse, but with puppets rather than actors, demonstrating that their spectacular qualities were as great as any human performer.

The use of spectacle in puppet-shows was not accidental, or unknown to those creating them. Of the Puppeteer Martin Powell, George Speight's biography reads

> […] there was a series of operatic burlesques such as The False Triumph, or, The Siege of Troy, in which Signor Punchanella appeared in the role of Jupiter, descended from the clouds in a chariot drawn by eagles, and sang an aria in Punch's squeaky voice to Paris; or a dig at a recent production of Hydaspes, in which Nicolini had fought a lion on the stage, with a scene in which Punch danced a minuet with a live pig.[33]

Speight, therefore, suggests that Powell was well aware of the spectacle that was generated through a connection with the main playhouses, and which attempted to mimic their spectacular performances. It is reasonable to suggest that the puppet-shows of the Restoration period attempted to recreate a form of spectacular performance outside of the traditional theatre setting. I contend that with the inclusion of mechanics, scenery and elaborate costumes, such puppet-shows should also be considered as contributing to our knowledge and

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[31] *Daily Post*, August 1 1730 (No. 3391)
[32] Post Man and the Historical Account (November 14, 1710 - November 16, 1710) Issue 1940
[33] Martin Powell, 'George Speight', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography [accessed 24 October 2015]

understanding of the spectacular nature of Restoration performances in the large playhouses, and be deemed a spectacular form of entertainment in themselves. Moreover, the ability for puppets to be presented as a comparison to humans firmly positions them and their spectacular appearance and usage as part of the Restoration's spectacle. Likewise, the mimicking of the larger stage plays cemented both their importance in representing plays, which an audience wanted to see and enjoy, but also the degree to which such styles of theatre were needed.

The spectacular element of puppetry provides an explanation for the increased appearances of puppet-shows in main playhouses late in the Restoration period. The advertisement for *The Author's Farce,* shown at the Theatre Royal in 1734 (it had earlier been shown at the Haymarket Theatre in 1730), reads

> [b]y His MAJESTY's Company of COMEDIANS, AT the Theatre Royal in DRURY LANE, this present Wednesday, being the 16th Day of January, will be revived The AUTHOR'S FARCE in which will be introduced an operatic puppet show, called The Pleasures of the Town. With great additions and a new prologue and epilogue.[34]

The subsequent presentation of puppet-shows in large playhouses provides yet further confirmation of the value and appreciation of their spectacle, which evidently developed during the period. By using their skills of mimicry to generate small-scale versions of the spectacular developments of the period, their importance can be seen both in the playhouse and outside of it. Through their connection with actors, their representation of human life, and their visual delight, puppet-shows were inherently linked with the spectacle intrinsic to the Restoration playhouses.

## Automaton

> *Our next recourse was dwindling down to farce,*
> *Then: ''zounds, what stuff's here? It is all over my –'*
> *Well, gentlemen, since none of these has sped,*
> *Gad, we have bought a share in the speaking head.*[35]

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> By careful moulding in wax and by clothing it in real cloth the doll could be made to assume an almost perfect resemblance to a human being, but before

[34] Daily Journal, January 16 1734 (No. 4056)
[35] Aphra Behn, *The Rover and Other Plays*, ed. by Jane Spencer (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 276.

> there could be any question of absolute illusion two difficulties had to be surmounted – movement and speech had to be artificially introduced.[36]

The visual image constructed by Max von Boehn confirms the attempt to represent as close to a real person as possible through the use of automata; creating a seemingly impressive visual effect. While puppets were able to provide fairly detailed representation of humans, automata implied an ability to move without apparent manipulation to further the likeness. Max von Boehn has recorded the history of automata, the automaton's abilities and its visual appearances in great detail. He concludes that the images and machines to which the word automata relate have been vastly varied in their presentation and abilities, and in their place in history. They range from simple moving images, or puppets controlled by string, dating from the Festival of Osiris, through to multiple forms of automata controlled through 'human power' and later 'material substances'.[37] In his conclusion, von Boehn suggests that a form of automata has been a part of performance history for a significant portion of time. However, in terms of the most advanced capabilities, such as speech and movement, he suggests that we

> Only comparatively recently found a solution. Now we have our automatic figures which can walk, move, and speak – indeed, when necessary, deliver lengthy orations.[38]

Similarly, Michael Mangan concludes that automata presented a special appeal through their abilities and illusionistic manner. Connecting them distinctly with popular performance he notes that,

> Automata have been a feature of the leisure industry since their invention, and from the sixteenth century onwards, the pleasure gardens of the very rich have been adorned with hydraulic and pneumatic entertainments in form of fountains and grottoes, artificial birdsong, animated animals and human figures of ever-increasing elaborateness.[39]

The ever-increasing elaborateness and ability of the automata positions them as a method of performance which delivered visual spectacle. Moreover, Mangan extends his argument to suggest that, at least in part, the automata's appeal was connected to ideas of magic and conjuring, and thus added a further level of 'wonder' to the performance.[40] Mangan presents the ideas that 'a particular attraction was the more ambitious kind of automaton (real or fraudulent) which could interact with spectators – machines such as the Sagacious Swan who

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[36] Max von Boehn, *Puppets and Automata* (New York: Dover Publications, 1972), p. 2.
[37] von Boehm, *Puppets and Automata*, p. 5.
[38] von Boehm, *Puppets and Automata*, pp. 2-14.
[39] Michael Mangan, *Performing Dark Arts: A Cultural History of Conjuring* (Bristol: Intellect, 2007), p. 85.
[40] Mangan, *Performing Dark Arts,* pp. 76-96.

read spectators' thoughts and guessed the value of cards they had chosen; or the Talking Head, which (like that of the medieval Friar Bacon) would make predictions, were particularly popular.'[41] Kara Reilly's history of the automaton places these developments very much in the public sphere, demonstrating that automaton had a rapidly developing significance. Reilly demonstrates that interactive automata took many guises. She contends that automata were 'performative objects of mimesis and metaphors', suggesting that automaton were designed to be an 'imitation or representation' of real life.[42] In her book she details von Kempelen's 'automaton Turk' who could play chess with an opponent, a 'mechanical theatre' in Schloss Hellbrunn, the 'Jacques-droz writer', and the 'Jacques-droz musician', to name but a few. Of these automaton, she concludes that their abilities to perform or interact with a spectator, each operating either mechanically or through hidden human intervention, was theatrically driven. Reilly's work therefore demonstrates the significant place automata held in mechanical and theatrical history. Automata, which boasted the power of speech and movement, appeared in play texts prior to and during the Restoration, and it is these which this portion of this chapter is largely concerned.

Robert Greene's *The Comicall Historie of Alphonsus, King of Aragon* (1599) and *The Honorable Historie of Frier Bacon, and Frier Bongay* (1594/1630) both possess stage directions in which a head, which could speak and move with invisible assistance, was incorporated into the performances of the early-seventeenth century.[43] For *The Comicall Historie of Alphonsus*, the directions record the undoubtedly visually spectacular delight it provided, stating,

> *[l]et there be a brazen head set in the middle of the place behind the stage, out of which, cast flames of fire.*[44]

Likewise, Greene's *Frier Bacon* contains a mechanical device which is referred to as the 'brazen head'. Steven Connor observes that

> [t]he making of speaking heads has been rumoured and written of at intervals for centuries. One of the earliest English stories of a speaking head is *The Famous History of Friar Bacon* of 1637, which tells how the famed magician

[41] Mangan, *Performing Dark Arts,* p. 88.
[42] Kara Reilly, *Automata and Mimesis on the Stage of Theatre History* (New York and London: Palgrave McMillan, 2011), p. 5.
[43] Robert Greene, *The Comicall Historie of Alphonsus, King of Aragon* (London: Thomas Creede, 1599), Robert Green, *The Honorable Historie of Frier Bacon, and Frier Bongay* (London: Edward White, 1594)
[44] Robert Greene, *The Comicall Historie of Alphonsus, King of Aragon,* sig. F2.

> Friar Bacon enlists the aid of a Friar Bungay to construct a speaking head of brass that will tell him how England might be walled all round with brass.[45]

The accounts preserved in the work of Greene and the narrative of Friar Bacon form but a small amount of the extensive history surrounding automaton. In her book *Living Dolls,* Gaby Woods recounts other stories where the constructions of automata form their narrative; some of these accounts are significantly earlier than the Restoration, but provide interesting and informative contextual information as to the developments of automata. She notes that in

> 150 BC, Hero of Alexandria […] came up with his own death-defying automaton: it was a simulated human being

Likewise,

> Albertus Magnus, a thirteenth-century Dominican monk, spent thirty years building an artificial man out of brass. He gave the android the power of speech, and made it his servant.

Before concluding that it was in the eighteenth century through an interest in

> anatomy, [that the] advances in the design of scientific instruments and a fondness of magic tricks meant that the automata were thought of as glorious feats of engineering, or philosophical toys.[46]

Additionally, Reilly asserts that in the eighteenth century there existed a different understanding of nature and the natural world than our own modern opinion. She suggests that 'the "natural" world of the eighteenth century was a perfectly constructed clockwork machine […] in such a world view there is no conflict between actual machines and organic processes, since technology and life are thought to be based on mechanical principles [Channel, p. 9].'[47] The proposed expectations of automata by the eighteenth century set forth by Reilly suggest two things: one, that the creation of automata was an important component of the contemporary understanding of the natural world, when used to mimic the human world. For example, of his automaton duck Jacques Vaucanson wrote 'drinks, plays in the water with his bill, and makes a gurgling noise like a real living duck'.[48] As such, their use in the theatrical performances presented a more accurate and spectacular imitation of real life than the puppet.[49] And two, that the development of automaton was a significant element of

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[45] Steven Connor, 'Incidents of the Breath: In Pneumatic and Electric Ventriloquisms', in *Articulate Objects: Voice, Sculpture and Performance*, ed. by Aura Satz and Jon Wood (Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang AG, 2009), pp. 63-80 (pp. 66-7)
[46] Gaby Woods, *Living Dolls: A Magical History of the Quest for Mechanical Life* (London: Faber and Faber, 2002), pp. XV-XVI.
[47] Reilly, *Automaton,* p .80.
[48] Reilly, *Automaton,* p .81.
[49] Reilly, *Automaton,* p . 81.

eighteenth-century European culture. As the use of automata appears very little in the English Restoration playhouse, and because it was likely a costly form of entertainment, automata was presented as a reflection of the European practices and a spectacular offering of the theatre. Furthermore, Reilly notes that the operation of the automaton was theatrical in many senses, as some of the automaton had the ability to 'perform'. For example, she suggests that Vaucanson's duck did not lay a golden egg 'but instead made digestion highly theatrical by excreting on a platter' for its spectators.[50] The connections made by Woods between magic and the anatomy, and the suggestions by Reilly that the eighteenth century placed significant emphasis on mechanically-driven automata, go some way to explaining why automaton was incorporated into the theatrical presentation of the Restoration, and how this might have been viewed as spectacular.

The generation of spectacle in the theatre relied somewhat heavily on the illusion of it materialising without human interaction or complex mechanics, and therefore via magic – something which the Restoration stage had a strong connection with. As discussed in chapter five, the Restoration stage is distinguishable through its use of large, elaborate machines, and I would also suggest by smaller machines such as automata, which formed a significant part of the magical spectacle the audience were hoping to witness. For this to be the case, relating specifically to the Restoration, the operation of such machinery would have needed to be concealed from the audience, presenting an image of the automata working without operation. In his diary John Evelyn records how an automaton from 1654 was brought to life. He writes

> [h]e had also contrived a hollow statue, which gave a voice and uttered words by a long, concealed pipe that went to its mouth, while one speaks through it at a good distance.[51]

Thus the automaton (unlike the puppet) achieves its theatrical effect by appearing *not* to be operated by a human hand.

In theatrical texts, Thomas Duffett offers a spectacular presentation of the speaking head in his play *Psyche Debauch'd* (1678). In this, Duffett includes a scene where the head of a character is removed and placed upon a sword. The stage directions read, '*the chair and Costard sink the princess, cut off Redstreak's head, clap it on a sword, and go off singing'*.[52] The spectacle of this scene is generated by the speaking of Redstreak both before and after

[50] Reilly, *Automaton,* p . 81.
[51] John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* 13th July, 1654, p. 289
[52] Thomas Duffett, *Psyche Debauch'd* (London: John Smith, 1678), p. 48.

her beheading. As stage directions provide the only evidence for this action, and conclude very little about how this scene was achieved, the use of automata seems to be an appropriate suggestion in this case: the details of the subsequent stage directions strongly suggest that the head at least, if not the body also, would have had to be represented by a mechanical automaton, which was operated by sophisticated machinery. The visual impact and spectacle of this moment was likely to be impressive and awe-inspiring. Moreover, Duffett provides further evidence to suggest the use of an actual speaking automaton head in his play, by placing the beheaded head upon a table. The character of *Nicolas* proclaims that the head is enchanted and as he does so the stage directions read '*[t]he hands lift up the head, and it speaks*'.[53] Thankfully Duffet extends his stage direction in this scene to include '*it flies up*', removing any doubt of the head being something other than an automaton which had the power to speak. Finally, he utilises the head and its ability to speak again when the ghost of *Redstreak* appears with her head in her hands. While holding the head it speaks, repeating part of the song of the spirits who have attended her; upon the song ending she vanishes, assumedly via the trap door. The visual image of Redstreak's beheading may have drawn religious connections for the audience to the many illustrations of the 'decollation of John the Baptist'. In various illustrations his removed head can be seen rising and being placed upon a platter, mirroring some of the action present in Duffett's play, and suggesting that he wanted to draw on the spectacle of religious imagery and the illusion of coming back to life. Likewise, the prologue to Aphra Behn's *The Emperor of the Moon* included the statement, 'glad, we have bought a share in the speaking head', suggesting that an automaton head was used in that play.[54] Interestingly, Behn also draws on historical imagery and the spectacle of the head displayed on a stake, much like the sword in Duffett's play.[55] Additionally, on the 6 August 1663, Samuel Pepys records going to see a 'a puppet play in Lincoln's Inn Fields, where there was the story of Holofernes, and other clockwork, well done': a demonstration of the integration of both puppets and automaton in performance, early in the Restoration period.[56]

Some Restoration plays appear to present speaking heads, but their stage directions make it difficult to explain how they might have been created. Some stage directions lead to easier answers, for example, in Edward Ravenscroft's *Dame Dobson* (1684) a head is presented on a table. While the head speaks and interacts with the other actors on the stage, it

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[53] Duffett, *Psyche Debauch',* p. 70.
[54] Aphra Behn, *The Emperor of the* Moon (London: R.Holt, 1687), p. 276.
[55] This will be further explored in chapter nine.
[56] Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys,* 6th August 1663. < http://www.pepys.info> [accessed 22 October 2015]

is later revealed to be the head of one of the characters, constructed to appear as if it is a mechanically controlled speaking head. Here, the stage directions read,

> *[r]e-enter Dame Dobson, a table brought in with the head on it. Beatrice appears upon the table with her head dressed anticly, and her naked neck and shoulders—eyebrows blacked, great pendants in her ears as big as pigeon's eggs.*[57]

A play such as Thomas Shadwell's *The Libertine* (1676) though, presents a different problem of interpretation for the theatre historian.[58] In this play a head rises upon a table, accompanied by the effect of thunder, with no explanation for its operation as Shadwell fails to conclude where the head rises from, or the way in which it rises. As the scene is set in a home it is possible that the head was accomplished in a similar way to *Dame Dobson*, and rose through a hole in the table. In contrast, though, it could have been a further example of the mechanical speaking head in action. Whether or not this was presented by an actual speaking head takes nothing away from its visual spectacle.

The ability of theatrical automata to mimic human existence as well as presenting the illusion of magic ensured that playwrights could add an interesting element of spectacle to their plays. The ways in which automata are integrated into theatrical presentations as both political and religious imagery, present additional visual delights. While locating uses of automata in plays texts from the period is difficult, it is important to note that other forms of automaton were being displayed and presented outside the theatres. For example, in a surviving advertisement from *Daily Post*, 1729 a number of automata are recorded. The advert reads,

> [f]irst, his surprising dexterity of hand, far exceeding all that ever performed in this kingdom. 2d. The famous posture-master. 3d.the musical clock, that plays variety of tunes, on the organ, flute, and flageolet; with birds, whistling and singing as natural as life it self.[59]

The extent to which automata was an important part of performance in general therefore, can be argued as one reason why it was incorporated in to the playhouse performances. The scarcity of such reports suggests that when an automaton was integrated into theatrical performance, it produced an impressively spectacular effect. While Reilly contends that the eighteenth century became well acquainted with automata and mechanical developments, its

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[57] Edward Ravenscroft, *Dame Dobson or, the Cunning Woman* (London: Joseph Hindmarch, 1684), p. 60.
[58] Thomas Shadwell, *The Libertines* (London: Henry Herringman, 1676)
[59] Daily Post (January 5, 1729) Issue 1960

lack of reflection in plays of the earlier period appears to suggest that in England, at least, automata still had the advantage of novelty.

## 'Stage Monsters'

> But now I have got the words clear, and, in going in thither, had the pleasure to see the actors in their several dresses, especially the seamen and monster, which were very droll[60]

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The final section of this chapter is entitled Restoration 'Stage Monsters' as an attempt to highlight the importance of characters, actors who represented static and moving objects, and those 'monsters' who were presented through a combination of acting skill and extensive costuming. Labelling these characters as Restoration 'monsters' is not in an attempt to define a new form of spectacle, but rather to identify and collate instances of spectacle where the actor, costume and visual impersonation are combined through the representation of objects, giants, dwarves and animals, or those characters which bore some resemblance to puppets and automata.

Dwarves appear in *Brutus of Alba* (1697), *Noah's Flood* (1679), and *The Atheist* (1684).[61] Dwarves and giants are examples of the point at which, in the Restoration theatre, the spectacular meets the 'grotesque': unnatural and extraordinary creatures, which Jane Sharp in *The Midwives Book* (1671) describes, following Aristotle, as 'an error of nature failing of the end she works for'.[62] Referring directly to dwarves and giants, Sharp writes 'some are monsters in magnitude, when one part, as the head, is too great for the body; or a giant or pigmy is brought forth'.[63] During the Restoration period little distinction was made between the person of irregular growth and the creature of folklore and legend. On stage, their representations were employed to prompt delight through a grotesque or unnatural visual appearance, and the fact that the audience could 'witness' a true monster. The spectacle of the visual display was additionally enhanced through the use stage technology,

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[60] Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys,* 11th May 1668 <www.pepys.info> [accessed 24th May 2016]

[61] George Powell, *Brutus of Alba* (London: Sam Briscoe, 1697), Edward Ecclestone, *Noah's Flood* (London: B. Tooke, 1679), Thomas Otway, *The Atheist* (London: J. Tonson, 1684)

[62] Jane Sharp, *The Midwives books: Or the Whole Art of Midwifery Discovered,* ed. by. Elaine Hobby (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 89.

[63] Sharp, *The Midwives books*, p. 90. For further information regarding monstrous births see chapters IV and V of book II, pp. 84-93, and James Paris du Plessis, *A Short History of Human Prodigies, and Monstrous Births: of Dwarfs, Sleepers, Giants, Strong Men, Hermaphrodites, Numerous Births, and Extreme Old Age, &c.* (In manuscript, held at The British Library: Sloane MS 5246 (text) and Sloane MS 3253 (illustrations)

presenting their physical form by rising through a trap door. Costume, too, played a major part in the presentation of dwarves. From a surviving painting on the walls of the Castle at Cesky Krumlov, we can see a stage dwarf which has been created through the use of a large mask (illustration 22).

Illustration 22: Dwarf - Represented on the walls of Carnival Hall, Cesky Krumlov Castle, by J. Leaderer. Image copyright: Lyndsey Bakewell, July 2013.

Likewise, the early pages from the Sir Thomas Burdet's *A Second Tale of a Tub: or, the History of Robert Powel the Puppet-Show-Man,* interestingly shows two actors representing dwarves in a stage setting through the use of over-sized masks.

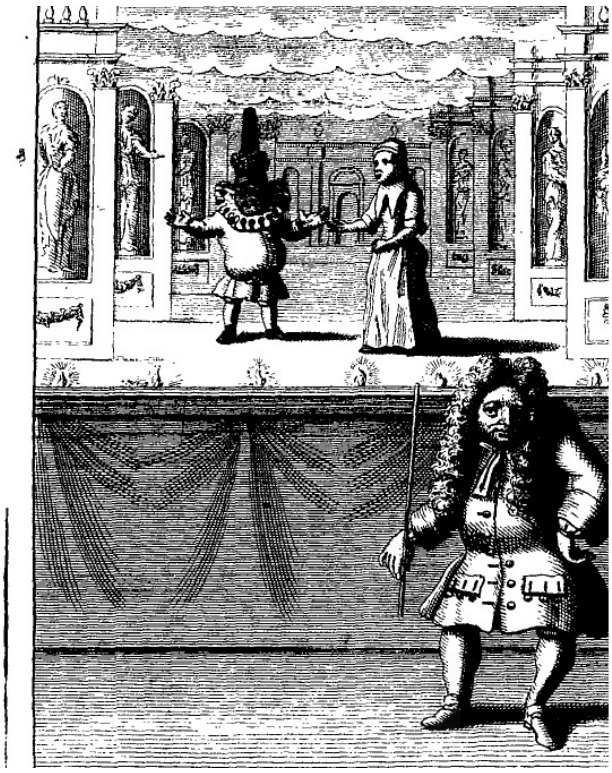

Illustration 23: Thomas Burnet, *A Second Tale in a Tub: or, the History of Robert Powell, the Puppet-Show-Man* (London: J. Roberts, 1715)

In Burnet's representation (illustration 23), contrasting the visual proportions of the non-dwarfed character against the two actors playing the dwarves demonstrates how, through the use of masks to accentuate the size of the performers head, the actors could be, to some degree, disguised as dwarves. The two images above show that masks were used to significantly over emphases the size of the head, making the body of the person wearing it appear smaller. Visually, these masks were designed to add perspective to the body of the wearer, making them appear overall shorter, but also to make the rest of their extremities seem disproportionate to the head, which is highlighted in the description by Sharp, above. Although Burnet's frontispiece (illustration 23) appears to show a playhouse stage with its scenic perspective, the image survives on a manuscript relating to puppet-shows and the work of Martin Powell.[64] It is reasonable to assume that it was the popularity of these 'monster' representations that ensured they also appeared as puppets and in puppet-shows. This argument is further supported by the records of street performance where people of 'monstrous birth', or those with appealing or grotesque deformities showcased their

[64] Thomas Burnet, *A Second Tale in a Tub: or, the History of Robert Powell, the Puppet-Show-Man* (London: J. Roberts, 1715)

disfigurements as forms of paid entertainment – designed, it seems, to draw further attention to the appeal such characters for a Restoration audience.[65]

The generation of stage giants seems to have drawn on similar costuming as dwarves to perform the disguise. In *The Life and Death of Dr. Faustus* (1697) a giant '*rises*' through the trap door before it '*leaps in two*', suggesting the representation of giants was partly achieved through the use of costume, making them appear larger than the other performers by disguising two performers as one, and partly thought stage mechanics, which brought them up on to the stage. Moreover, the stage direction of leaping '*in two*' suggests that more than one actor was required to fulfil the role of the giant, drawing on the physical capabilities of the actors as well as costuming them to appear as one. The visual image of the overly tall actor would in itself have been appealing; however, its ability to '*leap in two'* forms the true spectacle of the disguise by revealing the actors playing the role and demonstrating their acrobatic ability.

Elsewhere, in Aphra Behn's *The Second Part of The Rover* (1681), both a giantess and a dwarf are presented as love interests to Shift and Hunt. The lines delivered by Beaumond in the first scene identify the way in which they were perceived by both the characters and the audience. He says,

> I admire your courage, Sir, but one of them is so little, and so deformed, it is thought she is not capable of marriage; and the other is so huge an overgrown giant, no man dares venture on her.[66]

The term 'deformed', used by Beaumont, provides a direct connection to the historical social understanding that such people were the product of monstrous births. Moreover, the speech visually defines the dwarf and the giantess, and the exclamation that she is 'overgrown' suggests that the characters were something visually to behold. The *dramatis persona* for this play suggests that Mrs. Croft took the role of the dwarf, while there is no listing for the role of the giantess; it may well be that this is because puppetry and costume disguise were used to create the character. The early stage directions provided by Behn refer to the character Shift as an *operator*, perhaps suggesting that, unlike in *Doctor Faustus,* the giantess is represented by a puppet. In contrast, later stage directions indicate that Hunt is ushered in '*as a giant*', suggesting that both forms of representation were being used in the play.[67] Behn

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[65] For more information on such shows see Jan Bondeson, The Two-headed Boy, and Other Medical Marvels (New York: Cornell University, 2000)

[66] Aphra Behn, *The Second Part of the Rover*, in *The Works of Aphra Behn*, ed. by Montague Summers, Project Gutenberg < http://www.gutenberg.org/> [accessed 21 October 2015], p.124.

[67] Aphra Behn, *The Second Part of the Rover,* p. 155.

utilises the entertaining and popular practices of the moving puppet theatres with the detailed, intricate costuming techniques of the playhouse stages to form a play which has the characters of the dwarf and giantess as a vital part of its spectacular appeal. This demonstrates that stage 'monsters' (in the form of representing monstrous people) was part of the spectacle of Restoration performance. By combining the image of the giantess with the physical comedy of Shift climbing a ladder to reach the giantess, which is recorded in the stage directions '*[e]nter Shift with a ladder, sets it against the giant […]Runs up the ladder, salutes her, and runs down again. […]Goes to her, speaks, and runs back; Blunt claps him on the back*', Behn employs 'monstrous' people to become the visual spectacle, poking fun at their appearance.[68] Additionally, by providing the giantess with the ability to speak, Behn adds further spectacle to the scene, which was assumedly created by the actor playing Shift, drawing on his abilities to impersonate and anticipate the expected voice of a female giant.

The most spectacular representation of stage 'monsters' is perhaps that of animals or mythological monsters, where the actor was required to shift between multiple representations. This form of stage 'monster' is perhaps best showcased in *Albion and Albanius* (1685). While critics have comprehensively examined the spectacle of *Albion and Albanius* and the ways in which it might be deemed spectacular, disguise has not informed their argument, despite the fact that as the cave of Proteus appears, he '*changes himself into a lion, a crocodile, a dragon, and then to his own shape again*'.[69] The excessive use of costume in this scene highlights the effects of elaborate and extensive sartorial design, in order to generate spectacle. The changing of shapes would have drawn on the actor's skill, and the spectacle of magic. Like that of the automata, the changing of shapes, which was a showcased entertainment both inside and outside the main playhouse, meant actors used their technical abilities alongside traditional performance practices to add delight to their shows and generate interesting forms of spectacle. Talking specifically about animal automaton, Mangan argues that they

> [blurred] the distinctions between animal and human on the one hand, and between machine and human on the other, the talking animals and intelligent machines, which became a part of the repertoire of eighteenth-century illusionists.[70]

Mangan highlights an important connection between automata and magic, suggesting that audiences from the eighteenth century, at least, saw a connection between the two. This

[68] Aphra Behn, *The Second Part of the Rover,* p. 156.
[69] John Dryden, *Albion and Albanius* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1685), p. 25.
[70] Mangan, *Performing Dark Arts*, p. XXIV.

provides interesting support for the inclusion of illusion and animals in Dryden's play, suggesting that this was in some way connected to the performances outside of the playhouse and the styles of performance which delighted audience. The connection with magic and illusion is further demonstrated in an advertisement for a farce including Harlequin in the *Evening Post* 1724–1724,

> [*] The BRITISH-STAGE, or the EXPLOITS of Harlequin. a Farce, As it"s perform'd by a Company of Wonderful Commedians from both Theatres with Universal Applause, with all its Original Songs, Scenes and Machines, design'd as an after Entertainment for the Audience of Harlequin Doctor Faustus and the Necromancer.
>
> Here you've a dragon, windmill, and a devil
> A doctor, conjuror and wondrous civil.
> A Harlequin and puppets, ghosts, and fiends;
> And farce-show, to gain some actors rods;
> So perfectly polite is grown this town,
> No play, without a windmill, will go down.[71]

By using the term 'necromancer' the audience are prepared to anticipate magic. Moreover, through the detailed list of characters and objects they will experience, the audience is briefed to expect shape-shifting, and exciting visual scenes created by the physicality of Harlequin, scenery, machines, and music, all framed by the representation of magic and stage 'monsters'.

While many of these characters were likely to have been presented by actors in disguise, it raises the question of whether these actors were truly acting, or merely mimicking objects and 'monsterous' persons, while presenting the opportunity for interaction to add comic and visual effect. In Michael Kirby's influential article 'On Acting and Not-Acting', he identifies five levels of 'acting', which provide varied amounts of the ability to impersonate or represent.[72] It is within these five levels that some further understanding of stage 'monsters' and the representations of objects by actors, can be reached. Through the use of costuming, actors are recorded as representing items such as chairs, rocks and tapestries. Under his term 'Not-Acting' Kirby contends that,

> [t]he effect of clothing on stage […] it is more pronounced. A performer wearing only black leotards and Western boots might easily be identified as a "cowboy." This, of course, indicates the symbolic power of costume in performance. It is important, however, to notice the degree to which the external symbolization is supported and reinforced (or contradicted) by the

[71] Evening Post (February 6, 1724 - February 8, 1724) Issue 2268
[72] Michael Kirby, 'On Acting and Not-Acting', in *The Drama Review*, 16:1 (Mar 1972), 3-15 (p. 3)

> performer's behavior. If the performer moves (acts) like a cowboy, the identification is made much more readily. If he is merely himself, the identification might not be made at all.[73]

Discussing actors embodying characters that are specifically objects, it is difficult to suggest whether or not an actor could move as such an object; as Kirby concludes '[a]t this stage […] we are concerned with those performers who do not do anything to reinforce the information or identification.'[74] Here Kirby draws on the idea of non-matrixed performers, or those carrying out the actions determined for them by the characters they are representing – in terms of objects in the Restoration, it would have been their more recognisable characteristics.

Thanks to its use of mimicking, *Psyche Debauch'd* (1678) provides the broadest list of object 'monsters' in its attempts to highlight and make a farce of the range of spectacular technologies used in Restoration performance. The stage directions must again be treated with caution, however; if they can be believed, then *Psyche Debauch'd* provides one of the most valuable examples of the ways in which farce extended the spectacle of the Restoration stage to include truly unbelievable and crass representations of objects. The *dramatis personae* records the character of Apollo, a Wishing-Chair, being played by Mr. Lyddal, suggesting that this character appeared in detailed costume in order for him to impersonate a chair. The first scene featuring the wishing chair reads, '*[t]he scene drawn, discovers the wishing chair*'. Later the chair speaks and then '*roars*', before the Chief Priest sits in it.[75] Stage directions such as these suggest that the impersonation by an actor to make him appear as a genuine chair was a complex skill, and likely required intricate costume detailing.[76] By making use of the technologies of the stage, the chair sinks and flies into the air before being sat on, showcasing his ability to move: '*[s]he pushes him into the chair, who holds him fast, while both beat him*'. This further suggests that the actor was suitably dressed as a believable looking chair, but was also provided with the appropriate framework by which the actor could be used as a chair.[77] The visual effect certainly added to the visual spectacle of the play, however, it is only achieved through a combination of the actor's performance and the visual design of the chair, which firmly positions this type of 'monster' as part of the spectacle of *Psyche Debauch'd.* The most impressive ability was likely to be the chair's ability to speak, indicated through the stage directions such as '*chair roars*' suggesting that

[73] Kirby, 'On Acting and Not-Acting', p. 4.
[74] Kirby, 'On Acting and Not-Acting', p. 4.
[75] Thomas Duffet, *Psyche Debauch'd* (London: John Smith, 1678)
[76] Duffet, *Psyche Debauch'd,* p. 20.
[77] Duffet, *Psyche Debauch'd* , p. 48.

perhaps the chair was indeed presented as a 'living marionette', and that the actor's face was visible and surrounded by the costume. In *Psyche Debauch'd* the actor does much more than just imitate the chair, he brings the chair to life.[78] In this case, the actor adds to both the visual spectacle and farcical spectacle through his embodiment of the character.

Furthermore, Duffet utilises the physical abilities of the actor imitating an object when the character of Redstreak '*beats Ayr against rock—Rock beats her back again, and makes her cry out like an echo*', in addition to the beating which Redstreak receives, the rock also begins to talk.[79] While the combination of the actor and the costume disguise add to the visual spectacle of the scene, it also generates comedic spectacle through the transformation of a rock into something animate. Trying to formulate a convincing explanation as to how such objects were created is difficult due to the lack of surviving evidence. However, we might suppose that the emphasis of spectacle lay within the costuming of such characters, rather than a complex mechanical creation. It is possible therefore, that the inclusion of stage 'monsters' into performances of the Restoration perhaps did more for the spectacle of the stage than either automata or puppetry, because of their adaptability and extensive depictions.

It is apparent that wider elements of stage practice, such as costuming, physical acting and mechanics play a significant role in generating all three types of performance discussed in this chapter; however, it is important that we appreciate the spectacle of these elements in their own right. Through their advanced technology, representations of real life and illusionistic qualities, as well as their connections to popular and easily accessible performances, such as puppet-shows and demonstrations, I believe it is possible and essential to argue that puppets, automata, and stage 'monsters' were purposely incorporated in to Restoration performance, in order to have a spectacular impact.

[78] Kirby, 'On Acting and Not-Acting', p. 4.
[79] Duffet, *Psyche Debauch'd* , p. 7.

# Chapter Seven

# Feminine Spectacle: The Visual and Aural Delight of the Actress

In 1660 arguably the most contentious spectacular element of Restoration performance was introduced: the Restoration actress. Their introduction onto the stage divided opinion between those who found them appealing, and those who said they were a detestable addition which tested beliefs in religion, conduct and the acceptability of performance. That very controversy of course also promoted their spectacle. As women became an integrated part of theatrical performance so did a fascination with their visual image, and physical attractiveness. Undoubtedly the introduction of the actress provoked spectator delight, resulting in many plays being written and performed that had female characters as the object of visual desire and contempt, prompting the belief that actresses were 'sinful'. In *A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage*, for instance, Jeremy Collier famously criticised the impact the stage supposedly had on the expected behaviour of women. He writes

> I complained, as I had great reason, that the stage made women, single women, and women of quality talk smuttily.

Of their representation, he asserted that

> I. modesty is the character of women, [… and] no woman must be shown without it. Yes, I stand by the conclusion, that no woman ought to be shown without modesty, unless she appears for censure and infamy [...]. And even then, there ought to be a regard to the audience; and though the character is foul, the language should be clean. [...]
>
> it is a direct crossing upon nature and custom, and a breach of manners, both ceremonious and poetic. For, do virgins and bawds discourse in the same dialect? Is there no difference between ladies and little prostitutes? Or, is rampancy and lewdness the character of breeding?[414]

[414] Jeremy Collier, *A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage* (London: S. Keble, 1698).

While playwrights utilised the actresses' physical attractiveness to delight those spectators who appreciated the female form, a complex and tumultuous relationship between the actress, the stage, and most significantly the audience also developed. Although in the early part of the period women on the stage were seen as a new spectacular delight, Jean L. Marsden concludes that 'by 1680, actresses were no longer a novelty; however, they were a powerful sexual presence on the stage'.[415]

Blurring the boundaries between professionalism, objectification, public and private domains, boundaries and control, the newly introduced actress formed an important part of the Restoration's theatrical history. Elizabeth Howe notes that '[s]ociety assumed that a woman who displayed herself on the public stage was probably a whore.'[416] With assumptions like these, the actresses became a highly controversial part of performance. As Laura Rosenthal points out '[t]he actress as a whore representation appears so frequently during the Restoration that it takes on a life of its own, independent of the reference to the women themselves.'[417] The personal life of an actress was, therefore, assumed to be one of promiscuity and sexual readiness, and this was reflected in the characters written for the actresses to play. It is possible to argue therefore, that the role women take in Restoration performance was designed to generate an erotic experience for the spectators.

In a reflection made shortly after the Restoration, Colley Cibber suggested that actresses were celebrated for both their beauty and their acting skills, stating

> about the same that scenes first entered upon the stage at London, women were taught to act their own parts; since when, we have seen at both houses several excellent actresses, justly famed as well for beauty, as perfect good action.[418]

However, Rosamond Gilder argues that 'this burgeoning of feminine beauty and talent in the English Theatre was spectacularly rapid and sweeping', suggesting that the role of women as mere figures of delightful spectacle was soon overwhelmed by their use in depictions of fetishism and control: their professional skills were, she argues, far from the point. Moreover, Deborah Payne Fisk contends that

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[415] Jean L. Marsden, 'Spectacle, Horror, and Pathos', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre*, ed. by Deborah Payne Fisk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 182.
[416] Elizabeth Howe, *The First English Actresses: Women and Drama 1600-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 21.
[417] Laura Rosenthal, '"Counterfeit Scrubbado": Women Actors in the Restoration', *Eighteenth Century: Theory and Intepretation*, 34 (1991), 3-22 (p. 4).
[418] Cited in James Wright, *Historia Histrionica: An Historical Account of the English Stage Shewing the Ancient Use, Improvement and Perfection of Dramatick Representations in this Nation in a Dialogue of Plays and Players* .(London: G. Croom, 1699), p. 11.

> interest in the appearance and sexual habits of the actress reifies them as delectable objects to be consumed visually and, in some instances, sexually by appreciative spectators.[419]

Laura Mulvey's work on 'gaze', discussed in the introduction, is important in helping us to understand the power struggle between the audience and the performers, as the actresses on the stage were watched, viewed and objectified by the object for the purpose of creating a popular show. The role of the actress in the theatre therefore, developed more as sexual objects as both the male and female audience members wanted to see more of her and share in more of her experience. This chapter will, therefore, further explore the sexualised purpose of the actress, and how this meant that the actress was utilised as a form of erotically pleasing spectacle. It will also address how the beauty and physical form of the actress was deployed to garner attention, in combination with the genuine skills in performance that these women had. It will frame some elements of performance through the investigation of women as objects and ornaments of the stage, utilised for their sexual appeal, musical talents and beauty. The elements here of course served additional purposes in the formation of Restoration theatre to the ones detailed below; however, this chapter will highlight just those which can be perceived as having been spectacular for the audience.

## Breeches parts

> When female actors first began playing on English stages, their spectacular presence was shocking and garnered much attention. Consequently, playwrights began to seek ways to further exploit the novelty of women's bodies on stage. 'Breeches parts,' by playing on the disclosure of the actress's female body beneath the male costume, further intensified the excitement surrounding women's presence on stage.[420]

The dramatic device of 'breeches roles', or dressing women in male clothing, became one the most spectacular uses of the female body in Restoration theatre. The spectacle of this device lay in its showing or staging the female form in order to prompt delight or interest from the spectators. Teresa D. Kemp, as quoted above, observes that breeches roles drew attention to the shape of the female body, especially the legs. She compares the utilisation of breeches roles in the Renaissance when young boys playing female characters would be dressed again as men, a plot device for hiding identity, with the Restoration stage-practice where dressing

[419] Deborah Payne Fisk, 'Reified Object, or Emergent Professional? Retheorizing the Restoration Actress', in *Cultural Readings of Restoration and Eighteenth Century English Theatre*, ed. by Deborah Payne Fisk and Douglas J. Canfield (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), pp. 13-38 (p. 13)
[420] Theresa D. Kemp, *Women in the Age of Shakespeare* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2010), p. 118.

women as men presented an opportunity to raise delight from the audience in presenting a visual spectacle. Indeed, Kemp proposes that breeches roles took on a new meaning in the Restoration, signalling a visible shift from male actors cross-dressing as women, which was written into plays such as William Shakespeare's *As You Like It* (1599) as a device of protection or concealment; to the Restoration presentation of women cross-dressing as men which formed some of the visual spectacle of the actress, and was utilised to deliver excitement and delight.[421]

Restoration breeches roles have been an important topic for theatre historians in recent years due to their visual appeal, transgressive nature and shifting of performance practices. This section will, therefore, draw on work by scholars such as Elizabeth Howe, Laura J. Rosenthal and Kirsten Pullen to understand how our current knowledge of breeches roles can inform our understanding of them as a spectacular form of visual pleasure. As Howe notes,

> [b]reeches roles proved enormously popular with audiences. It has been calculated that of some 375 plays produced on the public stage in London during the period from 1660-1700, including alterations of pre-Restoration plays, eighty nine – that is, nearly a quarter – contained one or more roles for actresses in male clothes.[422]

As far as we can know, the large number of plays produced with women in breeches parts was a result of their appeal as a form of entertainment for the Restoration audience, forming an important part of the spectacle of the actress.

I would contend, therefore, that the spectacle of female cross-dressing was, in essence, the showcasing of women as an ornament of the stage, something to be looked at, admired and used for decorative purposes. Moreover, breeches roles presented new opportunities to explore power relations, and gave actresses the opportunity to assert their dominance in the playing space, an act which was viewed with both great pleasure and disdain. It is also important to remember that the spectacle of the female body in breeches roles took many forms. In its basic deployment, a breeches role prompted delight in the female appearance; however, some plays developed this visual spectacle and added further meanings upon it, demonstrated through changing appearances and the titillation of the uncovering of disguise.

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[421] Kemp, *Women in the Age of Shakespeare*, p. 118. For more information on Renaissance cross-dressing see Penny Gay, *As She Likes It: Shakespeare's Unruly Women* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).
[422] Howe, *The First English Actresses,* p. 94

The tight-fitting male attire of breeches roles framed the female figure, leaving it exposed and available for the ogling eyes of the paying audience; audience reactions of this kind are found in the diaries of Colley Cibber and Samuel Pepys. Howe indeed contends that 'breeches roles became little more than yet another means of displaying the actress as a sexual object', showcasing at the very least the shape of the leg and ankle.[423] She argues further that 'the breeches role titillated both by the mere fact of a woman's being boldly and indecorously dressed in male costume and, of course, by the costume suggestively outlining the actress's hips, buttocks and legs, usually concealed by a skirt'.[424] The revealing of the female form in this way should be seen, therefore, as a device for the generation of spectacle. While not representative of the whole Restoration audience, Pepys evidently found delight in seeing the shape of an actress's legs. In his account of *Argalus and Parthenia* in 1661, for instance, he writes

> a woman acted Parthenia and came afterwards on stage in man's clothes, and had the best legs that ever I saw, and I was very pleased with it.[425]

Pepys's pleasure at the showing of legs was not unique to him. Later in the period the prologue to *The Generous Enemies* (1671) additionally promotes the viewing of women in breeches as a form of delight and spectacle. The actress is required to say:

> [a]s woman let me with the men prevail,
> And with the ladies as I look like male.
> 'Tis worth your money that such legs appear;
> These are not to be seen so cheap elsewhere:
> In short commend this play, or by this light,
> We will not sup with one of you to night.[426]

This prologue positions actresses as a form of spectacle through the way in which their 'appealing' bodies could charm the spectators. The reference to legs that could not be 'seen so cheap elsewhere' not only confirms the popularity of breeches roles, but additionally substantiates claims that breeches roles were used widely in the period for entertainment purposes. Moreover, this prologue highlights the ease with which the female form could be made spectacular. By the showing of 'cheap' legs, the spectacle of breeches roles in their framing of the body was a less costly alternative to the elaborate spectacle of scenes and machines, and one which still effectively delighted the audience, albeit in a different way.

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[423] Howe, *The First English Actresses,* p. 59.
[424] Howe, *The First English Actresses*, p. 56.
[425] Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys,* 28 October, 1661. < http://www.pepys.info> [accessed 15 October 2015]
[426] John Corye, *The Generous Enemies, or, The Ridiculous Lovers* (London: James Magnus, 1672), sig. B2r.

Like the plays themselves, this epilogue frames the actress's legs as the main delight of the performance, confirming that for the audience the view of the female frame formulated a spectacular image on the stage. Watching the actress in breeches, the spectators are invited to look and find delight in the image presented to them.

Moreover, the lines '[a]s woman let me with the men prevail, / And with the ladies as I look like male' demonstrate that the presentations of a woman in breeches were designed to titillate male and female spectators alike. An account by Margaret Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, of her witnessing an Italian player in breeches is interesting in this connection; it asserts that this performer was

> [t]he best female actor that ever I saw, and for acting a man's part, she did so naturally as if she had been of that sex, and yet she was of a neat, slender shape; but being in her doublet and breeches, and a sword handing by her side, one would have believed she never had worn a petticoat, and had been more used to handle a sword than a distaff; and when she danced in a masculine habit, she would caper higher, and oftener than any of the men, although they were great masters in the art of dancing, and when she danced after the fashion of her own sex, she danced justly, evenly, smoothly and gracefully.[427]

While Cavendish's exclamations about the female actress do not indicate as much physical interest in the female form as the likes of Pepys, she does highlight the 'natural' way in which the woman acted and her 'neat, slender shape', suggesting that seeing a woman in a male role was not only a good substitute for the male figure, but something that was even more appealing and exciting. Laura Rosenthal indeed argues that what Cavendish sees here in the breeches role are 'liberating and arguably erotic possibilities, [and] clearly the performer's femaleness in itself engages her interest as well'.[428]

As Kirsten Pullen contends, drawing on the work of Pat Rogers, 'Restoration breeches roles are generally understood as reinforcing sexual stereotypes: "it was attractive actresses who were given the chance to play breeches parts"'.[429] Pullen further suggests that such roles made celebrity of some actresses from the period. It is perhaps for this reason that some women opted to play breeches roles whenever possible. In her diary Charlotte Charke, for instance, suggests that it was the appreciation from the audience that aided her success in the

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[427] Margaret Cavendish, cited in Laura Rosenthal, 'Reading Masks: The Actress and Spectatrix in Restoration Shakespeare', in *Broken Boundaries: Women and Feminism in Restoration Drama*, ed. by Katherine M. Quinsey (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996), p. 201.

[428] Laura J. Rosenthal, 'Reading Masks: The Actress and the Spectrix in Restoration Shakespeare', in *Broken Boundaries: Women and Feminism in Restoration Drama,* ed. by Katherine M. Quinsey (Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 201-218 (p. 201).

[429] Kirsten Pullen, *Actresses and Whores: On Stage and in* Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 48; drawing on Pat Rogers, 'Breeches Roles', in *Sexuality in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. by Paul Gabriel Boucé (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 244-58 (p. 248).

theatre, stating 'the success I met with was rather owing to indulgent audiences, that good-naturedly encouraged a young creature, who, they thought, might one day come to something'.[430] By the end of her career Charke was associated so wholly with the breeches that she would often be seen wearing them in public also.[431] Her modern biographer indeed suggests that Charke enjoyed the power that accompanied breeches roles, and revelled in the strength of imitating a male rather than thinking that in wearing close-fitting clothing she was making herself more appealing.[432] As Susan J. Owen concludes,

> '[b]reeches parts' for actresses embodies the contradiction for women: on the one hand, women could dress and fight as men; on the other, we know from contemporary accounts that the audience saw such parts as a chance to revel in the titillating sight of the actresses' legs.[433]

In order to fully appreciate the spectacle of breeches roles, it is important to note that it was not the intention when dressing an actress as a man to either fully disguise her, or simply showcase her body, but rather a combination of the two. Through breeches roles, playwrights could explore narratives of mistaken identities, forbidden loves, and sexual tensions – all designed to delight the audience. Such narratives allowed the audience to gaze at what they knew to be a woman, whilst other characters in the play perceived her as a man, giving spectators an intimate connection with the female performer and her body. While in these situations the female form itself created some of this spectacle, it was the anticipation of the unravelling of the disguise that added a heightened level of eroticism to the role. This can be seen, for example, in William Wycherley's *The Plain Dealer* (1677), where Vernish believes Fidelia to be a man until her womanliness is exposed. In a visual, on stage reveal, Vernish strips Fidelia of her disguise and uncovers her female-ness. The scene reads

> Fidelia: I am a woman, sir, a very unfortunate woman.
> Vernish: How! A very handsome woman, I'm sure then. Here are witnesses of it too, I confess – *(pulls off her peruke and feels her breasts)*.[434]

The revealing of her disguise and Vernish's touching of her breasts demonstrates some of the sexual control that was at work in breeches roles, while also providing a provocative show for the audience that relied on the spectacle of the female body. The uncovering of her hair additionally returns Fidelia to a woman in front of the audience's eyes and, without the male disguise, the actress is left powerless as an object of desire and a woman in close-fitting, male

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[430] Charlotte Charke, *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Charlotte Charke* (London: W. Reeves, 1755), p. 55.
[431] Charke, *Narrative of the Life*, p. 139.
[432] Lydia Mia Thompson, 'Charlotte Charke', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) < http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5141> [accessed 14 October 2015]
[433] Susan J. Owen, *Perspectives on Restoration Drama* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p. 2.
[434] William Wycherley, *The Plain Dealer* (London: J. Magnes and R. Bentley, 1677).

clothing.[435] No longer is the actress in a disguise that allows her to be viewed as male; rather there is a shift in power which permits the audience to view her simply as a woman in revealing clothing. Similar uncovering of a breeched woman can be found in Behn's *The Younger Brother, or, The Amorous Jilt* (1696), where the stage directions read '*[t]he prince holding Olivia by the bosom of her coat, her breast appears to Mirtilla*'. The revelation of her breasts is met with 'Ha! What do I see? –Two female rising breasts. By heaven, a woman.– Oh fortunate mischance'.[436] Following this exchange the treatment of Olivia changes, seemingly due to her true sex being known, drawing on sexual stereotypes of women as weak and men as strong. The revealing of Olivia as a woman would not only have created a titillating scene by her body being shown as female, but also the possibility of witnessing the uncovering of her breasts from the pit.

Prologues from the period rarely promoted spectacle due to their requirement to pre-empt the plot; however, those that did attempt to utilise the popularity of spectacle were more likely to refer to male performers and mechanics than to women. Nonetheless some prologues were presented by women, and a significant number of these were delivered either in character or, more interestingly, in breeches. The role of breeches in prologues is a notable element in the development of the spectacular because they presented the opportunity for a single woman, displayed as a man with the shape of her body outlined, to deliver a message directly to the audience. In 1672, for instance, a prologue to *The Maiden Queen* is thought to have been delivered by Elizabeth Boutell wearing breeches, prior to the all-female performance of the play.[437] In its altered form for this performance, the prologue affords the opportunity for the spectacle of a female body dressed in male clothing to be exploited, and yet also provide a teasing and witty introduction to the play. The spectacle of soon-to-appear female performers is stressed in the first lines: '[w]omen like us (passing for men) you'll cry /

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[435] Jean L. Marsden contends that 'The actress was recognizably female, with her breasts, loosened hair, and frequently revealed legs, all signs of womanhood emphasized in the roles she played', highlighting the way in which hair could reveal the sex of the woman as much as her breasts and legs. Jean L. Marsden, *Fatal Desire: Women, Sexuality, and the English Stage, 1660-1720* (New York: Cornell University, 2006), p. 4

[436] Aphra Behn, *The Younger Brother, or, The Amorous Jilt* (London: J. Harris, 1696), p. 48. The presentation of the female body in the play is a factor in Elaine Hobby's doubting that the play is by Behn at all: first performed and published seven years after Behn's death, *The Younger Brother* could be a cynical attempt to cash in on Behn's reputation as a playwright (private communication, 31 October 20
15).

[437] A.B, *Drollery, or a Collection, of all the Choice Songs, Poems, Prologues, Epilogues (Sung and Spoken at Court and Theatres) Never in Print Before*: *Written by the Wits of the Age* (London: James Magnus, 1672), p. 1. John Dryden's *The Secret-Love, or The Maiden Queen* was first performed in 1667 at the Theatre Royal. The printed version of the script was reproduced a number of times with few alterations. In the first performance Nell Gwyn was the star performer, with Samuel Pepys noting that 'so great performance of a comical part was never, I believe, in the world before'. It is thought, therefore, that this play was instrumental in creating her successful career

Presume too much upon your secrecy'. Here the author is promoting the idea that seeing the women as men provides secret delight. The prologue continues, '[l]adies in us, youth and beauty find, / All things but one, according to your mind', suggesting that the women were designed to be convincing as males, and as a result, the women of the audience could also delight in their appeal. Prologues of this kind built the anticipation for the plays' spectacular breeched women. Indeed, Pullen dedicates a chapter of her *Actresses and Whores* to the popularity of the actress Elizabeth Boutell and her appearance in breeches roles. She asserts that Boutell's success is attributable to her use in prologues and epilogues and that having presented these in breeches, she was in turn deemed a whore. Pullen concludes that '[i]t seems that actresses knowingly use[d] prologues and epilogues to advance their popularity and advertise their sexual availability, especially since they were usually assigned to specific performers.'[438]

The use of women in breeches roles developed, and by 1672 plays were beginning to be performed with all-female casts, adapting the roles designed to be played by men into roles for women pretending to be men. Three such all-female cast productions were recorded: *The Parson's Wedding, The Maiden Queen*, and *Philaster*.[439] These adaptations altered the appeal of breeches roles. These characters were not women dressed as men for the purpose of disguise; instead, these actresses attempted to imitate male characteristics. For the spectators, the stage was filled with women dressed as both sexes, drawing attention to their female assets in two different ways. The interactions between the lovers in these plays was also likely to have heightened delight through the talk of love between two women. Perhaps what is of most spectacular value here, though, is the possibility of viewing the subordinate, well-mannered women, conforming to their expected behaviours, alongside the strong, disobedient and unruly women set at liberty to imitate men. Through this, these plays came to be more about the objectification and exploitation of the sex than any other play featuring breeches roles had been. As Pepys reflects,

> what a bawdy loose play the *parsons wedding* is, that is acted by nothing but women at the King's house – and I am glad of it.[440]

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[438] Pullen, *Actresses and Whores*, p.51.

[439] A further example is a production of Killgrew's *Thomaso*, due to be presented by an all-female cast in 1664, with an impressive cast-list including a 14-year-old Nell Gwyn, Anne Marshall and Mary Knepp; this production, however, was never staged. See Robert D. Hume and Harold Love, eds, *Plays, Poems, and Miscellaneous Writings Associated with George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham*, 2 vols (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007), p, 17 – 18.

[440] Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 11 October 1664. < http://www.pepys.info> [accessed 15 October 2015]

Moreover, the epilogue to the all-female *Maiden Queen* further emphasised the sexuality of the female performers in breeches, explicitly drawing attention to the visual delight of their bodies, specifically their legs, and offering the prospect of the performer and the spectator being together:

> [o]ur legs are no ill sight
> And they would give you no ill dreams at night
> In dreams both sexes may their passions ease
> You make us as then civil as you please.

These female performers served as active presenters of the idea that they were sexually available for their audience's enjoyment.

The spectacle of breeches roles lay in the framing of the female body, and the revealing of it, in many senses, to the audience. Encouraging the watching eyes of both male and female audience members, breeches roles generated a spectacular sphere where the spectacle of the body was traded for the audience's appreciation. Clearly breeches roles were considered to have been a delightful form of entertainment for some, providing those actresses who chose to present them, success in the theatre.

## Song and Dance

Instances of song and dance preserve perhaps the most skilful form of physical spectacle in Restoration performance. By the end of the seventeenth century, music and accompanying songs held an important place in Restoration performance through their involvement in operas. While operas used music, song and dance extensively in their narratives, being differentiators for the genre, this thesis's primary objective is to broaden our understanding of spectacular elements and identify examples of its usage outside of the well-known and researched plays. This section will therefore put opera to one side, and consider the role of music, song and dance in plays not of the operatic genre, and will instead explore these elements as spectacular performances in themselves. Such demonstrations of skill by actors and actresses can be witnessed in many genres, including comedies and tragedies, and what Roger North called the 'semi-opera' – or those 'spoken play[s] into which extensive masques or other musical entertainments were interpolated'.[441]

[441] Thomas Coke, *Vice Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers 1706-1715*, ed. by Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1982), p. xxi. For more information on Roger North's 'semi-operas', see the introduction to *Vice Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers*, where Milhous and Hume discuss this genre of play, as well as providing a detailed account of operas and performances between 1706 and 1715, highlighting how expensive elaborate performances were and how

The extent to which music, song and dance became part of the spectacular nature of performance increased towards the end of the period, as playwrights sought to expand the popularity of performance and equal it to that of operas in a less costly manner. In terms of theatrical performance, the period saw numerous company mergers, newly established companies, new and unused theatres being brought back to life. Remarkably throughout these developments, music, song and dance provided a continual form of visual and aural entertainment in a range of plays. The use of song and dance in Restoration performance was varied, and included character representation combined with moral storytelling, and additional forms of visual spectacle through the use of costumes and props. In all of these ways, song and dance in Restoration productions should be understood as developing from the practices of the Renaissance, where song and dance were extensively used in plots, mere entertainments and as part of a play's narratives or meanings. Roger Clegg and Lucie Skeaping have traced the use of singing and dancing in Renaissance and Restoration performance, highlighting its early usages in afterpieces, village fairs, and in private performances.[442] They conclude that song and dance was a form of spectacle which engaged the audience not only by its own action but because of its presentation through a performer, being something that dates much earlier than the Renaissance. The Restoration period then increased the delight of song and dance by combining it with other entertainments. As Anne Cottis argues, '[i]t should be born in mind that after 1660 the theatre was responsible for a spectrum of entertainments in which there was greater emphasis on dancing, instrumental and vocal music, and the actors/performers were trained in a variety of skills which would have included dancing'.[443]

In these early performances, male actors were the centrepiece; however, as Clegg and Skeaping note, women may also have taken part in private performances and village fairs, along with the female sex being represented through boy actors.[444] Although male performers, such as Joe Haines, were still presenting entertainments of songs and dance in great numbers in the Restoration period, it was by comparison female performances that were, it seems, intended to provide the most amount of spectacular appeal.

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difficult it was to make them popular (pp. xvii – xlii.). Also see John Wilson, ed., *Roger North on Music* (London: Novello, 1959)

[442] Roger Clegg and Lucie Skeaping, *Singing Simpkin and Other Bawdy Jigs: Musical Comedy on the Shakespearean Stage: Scripts, Music and Context* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2014)

[443] Anne Cottis, 'Women and Dancing after the Restoration', *Historical Dance*, 2:6 (1988-9), 16-20 (p. 19)

[444] Clegg and Skeaping, 'A History of the Dramatic Jig', in *Singing Simpkin*, pp. 1 – 66.

What makes performances of singing and dancing spectacular can be considered from two viewpoints. Firstly, the act of singing and dancing was in itself a form of spectacle requiring extensive skills and often numerous performers to present them. The song and dance interludes in Restoration theatre acted as a break from spoken narrative to present new entertainments that were appealing for their difference, alongside their visual and audible effects. Secondly, the performers provided wonder for the audience, especially female performers. By possessing skills in song and dance, an actress was able to increase her popularity and appeal, using her abilities both on and off the stage. For example, in his account of *Epsom-Wells*, John Downes gives the names of the actors and actresses of the 1673 performance. In a further note he identifies Mrs Johnson as having an important role in the play: '[i]n this comedy, dancing a jig so charming well, loves power in a little time after coerced her to dance more charming, else where', demonstrating not only the appealing nature of a woman dancing in performance, but also her off-stage popularity.[445] In a similar account of an actress's dancing skill, Colley Cibber writes of Charlotte Butler, '[s]he proved not only a good actress, but was allowed in those days to sing and dance to great perfection.'[446] The skills which these women possessed differentiated them from their contemporaries, adding to their appeal because such skills were considered to increase an actress's beauty.[447] It appears, therefore, that the purpose of song and dance in performances of the period was a combination of two kinds of appeal: the entertainment generated through seeing and hearing such performances, and the presentation of the performers themselves.

Although accounts of actresses being prolific performers of song and dance indicate their popularity through this style of performance, they often fail to provide the reason for their appeal and success, and what the actual spectacular outcome was. There are strong connections between the uses of song and dance as activities for women in the Renaissance and the Restoration period. However, as seen throughout this chapter, the role of women in Restoration performance had quickly become sexually charged and designed to be erotically pleasing, furthering the sexual connotations of such performances. It is possible to

[445] John Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, ed. by Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1987), p. 70.
[446] Colley Cibber, *An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber* < http://www.gutenberg.org/files/44064/44064-h/44064-h.htm> [accessed 18 March 2015], p. 184.
[447] In a collection of songs and ballads edited by Thomas D'Urfey that was designed to lift melancholy, entitled *Wit and Mirth*, Anne Bracegirdle is recorded as performing a song from the comedy *Justice Buisy* where the lines 'No, no, every morning my beauties renew, | Where-ever I go, I have lovers enough;| I dress and I dance, and I laugh and I sing,| Am lovely and lively, and gay as the spring'. This suggests that her lovers are, in part, gained through the beauty attributed to her through her singing and dancing. John Eccles, *A song in Justice Buisy or Ye gentleman quack set by Mr. John Eccles, sung by Mrs Bracegirdle, and exactly engrav'd by Tho: Cross. Justice Busy* (London: S.N, 1704).

hypothesize, therefore, that with the use of song and dance in Restoration performance also came the inclusion of another form of sexualised performance, using the visual appeal of the actress to not only showcase her physical form but also to accentuate her womanly traits, connecting singing with femininity.

## Song

> Singing in plays is grown so much in vogue,
> I had some thoughts to sing the epilogue.
> Since singing such delight to you affords,
> To please you, we'll all turn canary birds.[448]

*

Linda Phyllis Austern has explored early-modern connections between music and femininity, and she contends that

> [b]ecause of perceived affective similarities between music and femininity, many English writers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries discussed one in terms of the other; applied the technical vocabularies of music theory and performance to descriptions of women; or categorized both women and music as potential inflamers of the passions that could, through strictly masculine control, serve as earthly reminders of divine love and providence.[449]

The connection between feminine allure and music therefore carries an historically specific resonance, whilst also suggesting that music and women have been recognised as a collaborative spectacular entity for a significant proportion of performance history. As Austern further contends, feminine nature and music are both 'based on an understanding of the feminine as physically alluring, ornamental, and delighting sense before intellect.'[450] As female performers in their physical form were also perceived to be ornaments increasing the delight of the stage, the spectacular potential of the Restoration stage is furthered by the connection of the visual delight of the actress, the aural allure of the song, and femininity. As Austern identifies, music and female performers had long been perceived as 'inflamers of passion', especially for the male spectators. It is no surprise therefore, that narratives of the period made extensive use of female performers engaging in song, to heighten their erotic appeal. While the gendered nature of music is vitally important to understand the success of

[448] Pierre Danchin, *The Prologues and Epilogues of the Restoration, 1660-1700* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), p. 5.
[449] Linda Phyllis Austern, '"Alluring the Auditorie to Effeminacie": Music and the Idea of the Feminine in Early Modern England', *Music and Letters*, 74:3 (1993), 343-54 (p. 343)
[450] Austern, 'Alluring the Auditorie to Effeminacie', p. 349.

women as singers, it is the combination of the visual performance and the aural enjoyment which provided the most striking spectacle. As Leslie C. Dunn and Katherine R. Larson suggest, music and song had multiple functions in early-modern performance, including 'as lyric text, as musical genre, and as moments of embodied performance within specific acoustic and social environments'. For all of these, women played a crucial role in transforming written scenarios into visual and aural spectacle.[451]

Austern has additionally identified the connection between the ability to sing or play music and perceptions of heightened beauty. Texts of the periods make allusions to music and the sexuality of female players being intertwined in both sixteenth and seventeenth-century religion and performance, offering warnings of their combined effects to further inflame love rather than promote spiritual contemplation for the listener, despite the intended purpose.[452] Transferring this already established sexual and erotic bond between women and music to the public stage enabled playwrights to utilise their appeal to assist in the instant success of new professional actresses. As a result many Restoration play texts have numerous interjections by singers and singing actresses.[453] Singing actresses were therefore additionally utilised as dramatic devices in order to increase the appeal of a number of plays and produce spectacular results.

William R. Bowden's pivotal work on the purposes of music in the seventeenth century identifies that song was used in performance for a wide range of purposes, including character representation, expression of emotion and for dramatic effect.[454] Moreover, Bowden categorises music to identify the multiple roles of song and therefore demonstrates its prominence in theatrical practices of the period. Although Bowden's work is concerned

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[451] Leslie C. Dunn and Katherine R. Larson, eds, 'Introduction', in *Gender and Song in Early Modern England,* ed. by Leslie C. Dunn and Katherine R. Larson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), p. 8.

[452] Elena Laura Calogero, '"Sweet Alluring Harmony": Heavenly and Earthly Sirens in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Literature and Visual Culture', in *Music of the Sirens*, ed. by Linda Phyllis Austern and Inna Naroditskaya (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006), pp. 140-175, discusses at length the historical connection between religion, spiritual contemplation and music, which warned of the distracting effect of women when connected to song.

[453] It is important to note that there was a difference in role between singers and singing actresses. Although it was a requirement for most actresses to be able to hold a note, the simple songs were allocated to them with the more complex and elaborate numbers being reserved specifically for performers whose main purpose was to appeal to the audience's senses through a beautifully performed song. The same is true for the dancers of the period. Often appearing on dramatis personae as simply 'dancers' with no name attached to them, these performers were specifically trained in dance and could deliver complex and alluring dances; as no choreography survives, this deduction is based on stage directions. An example is Mrs Booth, who is mentioned numerous times in surviving records, each one commending her grace as a dancer but not mentioning other performance skills. Similarly, Winfred Gosnell received very little discussion, but when she is mentioned it is for her singing ability and not for her acting.

[454] William R. Bowden, *The English Dramatic Lyric, 1603 – 1642: A Study in Stuart Dramatic Technique* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1951)

with the early part of the seventeenth century, his observations also apply in many respects to Restoration theatre; however, with the inclusion of actresses' music's potency and purpose became amplified. It is possible therefore to separate the purpose of song as a form of spectacular entertainment into three aspects. Firstly, its spectacle might come from the song's meaning, opening up the character's emotions for the audience to see and enjoy, framing them and their responses through song. One such role using song as a function of emotion and character is that of the young lover. Moreover, as Bowden has identified, themes of love and lust were often explored by women through song. George Etherege's play *She Wou'd if She Cou'd* (1668), for instance, contains an example.[455] The young character Gatty's song is concerned with her wandering to find love and, having found it, wishing for love and desire in return. The lyrics read,

> [t]o little or no purpose I spent many days,
> In ranging the park, the exchange, and the plays;
> For never in my rambles till now did I prove
> So lucky to meet with the man I could love.
> Oh! how I am pleased when I think on this man,
> That I find I must love, let me do what I can!
> How long I shall love him, I can no more tell,
> Then had I a fever, when I should be well.
> My passion shall kill me before I will show it,
> And yet I wou'd give all the world he did know it;
> But oh how I sigh, when I think shou'd he woo me,
> I cannot deny what I know would undo me![456]

In response Ariana, her kinswoman, exclaims: '[f]y, Sister, thou art so wanton.' Spectacle here is generated through Etherege's combination of aural performance and its surrounding conversation. Between Gatty and Ariana a conversation takes place which is about the control of women by men, and about the way in which women must 'sell' themselves to gain love. Combined with the beauty of the singing and visual impact of two women on stage alone singing about loving men, the image and purpose of the conversation becomes spectacular for its contradictory message. Additionally, the suggestion that Gatty is wanton for her singing stresses the connection between appeal, singing and spectacle in Restoration performance.

While songs about love and longing may have provided excitement for the audience through suggested opportunities, songs were used more obviously to pique interest through desire. Certainly the use of singing and dancing is bound with the Restoration's recognisable politics of gender, gaze and sexual control. Anticipated responses or declarations of emotion

[455] George Etherege, *She Wou'd if She Cou'd* (London: H. Herringman, 1668)
[456] Etherege, *She Wou'd if She Cou'd,* p. 82.

through the use of songs and singing became a trend with the songs themselves being a vehicle through which to explore the emotions connected to illnesses, events and responses. As Lori Leigh identifies, certainly in adaptations of Shakespeare, 'singing is connected with grieving, and possibly rape', resulting in an image at odds with itself.[457] As identified earlier, the role of singing has a historical connection with 'inflaming passion' and images of women having been raped (which will be discussed in greater detail later in the chapter), both of which increased their sexual focus. In Restoration theatre, the grieving attached to events such as physical assaults were more often expressed through song. The resulting spectacle can be seen clearly in Nicholas Rowe's *The Fair Penitent* (1703), where in Act V, '*Calista is discovered on a couch in black; her hair hanging loose and disordered. After music and a song she rises and comes forward*'.[458] The visual image of Calista shows her dishevelled having seen her love killed. Such an image would have been appealing to the audience for its connection to the original act and the sexual availability of the actress. This particular scene's spectacular pertinence is increased by a song that suggests that Calista is slipping into madness, which is performed while she lies on the couch. Here, the actress lain out for the audience to admire is set against other women singing.

Characters' songs were used to the expand the spectacle of adaptations of Elizabethan plays which were no longer perceived to be as interesting due to their lack of spectacle: both William Davenant's *Macbeth* and John Dryden's *The Tempest, or The Enchanted Island* are examples of this. Performed in 1674, Davenant's adaptation contained singing witches who, through their numerous songs, reiterate the play's narrative. Davenant's combination of supernatural elements and song provided extensive spectacle due the established connection between the supernatural and machinery.[459] For example, the flying witches in Macbeth combined sung narrative with visual, mechanical and aural entertainments.[460] Although there is little surviving evidence about how the witches may have been physically presented, it is reasonable to assume that spectacle would have been generated through the contrast between the visual grotesqueness of their supernatural appearance and the beauty associated with a singing woman. In stark contrast John Dryden combines song and the supernatural to showcase the complete beauty of the female performer by having Ariel, played by Mrs Boman in 1717, sing throughout the show. *The Tempest, or The Enchanted Island* (1670),

[457] Lori Leigh, *Shakespeare and the Embodied Heroine: Staging Female Characters in the Late Plays and Early Adaptations* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 20.
[458]Nicholas Rowe, *The Fair Penitent* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1703), p. 52.
[459] See Chapter Nine for further discussion of the use of magic to generate spectacle in Restoration theatre.
[460] William Davenant, *Macbeth a Tragedy* (London: P. Chetwin, 1674)

contains more instances of song than most other plays, and Ariel's songs are combined with extensive mechanical spectacle, with her flying and disappearing.[461] Furthermore, accompanying Ariel in many of her singing scenes were groups of nymphs who would sing and dance around her.

Singing nymphs became a common addition to Restoration performance, designed to add visual spectacle to the play. Nymphs and sirens indeed have an extensive history in both music history and theatrical delights, being used to encourage amorous and erotic thoughts in their spectators. As Austern highlights

> [i]f either auditory or visual beauty led to physical and spiritual rapture, then certainly the combination of the two was even more powerful. When music was combined with physical beauty, it served as a double invitation to the pleasures of dangers of love, for body and soul were thus twice besieged and rational man deprived of his physical senses. Elizabethan writers often used the legend of the sirens as a metaphor for the inherent danger of such sensual bombardment, for though sweet for a moment it could lead through bewitchment to destruction.[462]

Charles Davenant utilised the connection between the alluring nature of sirens and song, which dated from the medieval period, in his play *Circe* (1677) where the appeal of the sirens is irresistible to those it affects. Elena Laura Calogero identifies this as a 'tradition [where] the siren was described as a lustful beast inducing to sleep by song only to capture and kill men', and this is reflected in Davenant's play.[463] Following and embedding traditions such as these promoted spectacle through the anticipated outcome of this scene. Coupled with the use of alluring song, the sirens produced delight through their physical beauty and their aural appeal. Prompted by hearing music, Pylades says

> [t]ry by soft slumbers to delude your care.
> What pleasant sounds are these which bless the air?
> *(A pleasant symphony.)*
> They sweeter to my ravished sense appear,
> Than yielding whispers to a lovers ear.[464]

Davenant's scene here utilises multiple forms of spectacle, along with the appeal of the sirens, to increase pleasure. The scene continues by showing the sirens rising from the seas, performing a song, and then descending, leaving Orestes and Pylades '*asleep as if*

[461] John Dryden, *The Tempest, or The Enchanted Island* (London: H. Herringman, 1670)
[462] Linda Phyllis Austern, '"Sing Againe Syren": The Female Musician and Sexual Enchantment in Elizabethan Life and Literature', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 42:3 (1989), 420-48 (p. 427)
[463] Calogero, 'Sweet Alluring Harmony', pp. 140 – 75.
[464] Charles Davenant, *Circe* (London: Richard Tonson, 1677), pp. 14-15.

*enchanted*'.[465] Davenant continues the theme of enchantment by introducing characters such as the 'God of Sleep' and 'Pleasant Dreams', both of whom sing and bewitch their listeners to sleep and delight their audience. These stage directions indicate, '*Orestes is sleeping on a Bed of Flowers, with Circe's Women singing about him.*' [466]

Plays of the period were not limited to using just one kind of song to promote spectacle. Rather, the most successfully spectacular utilise many if not all of the functions discussed here. Perhaps the most vibrant example is in Thomas Shadwell's *Psyche.* In this play's 'Song of Despairing Lovers', Shadwell uses the popular Restoration convention of having music portray love. His preface explains that the 'great design was to entertain the town with a variety of music, curious dancing, splendid scenes and machines', indicating his awareness of the spectacular potential of song.[467] The success of Act II's 'Song of Despairing Lovers' is portrayed by the fact that it appears frequently thereafter in collections of songs and music. Sung by two despairing men and two despairing women, it laments the power and pain of love. The lyrics of the female singers include lines such as

> *Wom. 1*: Sighs which in other passions vent,
> And give them ease when they lament,
> Are but the bellows to my hot desire.
>
> *Wom. 2*: And tears in me not quench, but nourish fire.

These connect them with actions similar to those of 'she-tragedies' which were designed to prompt delight, as will be discussed at greater length later in this chapter.

Songs were utilised in numerous ways to add spectacle, making them a flexible device that could be used at any point during a play to heighten a subject through song, or to raise the level of entertainment for the audience. One such device is the use of songs in prologues. Opening the show with a musical number framed the rest of the performance, starting the play with a spectacular entertainment, which was intensified by its performance by a female. Performed as a court masque, John Crown's play *Calisto* (1675) opens with a singing prologue, performed by nymphs, with the representation of the river Thames and four parts of the world. Defending his choices, Crown's preface indicates,

> [t]he principal part of the *prologue* being the river, my business was not to consider how the *Latin* poets painted it, but how to represent it best and most beautiful on our stage; […] to have the part sung best to delight the court; and

[465] Davenant, *Circe,* p. 15.
[466] Davenant, *Circe*, p. 31.
[467] Thomas Shadwell, 'Preface', in *Psyche* (London: Henry Herringman, 1675), p 5.

> the graceful motions and admirable singing of Mrs. *Davis,* did sufficiently prove the discretion of my choice.[468]

The visual spectacle devised by Crown through his use of unusual and elaborate characters, presumably costumed with exquisite designs, teamed with the aural delights of many actresses joining in song would have created a spectacular opening. Crown's preface is additionally of relevance to this chapter's exploration of the role of female performance in the creation of spectacle through its confirming the use of women's beauty to prompt desire.

## Dance

In comparison to song, the spectacle of dance is generated almost solely through the visual appeal of the skilful body, giving the audience an opportunity to watch women manipulate their bodies for entertainment. Whereas music and women had long been linked as a source of entertainment, dance only began to be associated with the delights of women performing for a public audience once women took to the public stage.[469] However, dance held a prominent place in the education of young women, being considered a valuable skill for them to increase their beauty and grace.[470] Accounts of dance masters, dancers and the popular dance styles appear in great numbers in the Restoration, providing many records of women in theatrical performance. In his memoirs John Evelyn wrote at length about his daughter Mary's dancing, highlighting how the art increased the 'justness of her stature, person, comeliness of countenance, [and] gracefulness of motion'.[471] It was these skills that promoted the spectacle of a woman dancing upon the stage, just as Charlotte Charke records. In the narrative of her life she describes actresses dancing in theatres; speaking specifically of Mrs Booth, she writes that her dancing was 'design[ed] to please an audience with more

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[468] John Crown, *Calisto, or The Chaste Nimph* (London: Tho. Newcomb, 1675), p 7.

[469] Dancing in public was often associated with the loss of modesty. Due to its strong connection with the manipulation of the body for visual pleasure, and as such making a spectacle of the parts of the body, dancing was thought to only be appropriate as a private activity. The inclusion of women in Restoration performance therefore meant that dance was no longer a solely male activity in public, or a private activity for women. This is specifically noted in John Essex's *The Young Ladies Conduct* were he warns: 'let me subjoin one caution with regards to dancing, that it be always performed with modesty and moderation. Dancing has something in it wonderfully pleasing to the eyes of the spectators, as well as it is engaging to the fancy of the performers, which it cherishes with great sprightliness and alacrity; but it is a great Fault in many ladies, who first encourage or promote dancing, and then are unwilling to give over till they tire the company; with looks too much like vanity or affection. Dancing, though performed to the greatest perfection imaginable, loses all its beauties, and fatigues the spectators by its long continuance.' John Essex, *The Ladies Conduct, or Rules for Education, under Many Heads; with Instruction upon Dress, both before and after Marriage* (London: John Brotherton, 1722), p. 83.

[470] In 1690 Henry Playford released the eighth edition of *The Dancing Master* which included 'The Art of Dancing' for women, demonstrating the shift in dance performance from being predominantly male to including females. Henry Playford, *The Dancing Master, Edition Eight* (London: Edward Jones, 1690)

[471] John Evelyn, *Memoirs of John Evelyn, Comprising of his Diary, from 1641-1705/6* (London: H. Coburn, 1827) <https://archive.org> [accessed 30 September 2015]

modest and graceful deportment with which Mrs Booth attracted and charmed the hearts of every gazer.'[472] The most prominent voice of theatrical records, Samuel Pepys, also records many instances of dancing in the theatre, for instance detailing a performance of the young Moll Davis performing a jig, which is particularly interesting because of her later position as the king's mistress. He writes,

> Miss Davis did dance a jig after the end of the play, and there telling the next day's play; so that it come in by force only to please the company to see her dance in boy's clothes; and, the truth is, there is no comparison between Nell's dancing the other day at the King's house in boy's clothes and this, this being infinitely beyond the other.[473]

Here, Pepys draws attention to the fact that Davis danced in breeches. While this is most likely due to her age and without the same sexual connotations as might be connected with the breeches roles discussed earlier, it is interesting to note two forms of spectacle working in conjunction with each other: dance and breeches. A further example of this, but with an adult actress, is John Dryden's *The Maiden Queen,* performed in 1668. The dance takes place while Nell Gwyn is disguised in male breeches. For the audience the dance had a heightened degree of visual spectacle due to the physical form of the female body being accentuated, as discussed above. When the 1672 performance was staged with an all-female cast, the visual spectacle was further increased by the actress playing Celadon also dancing as a man.

The visual communicative power of dance made it a useful vehicle for the playwright's narrative. As with many of the performances utilising the role of the actress, dance was designed to be an extension of the spectacle already offered in the scene, whether that be an objectified woman, the use of machinery, or singing. In particularly spectacular shows such as *Circe,* however, dance was used to add further wonder through mythological characters, or characters designed to represent non-human entities. For example, in this play alone a dance is performed by magicians, combatants, the wind and dreams. For these scenes, dance is included as a form of visual entertainment designed to appeal to the audience through the performers' skills. Although it is not certain whether all dancers were women, it is possible to assume that at least some of the play's nymphs would have taken part, and therefore, the female form would have provided some of the spectacle of the scene. Further examples of this can be seen in John Dryden's *Tyrannick Love* (1669), where there is a dance of spirits; and in Ariadne's *She Ventures and He Wins* (1696), John Crowne's *Calisto* (1675),

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[472] Charlotte Charke, *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs Charlotte Charke* (London: B.L. 1755), p. 28.
[473] Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 7 March 1667 < http://www.pepys.info> [accessed 15 October 2015]

and Aphra Behn's *The Dutch Lover* (1673), where nymphs dance. What is particularly fascinating about Behn's play is the inclusion of the dance with a very sexually driven purpose. The stage directions require '*[f]our nymphs dancing an amorous dance*' suggesting that the women embodying the nymphs were supposed to be seen as delightful and sexually appealing objects. Behn's use of dance provides confirmation that the female body was a significant contributor to the spectacle and desire of the stage, and when combined with dance, it provided a sexually charged visual display.

Dance scenes centring on sexual relations can also be seen in Thomas Otway's *The Atheist* (1684). Here the 'black dancers' baffle and win over the character of Beaugard, who, after the first dance, invites the women to be his bedfellows. This dance would have needed to have been convincingly persuasive and as delightfully appealing for the audience as well as the character. The dancing women become the spectacle of the scene, with the male character mirroring the audience's actions of watching them, and in turn developing a sexual desire for them. A further scene features a song which details the enticing nature of four dancing women:

> *(Enter four black women, that dance to the same measure of the song, and sprinkle sweets.)*
>
> Circle him with charms,
> And raise in his Heart
> Such alarms,
> As cupid never wrought by the power of his dart.
>
> *(They dance round him.)*
>
> Fill all his veins with a tender desire,
> And then shew a beauty to set them a fire;
> Till kind panting breasts to his wound she apply,
> Then on those white pillows of love let him die.
>
> *(The dance ends.)*[474]

The lyrics indicate the ability of the dance and the dancers to raise desire in the male and through their beauty, including the beauty of dance, to stimulate his sexual appetite. Otway's play utilised the pleasure of viewing a woman perform a dance with signposts of delight for the audience. By having one man viewing four women, Otway invites the audience to view them with the same sexual desires as the character on stage. Through dance, the women

[474] Thomas Otway, *The Atheist, or The Second Part to the Soldiers Fortune* (London: R. Bentley and J. Tonson, 1684), p. 47.

perform sexually as much for the audience as they do for Beaugard, leaving the audience as baffled and convinced by their performance as the character in the play.

In addition to sexualised dance scenes, playwrights might use dance to create a delightful finale. Curtis A. Price has suggested that dance scenes at the ends of comedies 'may be seen to function simply as a terminating device, something to slow down the rapid-fire wit and to put a stop to the unravelling of a complicated or improbable plot'.[475] However, rather than being a terminating device, I believe that dance is better understood as a spectacular finale which utilised the actors' abilities and bodies to provide a visual display of energy and unity. As dances often formed the post-show after-entertainments also, it seems possible that the playwrights of the Restoration wanted their plays to end with a final spectacle that included the entire cast, in line with what they might be presented with afterwards. As Price indeed further elaborates

> [l]ate in the seventeenth-century comedy many actors and actresses, even such notable thespians as Anne Bracegirdle and Robert Wilks, were required to perform Priest's celebrated dances and to sing John Eccles' art Songs. And all comedians had to be able to participate in occasionally elaborate final dances.[476]

If the final scene involved all of the actors, singers and dancers it would, therefore, have provided an opportunity for one last look at the performers' skills and bodies as well as filling the stage with jollity and high energy performance. Such endings may also have connected the spectacular elements of the show with the entertainments of song and dance that sometimes followed.

Plays involving song and dance presented women as beautiful objects to be adored, objectified and visually and aurally enjoyed, encouraging the audience to view them as ornaments of entertainment. For the spectators this form of entertainment closely aligned with the performances that some might have been familiar with at court, utilising some of the techniques and qualities of masques to create them. The opportunities presented by song and dance to both the actress and the playwright made them a useful tool in increasing pleasure and generating a spectacle where the audience could watch and listen to a performer displaying her womanly qualities and beauty. Of all the uses of women in Restoration performance, song and dance provides the most attractive view of the female while also utilising her qualities to sell the show.

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[475] Curtis A. Price, '"…To Make Amends for One Ill Dance": Conventions for Dancing in Restoration Plays', *Dance Research Journal*, 10:1 (1977-8), p 2.
[476] Price, 'To Make Amends for One Ill Dance', p. 2.

# The Sexualised Event

As women were integrated into the theatrical designs of the Restoration, the value of visual display changed. A voyeuristic pleasure attended the actresses of the period, whose physical features were accentuated for the audience's appreciation. Consequently, the early part of the period, shortly after the restoration of Charles II, saw a flourishing of 'sex comedies', which sought to utilise the female form to encourage audience attendance.[477] As J. L. Styan proposes,

> [t[here can be little doubt that characterization and casting in Restoration comedy often turned on the new element of the actress's sexuality. Exploitation of the actress was a first consequence of her visible assets, primarily her shoulders and breasts.[478]

In the broadest term, 'sex comedies', or plays which utilised the physical form of the actress, drew on libertine sexual attitudes, staging them in an arena where observing could be deemed an acceptable part of the experience.[479] Styan suggests that the sexual appeal of the physical form was amplified in the inclusion of tropes, designed to draw attention to actress's body; a specific example of this is 'the bosom as a letterbox', or a letter being concealed in the bodice of the actress's costume, and which would later be removed on stage.[480] This, he argues, assisted in presenting the female body as entertainment by 'drawing comic attention to their bodies'.[481]

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[477] Susan J. Owen provides further contextual information on sex comedies, stating that 'The sex comedies appear to be a diversion from the increasing political tensions of the 1670s […] most sex comedies also endorsed the values of particular "cavalier" class, upholding the town-based, upper-class wits, at the expense of country dolts, upstart city gentry, tradesmen, and professional classes'. Owen, *Perspectives on Drama*, p. 43.
[478] J. L. Styan, *Restoration Comedy in Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 92.
[479] Susan J. Owen further suggests the 'comedies may appear to endorse libertinism while actually depicting it with a satirical edge; or, more commonly perhaps, they may appear to condemn while actually titillating in the same way that violence against women may be ostensibly condemned but actually relished or fostered in Hollywood movies today'; Owen, *Perspectives on Drama*, p. 43 However, as Adam Smyth contends, 'The central characters in Restoration sex comedies are libertines (also called rakes), such as Willmore in *The Rover* and Horner in *The Country Wife.* The libertines are ambiguous figures in two ways: predatory but also desirable; powerful, but always in danger of becoming the disempowered objects of desire.' Adam Smyth, *A Pleasing Sinne: Drinking and Conviviality in Seventeenth-century England* (Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2004), p. 129.
[480] 'The Restoration stage invented the device that might be called "the bosom as a letterbox". The business of concealing a letter in one's bodice recurs in several plays with the principles virtue of drawing comic attention to the lady's *décolletage*. [For example] In act I of *The Comical Revenge* Amelia puts Beaufort's letter lovingly next to her heart, and in act II of *She Would and She Would Not* Viletta slips Octavio's billet hastily 'into her bosom'; Styan, *Restoration Comedy*, p. 92.
[481] Styan, *Restoration Comedy,* p, 92.

The popularity of 'sex comedies' is thought to have been short lived, and around 1678 these were replaced by plays which more closely reflected the political landscape.[482] While early 'sex comedies' exploited the actress as a way of creating spectacle through the titillation of sexual display, the plays of the late 1670s shifted with the political narrative to plots more closely aligned to sexual suppression. This development was nurtured by the playwrights' inclusion of female characters that represented the anticipated behaviours of women.[483] After the 'sex comedies' of the 1670s, plays often included more sexually driven female characters who were brutally treated as part of the play's spectacle.[484] The powerful sexual appeal of the actress during this period shifted the spectacular effect from a sole focus on erotic desire, as presented through the suggestion of bodily parts and sexual acts, to a spectacle of sexual control.[485]

By the 1680s, a new genre of theatre had developed: the 'she or pathetic-tragedies'.[486] These plays fashioned controversial and complex female characters, the female performers of which were exploited in line with the anticipated behaviours of women, simply for the audience's entertainment.[487] As Marsden articulates,

> [t]he pathetic play, with its scenes of female suffering, incorporated the titillation of sex comedies popular in the previous decades but avoided the aggressive sexuality displayed by women in the earlier plays, thus bringing the stage characters closer to popular ideals of feminine behaviour.[488]

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[482] Owen, *Perspectives on Drama,* p. 42.

[483] Part of the political context of these plays was the continual battle over religion, the role of women, and the rights of different classes; this often resulted in moral messages being presented through the control of religious and non-religious women in plays. Jessica Munns further argues, 'Indeed, by 1680 the strength of the Whig faction in London enabled the performance of plays such as Settle's virulent anti-Roman Catholic *The Female Prelate: Being the History, Life and Death of Pope Joan* (DL, 1680). There are also plays where it is unclear which faction, if any, is being endorsed or satirized, for example, Lee's *Lucius Junius Brutus* (DL, 1680), or Otway's *Venice Preser'v* (DG, 1682). There is no doubt that the violent, corrupt, and disruptive civic politics of both plays depict of inspired by contemporary events.' Jessica Munns, 'Theatrical Culture I: Politics and Culture', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature, 1650-1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 96.

[484] See the character of Anna Bullen in John Banks's *Vertue Betray'd, or The Tragedy of Anna Bullen* (London: M. Magnes, 1682).

[485] In plays of the period reference is often made to actresses, or indeed actors, being in a state of undress. While it is unlikely that these reference meant the uncovering of a naked body, as we now might expect, it did mean the suggestion of seeing nakedness or being in revealing clothing – for example a nightgown. As Anita Pacheco argues, 'Displaying in "undress" or loosely draped gowns, the actress becomes a fetish object, affording the male spectator the pleasure of being seduced by and, simultaneously, of being protected from the effects of sexual difference.' Anita Pacheco, *Early Women Writers: 1600-1720* (New York: Routledge, 1998), p. 175.

[486] For definition Howe, *The First English Actresses.* Examples of such scenes can be found in Aphra Behn, *The Dutch Lover* (1673), George Etherege, *The Man of Mode* (1676), and *The Debauchee* (1677) to name but a few.

[487] Howe, *The First English Actresses,* p. 108.

[488] Jean. L. Marsden, 'Spectacle, Horror, and Pathos', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre*, ed. by Deborah Payne Fisk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 172-191 (p. 182).

While the 'aggressive sexuality' was perhaps removed, or just less prominent, 'she-tragedies', incorporated a new practice of sexual spectacle: one of emotional suffering. As the popularity of the actress and the new emotionally suppressed female characters increased, tropes of rape, adultery, and abuse began to characterise plays written by both male and female playwrights. Plays of this genre fashioned a new mode of Restoration spectacle; one which was visually brutal, but sexually titillating. Inherent to 'she-tragedies' was a female protagonist who was designed to be watched as she suffered. As a result, the women became a significant part of the spectacular sphere of the Restoration stage; and this new mode of spectacle additionally altered the audience's role in spectating, providing the opportunity to gaze and desire the tortured characters and their performers. Subsequently, If Mulvey's gaze theory is applied to such examples of Restoration theatre, the spectators can create a sense of control, as they watch these women on the stage, and in doing so, turn the actresses into sexualised objects, who might deserve the punishments visited upon them. Moreover, Liesbet van Zoonen asserts that a further link can be made between the act of gazing and violence, which increased the pleasure of voyeurism:

> [a] core element of Western patriarchal culture is the display of a woman as a spectacle to be looked at, subjected to the gaze of the (male) audience. Pornography is the most obvious genre built on the exhibition of women's bodies as objects of desire, fantasy and violence, but the objectification of women is not exclusive to pornography.[489]

I contend that a proportion of the spectacle generated by 'she-tragedies' originated from the power struggle between the spectating audience and a woman who endured emotional and physical abuse for their entertainment, affording the audience the opportunity to harness both a level of control, and a degree of passivity.

The connection between early pornography and 'she-tragedies' is prominent, with literature such as *L'Escholles des Filles*, seen in Samuel Pepys's diary, circulating in the period.[490] Applying van Zoonen's claim from the modern context to 'she-tragedies' of the Restoration it is possible to see that women were used as a visually articulated form of pleasure. Connecting this argument to historical practices Kristin Straub notes that

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[489] Liesbet van Zoonen, *Feminist Media Studies* (London: Sage, 2004), p. 87.

[490] Samuel Pepys – February 8, 1667/8 'bought the idle, roguish book, "L'escholle des filles;" which I have bought in plain binding, avoiding the buying of it better bound, because I resolve, as soon as I have read it, to burn it, that it may not stand in the list of books, nor among them, to disgrace them if it should be found', February 9, 1667/8, 'Up, and at my chamber all the morning and the office doing business, and also reading a little of "L'escholle des filles," which is a mighty lewd book, but yet not amiss for a sober man once to read over to inform himself in the villainy of the world.' < http://www.pepysdiary.com> [accessed 15 October 2015]

> [t]he assumption that the structure of the gaze empowers the spectator over the spectacle is a historical construction, probably just emerging in the eighteenth century.[491]

Importantly, Straub's historical claim can be seen in the Restoration period also. In Jeremy Collier's *A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the Stage,* reference is made to the lewdness of visual images where he notes that they 'may probably raise those passions which can neither be discharged without trouble, nor satisfied without a crime'.[492] Further, Collier remarks on the bawdy and debauched presentation of women in the theatre, suggesting theatrical representations had moved to spectacles of women in unbecoming roles. He insists,

> modesty as Mr. Rapin observes, is the character of women. To represent them without this quality, is to make monsters of them, and throw them out of their kind.

Of those women presented without this modesty he opines,

> [t]o keep her alive only to sully her reputation, and discover the rankness of her breath, was very cruel.[493]

Collier's complaints confirm the use of sexualised women as methods of entertainment and spectacle. While Collier establishes a relationship of power between the visual spectacle and the audience, it is also possible that the audience were passive spectators. Due to the delights presented in the plays, the role of the actress and playwright was to construct the images of a sexually satisfying nature, without the audience's intervention. The actress possessed the ability to 'self-construct', in order to promote theirs and the play's popularity. It is through this self-construction, and that of the playwright that the audience could be perceived as the passive spectators of a fabricated spectacle. In his work on paintings and visual imagery, John Berger asserts that

> [m]en act and women appear. Men look at women. Women watch themselves being looked at. This determines not only the relations between men and women but also the relation of women to themselves. The surveyor of women in herself is male: the surveyed female. Thus she turns herself into an object – and most particularly an object of vision: a sight.[494]

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[491] Kristina Straub, *Sexual Suspects: Eighteenth-Century Players and Sexual Ideology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 5.
[492] Collier, *A Short View of the Immorality or Profaneness of the English Stage,* p. 5.
[493] Collier, *A Short View of the Immorality or Profaneness of the English Stage,* p. 9.
[494] John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: Penguin, 2008), p. 47.

Berger's connection between the artist and subject's choices of display (the more beautiful and appealing the woman in the picture, the more appreciated she is likely to be) can be applied to 'she-tragedies'.

Berger's work can be used to demonstrate the role of the women in the self-construction of herself: by being watched and through the eyes of the male gazers, she shapes herself in she-tragedies to be viewed as a sexual object. As the audience had no direct control over the actions of the play, or indeed the ways in which the female subject was presented to them as spectacle, it maintains a passive power of watching. Moreover, in their passive state, the audience gender themselves in relation to the female; they are able to formulate the construct of both their own gender and the female's, giving them power in generating the spectacle of the female form.

While the audience embodied both role of the powerful gazer and the passive spectator, there is little doubt that the plays themselves were designed to prompt an erotic appreciation. Although 'she-tragedies' are defined in varying ways by contemporary critics, all agree that such plays have a distinct focus on the unhappiness and misfortune of the female characters, much to the delight of other characters and the audience. Such 'misfortunes', might include weeping, pleading, begging, rape, and beatings. The spectacle in these scenes was partly dependant on control and the controlling relationship between the one weak female and one or a number of stronger characters. With this in mind, Howe contends that the 'she-tragedy' was successful due to its 'fundamentals', including

> display of the woman, emphasis on the vision of female sexuality, frequently, as in the scene from *The Unnatural Mother,* a corrupt sexuality exposed to audience view, and the ultimate suffering of the woman whose sexuality has become the object of the audience's gaze.[495]

The object of the audience's gaze as Marsden defines it, is additionally driven by the sexual spectacle of a controlled woman, encouraging the audience to desire the female in forms of both actress and character, and craving their continual state of distress. It is this form of gaze, when considered as part of the spectacle of the entire stage during the Restoration, which can help to identify how the audience was expected to understand and see spectacle in 'she-tragedy' performances.

Although the term 'she-tragedy' can be used to define plays as early as the 1680s, the term itself was first employed by Nicholas Rowe in his epilogue to *Jane Shore* in 1714. In his

[495] Jean L. Marsden, *Fatal Desire: Women, Sexuality, and the English Stage, 1660-1720* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2006) p. 73.

closing address he distinguishes his protagonist's *feminine* characteristics as weak, and something which should be apologised for,

> Whimpered—and cried—sweet Sir, I'm sorry for it.
> It was well he met a kind, good-natured soul.
> We are not all so easy to control […]

Before concluding

> If the reforming stage should fall to shaming,
> Ill-nature, pride, hypocrisy, and gaming;
> The poets frequently might move compassion,
> And with she tragedies over run the nation.[496]

This suggests that along with delight, compassion was also part of 'she-tragedy' purpose. In further examples, Rowe highlights the weeping and gentle element of the female characters, declaring that it is '[a] melancholy tale of private woes'.[497] However, he also concludes that this was intended to titillate the paying spectators, writing that the playwright

> in these scenes has made it more his care,
> To rouze the passions, than to charm the ear.[498]

This is accompanied by a commendation for Thomas Otway's *The Orphan,* known not only for its weeping women but also for its acts of sexual violence. Rowe writes,

> Those kind protectors of the tragic muse,
> Whose tears did Otway's labours crown,
> And made *Monimia's* grief their own.[499]

He concludes that the 'tragic muse' was also important to the construction of 'she-tragedies'. The multi-dimensional aspect of 'she-tragedies', with their many defining characteristics, firmly place both women and the theatrical genre within the spectacular developments of the Restoration.

The violence and sexual control acted upon the females exhibited in 'she-tragedies,' sought to generate a sadistic viewing pleasure. Through watching acts of physical violence and instances of rape, the audience participated in visual sexual gratification, at the cost of the purposefully weak female characters. Written by an anonymous author, *The Unnatural Mother* provides a fitting example of this form of viewing pleasure, with its focus on the endlessly complex and unpredictable nature of male and female character relations. The plot

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[496] Nicholas Rowe, *The Tragedy of Jane Shore* (London: T. Johnson, 1714), p. 66.
[497] Nicolas Rowe, *The Fair Penitent* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1703), p. 7.
[498] Nicholas Rowe, *The Tragedy of Jane Shore,* sig. A2r.
[499] Nicholas Rowe, *The Ambitious Step-Mother* (London: 1701), sig. A4r.

brims with arranged betrothals, unachieved love, designs of rape, distress and fights for power; all resulting in a bloody and violent end for the female protagonist. Interpolated into this narrative, and designed to intensify the spectacle of the play, are instances of weeping and revealing the woman both physically and emotionally for the audience's pleasure; fulfilling the expectation of a 'she-tragedy', as outlined by Rowe above. In addition, anticipation was utilised with the suggestion that violence has taken place off stage, designed to heighten the audience's response. The 'she-tragedy' spectacle is achieved in this play, therefore, through the degrees of visuality, and the ways in which the female is offered as a visual stimulus, beginning with simple suggestions of weakness – for example '*Enter Bebbemeah weeping*' – before concluding with an attempted rape and a brutal death.[500]

The language of this play conveys the urgency and sexual control of the situation. Shifting between gentle proposals to more suggestive begging, language is used to accentuate the erotically spectacular nature of the narrative. A good example of this is the word 'ravish'. Interestingly, it is only the female character that expresses the male character's true desires through language; she is the one who identifies the advances as sexual. This is particularly loaded because the characters are brother and sister, intensifying the attack. The brother, Cemat states

> Then this it is: sister, I love you, nay, start not, more than a brother should, and must enjoy you.[501]

Although the word 'enjoy' is used widely in plays of the period to suggest sexual satisfaction through any means, the word itself is less blatant than what follows. The conversation concludes with the sister, Choufera, exclaiming:

> Stand off, foul monster; what villainous intentions thou art bent upon, profane thy own blood, ravish thy sister! Think, think *Cemat*, upon the horrid deed.[502]

Coupled with the stage directions 'taking hold of her' the scene comes as a shocking and sudden twist. In his use of 'enjoy', Cemat proposes a level of willingness in his sister. Choufera's protestations, in contrast, mark a shift in language that identifies her as a victim. The few stage directions present, as detailed above, suggest a physical struggle on the stage until Choufera escapes. The playwright combines the physical actions of a strong, but unlucky female with her potent and accusatory words, and places the female character in

[500] Young Lady, *The Unnatural Mother* (London: J.O, 1698). p. 1.
[501] Young Lady, *The Unnatural Mother*, p. 10
[502] Young Lady, *The Unnatural Mother*, p. 10.

direct harm; this combination results in a spectacularly emotional scene typical of 'she-tragedies'.

Additional spectacle is generated in this scene by the way in which the action between the two characters is contrived. The scene is restricted to just the two characters and the spectators. As Sarah Toulalan suggests in her exploration of pornographic literature of the seventeenth century, this is a convention drawn from printed literature. She contends that pornographic books

> invoked the idea of public and private to produce an eroticized narrative, and as a consequence, an erotic response from the reader These narratives represent a world in which the private spaces of other are constantly being breached in order to expose publicly the sexual activity taking place within, both to others in the narratives, and to the reader.[503]

The identification of a blurring of private and public domains assists in the understanding of 'she-tragedies' as a form of spectacle and entertainment, in which the spectator privately views the action. In this respect they are a form of early visual pornography. In the scene above, Cemat takes Choufera deep into a wood, where they are private but for the presence of the audience. The audience's spectatorship provides the meshing of the public and private together, shifting the act of violence into a sadistic form of spectacle. The same principle is applied again later, where the viewing pleasure is heightened through the use of language once more. On this occasion Cemat, speaking more forcefully, states that his sister 'shall not 'scape again'.[504] To the audience's delight, Choufera attempts to escape, exclaiming, '[h]eavens! what will become of me!' juxtaposing the weakness of her female mind and body, with the physical and mental strength of the male. The climax of visual eroticism and appeal this time is the entrance of another character shattering the public and private opposition. Callapia, Bebbemeah's stepmother, uncovers the attempted rape and, as the scene unfolds, Cemat exhibits yet more determination and Choufera more despair; this interaction results in her violent and unnecessary death, offering yet another spectacle to the audience.

As Toulalan suggests, '[pornography] is a literature which plays with the idea that sexual life takes place in private, and its emergence into the public sphere produces an erotic charge'.[505] This erotic charge, created by the public sphere of the theatre, moves the audience from being passive viewers, to active ones. A further example of this kind of erotic charge

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[503] Sarah Toulalan, '"Private Rooms and Back Doors in Abundance": the Illusion of Privacy in Pornography in Seventeenth-Century England', *Women's History Review,* 10:4 (2001), 701-20 (p. 702).
[504] Young Lady, *The Unnatural Mother*, p. 40
[505] Toulalan, "Private Rooms", p. 706.

can be seen in John Dryden's *Amboyna* (1673), where he uses a wood as a private location. In this play the young woman, Ysabinda is taken into the wood under the pretence of meeting her beloved, but instead is raped and left tied to a tree.[506] Unlike in the scene from *The Unnatural Mother*, Dryden provides his audience with more of a visual show of defiance. Once again, though, the public and private parameters are set, and once the two characters are alone the scene begins. For Dryden the spectacle of this scene consists in more than just exchanged cries of rape. Here there is a level of misunderstanding, followed by a slow uncovering of intentions, before finally resulting in a chase. Dryden, much like the young lady who (supposedly) wrote *The Unnatural Mother,* uses language, action, and audience anticipation to build the scene's spectacle.

A speech by Harman permits the audience to be privy to his thoughts and foreseeable action. He insists:

> pray resolve to make me happy by your free consent; I do not love these half enjoyments, to enervate my delights with using force, and neither give my self nor you that full content, which two can never have, but where both join with equal eagerness to bless each other.[507]

Here, Dryden supplies his audience with a chance to build their own level of sexual arousal through the suggestion of rape. As Toulalan suggests,

> [t]he idea of sexual arousal as an inherent quality of this literature was also understood at this time: not only the intention of the author to arouse the reader, but also of the reader to seek sexual arousal by reading the text.[508]

Dryden appears to do much the same. The scene is lengthy, and the bawdy propositions of rape are repetitive and interspersed with pleading protestation from Ysabinda.[509] The scene finally moves to a physical and visual chase. It is important to note here that the stage directions suggest this chase would have taken place on the stage, reading '*running* […] *She breaks from him.*[…] *running after her*'.[510] This serves to build anticipation for the audience but, this time, they might have been wondering whether the would-be assaulter will succeed in his endeavour. The opening of the following scene provides the pinnacle of sexual reference and fulfilment of the visually spectacular theatrical pornography. The scene draws

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[506] John Dryden, *Amboyna* (London: Henry Herringham, 1673).
[507] Dryden, *Amboyna,* p. 39.
[508] Toulalan, 'Private Rooms', p. 703.
[509] For example: 'Oh Mercy, Mercy, Oh pity your own soul, and pity mine: think how you'll wish undone this horrid act when your hot lust is slacked: think what will follow when my husband knows it, if shame will let me live to tell it him; and tremble at a power above, who sees, and surely will revenge it', p. 40.
[510] Dryden, *Amboyna,* p. 40.

with Ysabinda tied to a tree, as her betrothed love '*unbinds her, and ungags her*.'[511] The voyeuristic possibilities of a women tied to a tree after being ravished are endless. For the Restoration audience, Dryden is offering a scene of pictorial eroticism, which invites their curiosity to explore the possibilities of a repeat offence. Additionally, the audience would have recognised the symbolism of the torn clothing, a tied woman and a gagged mouth – creating a visual reference for the audience of the action that had previously taken place.

In plays containing acts of rape or sexual assault, the amalgamation of character and actress creates a spectacle of violence as a way of producing additional delight and appreciation from the audience through the epilogue. Peter Anthony Motteux's *Beauty in Distress* (1698), for example, presents this as an evidently constructed moment of spectacle. Ann Bracegirdle begins by drawing attention to the events of the play, stating

> [p]oisoning and stabbing you have seen me scape,
> And, what you think no mighty thing, a rape[512]

The visual appearance of a woman raped, one which was designed to be spectacular in itself, is then positioned in contrast to herself as she pulls out a piece of paper and reads,

> [t]o you great wits, dread critics, nicest beaux!
> Gay sparks with borrowed wit, and masks with borrowed Clothes!
>
> You, who to chat or ogle fill beyond benches,
> Or tempt with love our modest orange wenches!
>
> Rakes, cuckolds, […], squires, cullies great and small!
> I think, Sirs, this petition's to you all.[513]

With these lines, Motteux and Bracegirdle turn the woman in distress into a comic muse ogling of whom is encouraged. The move from recounting the narrative to a petition for support allows Bracegirdle's dishevelled look to become the object of the spectators' desire while they seemingly show their appreciation for the plot, and adding comedy to a distressingly sexualised image.

Playwrights of the period embedded their plays with a sadomasochistic spectacle of pleasure. Through narratives where a willing female character is exploited as a fetishised object of desire, the audience and the play's characters partake in the pleasure of the violence and misery, though this is not always created through the use of rape and physical abuse. In

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[511] Dryden, *Amboyna,* p. 40.
[512] Moteux, Peter Anthony, *Beauty in Distress as it is acted at the Theatre in Little Lincolns-Inn-Fields by His Majesties Servant* (London: Black Swan and Bible, 1698), p. xxx
[513] Motteux, *Beauty in Distress,* p. xxxi

Thomas Otway's *The Orphan* (1680), for instance, a different type of public and private blurring takes place.[514] Through its inclusion of rape we can still recognise the play as a 'she-tragedy', but because of the detailed description and revealing of parts of the speaking woman's body, we can identify Monimia as the subjected but sexually self-constructed female. The play focuses on the relationships forged between families and the consequences of deceit and misunderstanding. Monimia, an orphan, is governed by Acasto, who has two sons and a daughter of his own. The two brothers, who are twins, vow to woo and win Monimia for their own. Monimia is fooled and has intercourse with the wrong brother. Despite this ostensibly constituting consensual sex, this is later claimed to be rape due to Polydore's wilful deceit.[515] The play concludes with death being the outcome for all.

Throughout the play the beauty of Monimia is highlighted and commented upon. In the first scene her sexual nature is discussed through a descriptive suggestion of her breasts for the audience's delight. This description comes from a young page, who claims, possibly because of his youth, that he is ashamed to see them:

> ***Pag.*** […] As by your bed I stand and tell you stories, I am ashamed to see your swelling breasts, It makes me blush, they are so very white.[516]

The speech highlights the visual spectacle of the actress playing Monimia's body. Throughout the play, Otway interpolated descriptions of the sight of Monimia's body with the play's action in order to generate a shared appreciation of her spectacle between the stage and the audience. Otway here draws his influence from the lewd, early pornographic literature, which excited Pepys, and provides descriptions designed to heighten the anticipation and spectacle for the audience.

The examples explored in this chapter show that 'she-tragedies' utilised women in a sexually spectacular way. Drawing on the sexual appeal felt by audiences watching the women in a state of emotional and physical distress, 'she-tragedies' positioned women at the centre of the performance, making them the spectacle of the play. The spectacle of 'she-tragedies', like all other female performances discussed in this chapter, is created by the variation in their portrayal. By making women objects of beauty, desire, and erotic gaze, playwrights of the Restoration utilised their difference from men to generate spectacular delight. Thanks to their multi-dimensional abilities and their popularity with Restoration

[514] Thomas Otway, *The Orphan, or, The Unhappy Marriage* (London: R. Bentley and M. Magnes, 1680).
[515] The spelling of this name switches between 'Polydore' and 'Polidore' throughout the version being used; therefore, for the purposes of this thesis the spelling of Polydore is used.
[516] Otway, *The Orphan*, p. 7.

audiences, actresses were able to contribute significantly to the spectacular sphere of performance, shifting and extending spectacle from the use of objects and mechanics alone to the skilled performances of humans on stage.

# Chapter Eight

# Masculine Spectacle: The Physical and Visual Developments of the Actor

> An actor's art must of necessity involve the stimulation of both the muscular and trophic factors of expression. Not only had he to emphasize the facial movements which are appropriate to his part, in order that his expression may be plainly seen by the pit and the gallery, but he is as a rule obliged to change his role frequently, and to assume a succession of character requiring very different facial renderings.[1]

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As the material elements of the Restoration stage developed through new techniques and advances in performance practices, so too did the role of the performer. The intention of this chapter is to examine how, through an enlargement of visual physicality and a shift in the prominence of spoken text, their newly developing skills, in line with the other spectacular demands of the playhouse in this period, meant that the actors themselves could legitimately be seen as part of the spectacle of performance. Peter Holland has concluded that

> [t]he reality of the actor, emphasised by his spatial connection with the audience, functions as evidence that the action of the play is at least analogous to reality. He mediated the play, through the part he plays, to the audience guaranteeing its truth and relevance. Insofar as the actor 'fits' the part, the part is true, is real.[2]

But that 'reality' is not the everyday so much as it is the reality of the theatrical spectacular.

In order to meet the increasingly complex demands of the developing Restoration stage the techniques employed by the performers also needed to progress. They transitioned from the techniques taught through traditional training methods, including oration and rhetoric, and began to draw on influences from Europe – with its experimental performers in an attempt to evolve a mode of acting which would suit the spectacular nature of the stage.[3]

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[1] Andrew Dickenson White, *The Popular Science Monthly,* September 1895

[2] Peter Holland, *The Ornament of Action: Text and Performance in Restoration Comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 56.

[3] 'Italy had long held the lead in theatre architecture, scene design, and stage machinery. As Italian opera spread throughout continental Europe, so too did the Italian proscenium-arch theater with its settings composed of flat painted wings and backdrops, and its chariot-and-pole method of scenic shifting, all of which had been

For the players and playwrights, the new tastes of the Restoration audience presented an opportunity for adapted characters, whose physical performances were beyond that of simple gesture, to become a significant part of this stage spectacle.

In order for the actor's place in the spectacle of the Restoration stage to be fully understood, we should consider three factors: Firstly, the training and development of new skills must be addressed in order to identify changes in the purpose and actions of the performer and their characters. Secondly, some of the most spectacular characters that these actors embodied must be investigated for their contribution to the plays of the period, and finally, recognition of the actor's abilities and their popularity will assist in the confirmation of their importance to the stage of the period.

Through an engagement with the skills developed from the pre-Restoration performer, to that of the Restoration actor, it is possible to identify a significant modification in style, which took place during the Restoration period. In the earlier part of this period we see a plethora of characters whose effectiveness depended on the oratory of the spoken word. Later on we see greater emphasis placed on characters which were either semi or wholly formed of stock and pre-emptive movements, reactions, visual adornments and a highly dexterous nature. This emphasis on physicality suggests that a division between oration and movement, which had begun in performances from the Renaissance, had started to reach their full maturity; subsequently, a performer could now be considered spectacular for his physical action, and impressive in his verbal ability. It is these attainable variants in performance style that determine a seeming transference of purpose for the performer from a deliverer of spoken narrative, and rather fashions him as spectacular centre-piece admired for both his visual and physical abilities. Additionally, the roles created for actors shifted accordingly, and there were increasing numbers of characters which required varied and extensive skills, such as the rake hero, the knave and the trickster. Included in this collection of character types were extravagantly visual characters, such as the beau or fop, and physically dexterous, and comedic characters, such as Harlequin. Both of these characters will be used to examine their role in the creation of spectacle later in the chapter.

There is evidence to suggest that before the extensive use of gesture and movement in the Restoration, the performance of the player held the audience's delight mostly through his range of abilities to transform himself in line with his rhetoric, delivering his performance

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developed by the first half of the seventeenth century.' Felicia Hardison Londré and Margot Berthold, *The History of World Theater: From the English Restoration to the Present* (New York: Continuum Publishing, 1999), p. 98.

with emotion and perfection.[4] Through an analysis of Restoration plays, however, it is possible to perceive an increased need for the players to adopt a *physical* form of acting, rather than one whose main focus was on oration; such information is recorded in the detailed stage directions which populate many of the period's plays.[5] This chapter will explore the evolution of performance skill, from the traditional actors of the Renaissance, whose performance exhibited a delicate balance of visual, verbal and physical skills, to the emergence of some of the physically dominant and recognisable characters of the Restoration stage, who relied little on the art of Rhetoric. The chapter will also analyse specific character-based examples, which contributed to the spectacle of the Restoration actors.

## Actor Training

In 68AD Marcus Fabius Quintilianus began to set forward his definitions of performance, including oration and rhetoric.[6] Nearly 2000 years later, in his book *The Player's Passion,* Joseph Roach drew on Quintilianus's definitions of performance to inform his argument that the history of acting involves a distinct journey from oration as performance, to acting as a form of physical spectacle.[7] This, Roach claims, has four stages: oration and rhetoric; rhetoric and action; action; and acting. As these terms appear in much of the criticism surrounding performance styles, and in play texts themselves, it is necessary to define the terms and their

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[4] In 1615 an account of *An Excellent Actor* was penned. Of the perfect performer the author writes, 'Whatsoever is commendable to the grave orator is most exquisitely perfect in him, for by a full and significant action of body he charms our attention. Sit in a full theatre and you will think you see so many lines drawn from the circumference of so many ears, while the actor is the centre. He doth not strive to make nature monstrous; she is often seen in the same scene with him, but neither on stilts nor crutches; and for his voice, 'tis not lower than the prompter, nor louder than the foil or target. By his action he fortifies moral precepts with examples, for what we see him personate we think truly done before us: a man of a deep thought might apprehend the ghost of our ancient heroes walked again, and take him at several times for many of them. He is much affected to painting, and 'tis a question whether that make him an excellent player, or his playing an exquisite painter. He adds grace to the poet's labours, for what in the poet is but ditty, in him is both ditty and music. He entertains us in the best leisure of our life—that is, between meals; the most unfit time for study or bodily exercise. […] This day one plays a monarch, the next a private person; here one acts a tyrant, on the morrow an exile; a parasite this man tonight, tomorrow a precisian; and so of divers others. John Webster, *The Complete Works of John Webster, Volume 4* ed. by, F.L. Lucas (London: Chatto & Windus, 1927), pp. 42-3.

[5] A selection of stage directions follow: Peter Anthony Motteux, *The Love's of Venus and Mars* (London: 1698), 'While the grand chorus is performing, there is an entry of dancing-masters, teaching their scholars, and making love to them: and a Harlequin mimicking them with a she-harlequin, which expresses the business of the prologue. This Dance cannot be performed, the master who made it being sick. Another entry is danced instead of it.', p. 4. William Mountfort, *The Life and Death of Doctor Fastus*, (London: E. Whitlock, 1697), 'Harlequin raps at the Door, Scaramouche peeps out. Harlequin strikes him, and jumps back, runs frighted off.', 'Scara[mouch] lifts up all his limbs, and lets them fall, whilst Harl[equin]. hits him on the breech, lifts his head, which falls gently.', pp. 7-8.

[6] Marcus Fabius Quintillianus cited in Joseph Roach, *The Player's Passion; Studies in the Science of Acting* (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1993), pp. 23-30.

[7] Joseph Roach, *The Player's Passion*: *Studies in the Science of Acting* (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2002), pp. 23-49.

role within theatrical development, before progressing on to specifics of actor training during the Renaissance.

Considering first then the requirements of the orator: The Oxford English Dictionary defines the term as relating to

> a person who delivers a speech or oration; a public speaker, esp. one distinguished for eloquence and rhetoric skill; a person proficient in public speaking.[8]

Oration, therefore, is concerned with expression and the generation of a performance that is predicated on storytelling. Additionally, oration required the performer to stand and deliver the character's story and emotions, creating audible spectacle through speech.[9] The OED also connects oration with religion in the act of speaking to God, petitioning or being a spokesperson; it is through roles such as these being reflected upon the stage in theatrical texts, such as William Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* where Brutus is referred to as an orator, that we can begin to understand the power and importance of vocal delivery in the Renaissance period.[10] Furthermore, oration has a strong connection with theatre history. There is a collection of surviving accounts that substantiate the use of oration by performers as a way of embodying a character through its voice, and sharing its experience. This use of oration is discussed at length by Marcus Fabius Quintilianus in his book *Institutio Oratoria or On the Education of an Orator,* (95CE).

> [s]pirit, the breath of life, the transmigration of what the Latins called *Animo* or soul from one body to another, stands as a symbol of the oratorical or theatrical act of impersonation, the physical embodiment of one soul, its passions and its actions, by another.[11]

The embodiment of another's emotions and responses meant that it was necessary for the player to 'employ imaginative identification to "impersonate" and "exhibit" emotions as if they were his own', and he 'urges the orator to "assimilate [himself] to the emotions of those who are genuinely so affected'.[12] Joseph Roach further elaborates on this employment of

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[8] OED – Oration, 3.a.

[9] Quinitilianus speaks directly of the power of emotion disclosed by the oration of a performer. He says that it is possible to 'draw a parallel from the stage, where the actor's voice and delivery produce greater emotional effects when he is speaking in an assumed role than when he speaks in his own character.' Furthermore, he repeatedly draws attention to the 'impersonation' and 'embodying' of human emotions to deliver performance and spectacle through speech. Marcus Fabius Quintilianus, *LacusCurtius, Quintillian Institutio Oratoria, Book 6* <http://penelope.uchicago.edu> [accessed 08 July 2015], pp. 126-127, 227.

[10] William Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, ed. by Arthur Humphreys (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). 'I come not (Friends) to steal away your hearts, I am no orator, as Brutus is. (III.II.210)

[11] Marcus Fabius Quintilianus, cited in Joseph Roach, *The Player's Passion,* p. 24.

[12] Quintilianus, *The Player's Passion,* p. 24.

oratory skill, suggesting that the actor takes 'those passions into himself and transform[s] them into vocal and bodily eloquence'.[13] Thus Quintilianus's description of oration and rhetoric focuses on infusing the verbal expression of a script with emotive bodily expression. The role of rhetoric, 'the art of using language so as to persuade or influence others' was therefore intended to offer a verbal form of entertainment, or actor spectacle. In this particular description, rhetoric aids in the delivery of information or narrative in a way that is persuasive and effective in transferring meaning and emotion – speaking directly to the audience, and placing little emphasis on the actor's movements or physical portrayal of the character.[14] The detailed characteristics of orations and rhetoric, however powerful in their vocal eloquence, leave the role of the performer limited to verbal reasoning and restrictive bodily expression.

In *An Apology for Actors* from 1612, Thomas Heywood adopts Marcus Tullius Cicero's five characteristic of classical rhetoric: '*Invention, Disposition, Elocution, Memory,* and *Pronunciation*', however Heywood furthers the development of acting by suggesting 'yet all are imperfect without the sixth, which is *[a]ction*'.[15] The additional *action* set forward by Heywood focuses on gesture, a fundamental part of Restoration performance, which allowed the actor to be differentiated from those of past centuries and to adopt a new performance style. Action is furthermore discussed by Quintilianus as a form of expression, which a good orator should avoid, highlighting a key difference between the demands of an actor across theatre history. He notes,

> [i]t is most unbecoming for an orator to distort his features or use uncouth gestures, tricks that arouse such merriment in farce. No less unbecoming are ribald jests, and such as are employed upon the stage.[16]

While Quintilianus' statement proposes that the addition of gestures was unbecoming for early performers, the popularity of characters which utilised such skills (like those developing from Commedia dell'Arte) in the Restoration, reinforce the visible shift in spectator pleasure

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[13] Quintilianus, *The Player's Passion*, p. 24

[14] OED – Rhetoric, 1. a. 'The art of using language effectively so as to persuade or influence others, *esp*. the exploitation of figures of speech and other compositional techniques to this end; the study of principles and rules to be followed by a speaker or writer striving for eloquence, esp. as formulated by ancient Greek and Roman writers.'

[15] Thomas Heywood, *An Apology for Actors Containing Three Brief Treatises. 1 Their Antiquity. 2 Their Ancient dignity. 3 The True Use of Their Quality* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1612) C.4. While it is important here to note that the Restoration is by no means the only time that action is used by performers on the stage, it is however vital to highlight that during this period action can be seen as taking a precedence over speech in a number of new and adapted plays.

[16] Marcus Fabius Quintilianus, *LacusCurtius, Quintillian Institutio Oratoria, Book 6* <http://penelope.uchicago.edu> [accessed 08 July 2015] p. 454.

and highlight the need to possess the necessary skill for a stage that utilised the actor as a form spectacle. It is through the addition and growing of *action* as a performance skill, that a move towards a combination of rhetoric and action can be seen.

In terms of development, action, teamed with rhetoric, did not replace the need for 'oratorical skills'; it did, however, become a more significant component in creating a performance style which highlighted the performers' physical, as well as their verbal abilities in portraying a character. Action became a catalyst for the creation of characters, which required the actors to wholly embody them: the actor became a *proteus* – 'a person who or thing which can assume various forms, aspects, or characters; a changeable, variable, or inconstant person or thing' – and performance became a distinguishable theatrical tool.[17]

The use of the performer's body as part of the narrative expression contributed to the generation of spectacle achieved through the physical body. Roach explains:

> [t]he rhetoric of passions that derived from pneumatism endowed the actor's art with three potencies of an enchanted kind. First, the actor possessed the power to act on his own body. Secondly, he possessed the power to act on the physical space around him. Finally, he was able to act on the bodies of the spectators who shared that space with him. In short he possessed the power to act. His expressions could transform his physical identify, inwardly and outwardly and so thoroughly at his best he was known as *proteus*.[18]

The development of the *proteus* as a recognisable tool for performance evidences that action was taking precedence over rhetoric in the history of acting.

The notion of the actor as *proteus*, or shape-changer, is not unique to the Restoration, of course. Richard Burbage, during the Renaissance period, was described as a 'delightful [p]roteus, so wholly transforming himself into his part, and putting off himself with his clothes, as he never (not so much in the tiring-house) assumed himself again until the play was done'.[19] However, as Roach has established, shape-changing becomes an increasingly important aspect of the actor's function from the later seventeenth century onwards.[20] For the most part, the characters of the Restoration stage adapted and developed throughout the

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[17] OED.com – Proteus 1.B.
[18] Roach, *The Player's Passion,* p. 27.
[19] Richard Flecknoe, *Love's Kingdom a Pastoral Trage-comedy : Not as it Was Acted at the Theatre Near Lincolns-Inn, but as it was Written, and Since Corrected; with a Short Treatise of the English Stage* (London: R. Wood, 1664), p. 92-93.
[20] See, for example, Gildon's early eighteenth-century description of an actor, who needs to be able to manifest 'the several features, as I may call them, of his passions. A patriot, a prince, a beggar, a clown and c. must each have their propriety and distinction in action as well as words and language. An *actor*, therefore, must vary with his argument, that is, carry the person in all his manners and qualities with him in every action and passion; he must transform himself into every person he represents, since he is to act all sorts of action and passion. Charles Gildon, *The Life of Mr Thomas Betterton* (London: Robert Gosling, 1710), p. 34.

period, retaining speech as part of their character formation. Alongside such characters, however, there were some who did not speak at all, or at least very little, sharing the narrative solely through bodily expression.[21] Furthermore, there also appeared characters, or more accurately character types, that were as equally recognisable from their physical appearance and reactions, as by their speeches and conversations.[22] The description provided by Roach suggests that a visible move from vocal speech taking precedence to that of physical performance was finally established. This continual development from the Renaissance actor, who started to embody the physical aspects of the stage, to the Restoration performer who could express entire narratives through bodily expression, I contend, signifies the role of the actor as the *physical* performer becoming part of the spectacular nature of the stage.[23]

A valuable source for understanding and recounting the developed skills of the actor between the Renaissance and the Restoration can be found in an interview with Thomas Betterton, actor, director, playwright, and company manager; here he recounted the change in style and new performance demands which had taken place in during his lifetime.[24] He begins by highlighting the variation in training technique stating from when he trained as a boy actor in the early-seventeenth century to 1710, when the interview was recorded. He states

> [w]hen I was a young player under Sir William Davenant, we were under a much better discipline, we were obliged to make our study our business, which our young men do not think it their duty now to do; for they now scarce ever mind a word of their parts but only at rehearsals, and come thither too often scarce recovered from their last night's debauch. [25]

But Betterton is doing something more than simply bemoaning the lack of discipline among the current generation of actors; he goes on to define what *should* be expected of the newly trained actor:

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[21] This can be seen very clearly in mime performances and later in Pantomime where all characters made use of the visual spectacle of physical theatre and gesture. Furthermore, as spoken word was only permitted in licensed theatres during the Restoration period, the early English pantomime made use of its Greek origin and the performances were delivered as mime shows. Catherine Haill, *Pantomime* (East London Archive, V&A Curator, V&A Archives) <http://www.elta-project.org/theme-panto.html> [accessed 01 October 2015]

[22] The characters presented by Commedia dell'Arte raised the level of physical gesture in performance and developed characters which could be recognised by their physical movements and not by their vocal performances.

[23] For example, in William Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* Flute is called upon to 'present a wall' giving a distinct direction for the actor to physically present an object and deliver a bodily performance. William Shakespeare, *A Midsommer Nights Dreame* (London: Richard Bradock, 1600), p. 29.

[24] Judith Milhous, 'Thomas Betterton', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2014) < http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2311 > [accessed 28 October 2015]

[25] Charles Gildon, *The Life of Mr Thomas Betterton* (London: Robert Gosling, 1710), p. 15.

> [f]rom his very name we may derive his duty, he is called an *actor,* and his excellence consists in *action* and speaking: The *mimes* and *pantomimes* did all by gesture, and the action of hands, legs, and feet, without making use of the tongue in uttering any sentiments or sounds; so they were something like our *dumb shows* […] made use of several persons to express the design of the play as silent action.[26]

Although Betterton is unwilling for actors to be thought of *merely* as 'mimes and pantomimes [who] did all by gesture', he clearly sees the combination of action and speech as an essential element of the actor's craft. The distinction he draws between himself as a *player* and those now performing as *actors* highlights a conscious acceptance that developments in performance had produced distinguishable variations in style and technique. Certainly, by Betterton's description, the *actor* is established as the more spectacular and physically appealing. The use of hands, legs and feet, which Betterton indicates were employed without the use of speech, insinuates that the new physical skill of the performer to impart narrative without language was beginning to make rhetoric skill less of a necessity, and action more of a commodity.

## Gesture

As Betterton suggests, the training of actors both before and during the Restoration was changing, as new techniques of generating spectacle through performance were developed and mastered. With the many character styles being used in the period, an opportunity for each performer to generate their popularity and become well-known for a certain genre or aspect of performance presented itself. In the passage quoted above, Betterton highlights the addition of physical gestures. Alongside adding visual delight and variation to a performance, the inclusion of gestures in an actor's style bore a greater design than simply providing exaggerated entertainment; gesture contributed a system of understanding for its audience, which they would have carried with them from the Renaissance theatre – something akin to the semiotic sign-system discussed in the introduction.[27]

In his 1644 book *Chirologia,* John Bulwer provides the foundations for this by producing a useful reference guide to explain the role that gesture held in both everyday communication and performance during the period. This draws particular attention to those

[26] Gildon, *The Life of Mr Thomas Betterton*, p. 23.
[27] For more information, please see the introduction to this thesis. Additional information is also provided later in the chapter when discussing the Fop.

performers who used gesture to imitate real manners.[28] Throughout his guide he refers to gestures as the 'natural language of the hand'.[29] This natural language, according to Bulwer, contained expressions of emotion, privy cyphers, and manual figures of rhetoric, all designed for the spectators to absorb.[30] Helpfully, Bulwer's guide provides a detailed outline of the role gesture occupied in relation to the natural body. He writes:

> [i]n all the declarative conceits of gesture, whereby the body, instructed by nature, can emphatically vent, and communicate a thought, and in the propriety of its utterance express the silent agitations of the mind; the hand, that busy instrument, is most talkative, whose language is as easily perceived and understood, as if Man had another mouth or fountain of discourse in his hand.[31]

Bulwer's narrative highlights the vital importance of gesture to the actor. Bulwer sees gesture as a natural part of the body and its responses, and argues it could be understood by the spectator as a form of narrative expression. It is evident that where plays and performance styles, which were developed during the period, contained the actor incorporating gesture, a further level of character exploration and the visual spectacle of an unspoken language was intentionally included. This unspoken language surfaces as a fundamental component of Bulwer's understanding of communication and, through his indication that actors were being taught the art of action and gesture, it can be seen as easily transferring over to the stage.[32] Bulwer states that

> the *tongue* without the *hand* can utter nothing but what will come forth lame and impotent, whereas the *hand* without the discourse of the tongue, is of admirable and energetical efficacy, and hath achieved many notable things.[33]

Bulwer's account supports the proposals of both Heywood and Roach; the role of action in theatre was becoming more important in the expression of narrative, due to its ability to both entertain an audience and deliver meaning in the form of gesture, which in turn allowed the performance and transference of narrative to be at least partially visually entertaining.

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[28] Bulwer draws multiple connections between the use of gesture in real-life situation s and in actors' performances. A selection of which follow: These Actors, the cunning counterfeiters of mens' manners, were called pantomimi from their multi-various imitation', 'The Art was first formed by Rhetoricians; afterwards amplified by poets and cunning motifs, skillfully the portraiture of mute posey : but most strangely in largely actors, the ingenious counterfeiters of men's manners.' 'In Andronicus the Stage-player , by whom being instructed in this art after he had reformed the defect that was before in this orations for want of action', p. 11.
[29] John Bulwer, *Chirologia, or, The Natural Language of the Hand* (London: R. Whitake, 1644) p. 1.
[30] Here Bulwer touches on the sign-system and communication between the audience and the stage, as discussed in the introduction, chapter 4 and later in this chapter.
[31] John Bulwer, *Chirologia, or, The Natural Language of the Hand* (London: R. Whitake, 1644) p. 1.
[32] Bulwer, *Chirologia,* p.122
[33] Bulwer, *Chirologia*, p. 122.

Bulwer is not a performance theorist. Nonetheless, his approach to everyday communication offers us a valuable insight into seventeenth-century attitudes to language and gesture – attitudes which, we may assume, underpinned both the theory and practice of theatrical performance. What Bulwer, Roach and Heywood all point to is the proposition that action within theatrical performance was seen to be an essential element of a successful and entertaining performance which was continually developing in potential. Thus the physical presence of the Restoration actor was, in part, designed as an intentional contribution to the spectacular nature of theatrical performances during the period. Bulwer goes on to isolate the role of action as a *differentiator* for the appeal and skill of the actor. He states,

> [t]he natural power of *motion* or *action* is the reason, that the attention of the audience is fixed by any irregular or even fantastic action on the stage of the most indifferent player and supine and drowsy, when the best actor speaks without the addition of action. [34]

What Bulwer identifies is key to understanding the role of the performer in plays of the Restoration, and it signifies that not only were actors developing their performance techniques, but the playwrights were adapting the play material for them.

## Actor example

Of course, not all performers in the period were the same, nor did they perform in the same physical style. Understanding what the actors of the period perceived to be their strengths, or suited style of acting can add an important dimension to our understanding of them as forms of spectacle. In 1747, Anthony Aston, actor and playwright, compiled a supplement to the diaries of Colley Cibber, which included useful insights into the physical abilities of a select number of actors. As expected, the documentary history of these actors varies greatly, but what is particularly interesting is their unity in discussing at length the actors' physicality.[35] Aston's document focuses on the abilities and physical characteristics of various performers, which he claims have been omitted from the original work of Cibber. These descriptions highlight the contrast between the training of more traditional actors such as Betterton, and those trained in the new art of physical acting. About Thomas Betterton, Aston states:

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[34] Bulwer, *Chirologia* p.26.

[35] As an actor himself, Aston would have been familiar with the demands of a Restoration audience and the stage. Being involved in theatre from the age of fourteen, it is likely that Aston's accounts come from first-hand experiences of watching and possibly performing alongside the actors he discusses. Because of this, Aston's pamphlet is one of the most useful accounts of performers from the period. E.D. Cook, 'Anthony Aston', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), < http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/822> [accessed 08 August 2015]

> Mr Betterton (although a superlative good Actor) laboured under ill figure, being clumsily made, having a great head, a short thick neck, stooped in the shoulders, and had fat short arms, which he rarely lifted higher than his stomach. – His left hand frequently lodged in his breast, between his coat and waist-coat, while, with his right, he prepared his speech. – His actions were few, but just.[…] His voice was low and grumbling; yet he could tune it by an artful *climax*. Which enforced universal attention, even from the *Fops* and *orange-girls*.- He was incapable of dancing, even in a country-dance; […]: But [his] good qualities were more than equal [his] deficiencies[36]

The description of Betterton above, focuses on his verbal ability to entertain an audience with little reference made to his action. Aston elects to talk about his physical presence in terms of his natural bodily appearance – and adds the intriguing detail about the slight movement which Betterton used to indicate to the audience that he was about to speak: things which in unison create an image of a man who maintained a static performance style. Aston's description of Betterton demonstrates his training in classical acting, with an emphasis on speech and rhetoric. This description should not lead to the conclusion that Betterton was not respected as an actor during the Restoration though. According to the actual diaries of Colley Cibber, there were not only many actors who did not adopt action as part of their performance, but that they were equally well recognised for their performance, the difference for Betterton, is that he is commended for specific roles which did not require action. For example, Cibber's review of Betterton's portrayal of Hamlet notes, '[t]his was the light into which *Betterton* threw this scene; which he opened with a pause of mute amazement! Then rising slowly, to a solemn, trembling voice, he made the ghost equally terrible to the spectator as to himself!'[37] It is possible to conclude that for this collection of performers their addition to the specular nature of the stage during the Restoration was based on traditional character types and retaining rhetoric as an element of performance.

With this in mind, the description of Betterton's somewhat minimalist physical repertoire (lodging his left hand and raising his right hand to speak) provides a clear contrast to a description of an actor who utilised both rhetoric and action: Cave Underhill. Underhill was an actor performing in a range of plays throughout his career, but he was best known for being a comedian. Of him Aston simply stated: 'Cave Underhill […] a churlish voice, and awkward action, (leaping often up with both Legs at a time, when he conceived any thing

[36] Anthony Aston, *A Brief Supplement to Colley Cibber, Esq; His Lives of the Late Famous Actors and Actresses* (London: Anthony Aston, 1747) pp. 3-4.
[37] Colley Cibber, *An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber*, *Volume 1* < http://www.archive.org/stream/apologyforlifeof01cibb/apologyforlifeof01cibb_djvu.txt> [Accessed 18 September 2015], p. 101.

waggish, and afterwards hugging himself at the thought.)'.[38] This description of a 'churlish' voice coupled with an awkward physical action gives a vivid picture of an actor in whom both elements worked together in order to entertain an audience.

When Aston turns to a description of Jack Verbruggen, he once more highlights the connection between action and rhetoric. His account notes:

> *JACK VERBRUGGEN*, that rough diamond, shone more bright than all the artful polished brilliants that ever sparkled on our stage. […] He had the words perfect at one view, and nature directed them into voice and action, in which the last he was always pleasing.[39]

Verbruggen, although not one of the most well-known performers of the Restoration, plays an important role in our understanding of the spectacular stage. The reference made to him being 'that rough diamond' suggests that he may not have received the same training as the likes of Betterton, or even those trained in physical action. However, due to his ability to use gesture in much the way that Bulwer suggests – as a form of natural language – Verbruggen is considered as one of the most entertaining performers in Aston's mind. Mr Dogget, receives a similar commendation, 'Mr. *Dogget* […] He was the best face-player and gesticulator, and a thorough master of the several dialects'.[40] The accounts of these performers assist in the understanding and shaping of the role of the actor against the playing space. Those considered so far have all been performers celebrated for their skill as 'gesticulators' and creators of action, who carefully balance the spoken word and the physical performance.

A further facet of performance development were the actors that fully embodied the physicality of their characters, using gesture, facial expressions, movements, and stance to demonstrate character. As Gilden suggests, some of Restoration actors possessed the skills to

> vary his face so much…as to appear quite another face, by raising, or falling, contacting or extending his brows; giving a brisk or sullen, sprightly or heavy turn of his eyes, sharpening or swelling his nostrils, and various Positions of his mouth …[which] would in every park make him a new man. [41]

Accounts of performers also praise them for their physical embodiment of character. Aston provides one such record, which is an insightful observation of Mrs Verbruggen and her ability to be able to become her character:

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[38] Aston, *A Brief Suppliment to Colley Cibber,* p. 13.
[39] Aston, *A Brief Suppliment to Colley Cibber*, p. 16. (Also referred to as John Verbruggen)
[40] Aston, *A Brief Suppliment to Colley Cibber*, p. 16.
[41] Gildon, *The Life of Mr Thomas Betterton*, p. 63.

> Mrs. VERBRUGGEN. […] She was all art, and her acting all acquired but dressed so nice, it looked like nature. There was not a look, motion, but what were all designed; and these at the same word, period, occasion, incident, were every night, in the same character, alike; and yet sat charmingly easy on her.[42]

From a twenty-first century perspective, accounts such as these demonstrate more clearly the continued development of acting as a physical performance style, which grew from Renaissance performance and flourished in the Restoration: an approach that involved embodying, rather than *playing* the character and reciting its words for the audience.

We can see this process at work when we consider the way in which many of the theatrical adaptations of the Restoration stage worked. Adaptation forms a key element of Restoration theatre, as a large number of plays dating from the Renaissance and earlier were re-appearing with new performance skills incorporated. These plays often saw the addition of characters as either counterparts to previously established characters, such as the counterparts for both Ariel and Caliban in Dryden and Shadwell's *The Enchanted Island* (an adaptation of William Shakespeare's *The Tempest*), or the altering of characters to contain varying performance techniques. Furthermore, the plays themselves were interpolated with other forms of stage spectacle, and new genres of the original scripts were created. As J. Paul Hunter concludes,

> [a]ttempts to spice up old plays parallel the search for new ways to entertain audiences beyond the limits of verbal possibility, and the gimmicks of stage machinery, the importation of operatic spectaculars, and the addition of songs, dances, pantomimes and variety shows to evenings of drama all share a common fear that plays are not sufficient to hold the audience in eighteenth-century English theatre.[43]

However, there were a number of plays adapted and altered with new performance genres, such as Commedia dell'Arte, in order to make them more appealing to a Restoration audience.

## Commedia dell'Arte and Harlequin

As J. Paul Hunter notes, 'before the middle of the century verbal energies had shifted so noticeably away from the stage', and actors were now focussing on physical performance; a

[42] Cibber, *An Apology for the Life,* < http://www.archive.org/stream/apologyforlifeof01cibb/apologyforlifeof01cibb_djvu.txt> [access 15-09-2015], p. 19.
[43] J. Paul Hunter, 'The World as Stage and Closet', in *British Theatre and Other Arts,* ed.by Shirley Strum Kenny (London and Toronto: Associated University Press, 1984), pp. 271-287 (p. 274)

performance style that became the prominent feature of Restoration performance.[44] Therefore, in an attempt to update the plays of the period, and to provide more spectacular scenes, playwrights recognised the need to develop the characters of their plays in a similar manner; populating the stage with a number of attention-grabbing and exciting characters including knaves, rakes, clowns and jugglers. Additionally, as with the introduction of women to the stage, the Restoration actor was exploited for his visual and physical appeal. The characters of the Commedia dell'Arte – as they are employed in the English theatre during Restoration period – provide examples of some of the most overtly spectacular elements of this kind of display; one which is both visually compelling in terms of costume and cosmetics, and physically demanding in terms of dexterity and stance. Furthermore, the actors who portrayed these characters found popularity and success for their performances, and as such, made themselves as spectacular as their characters.[45] The Restoration theatre's re-working of the conventions and characters of the Commedia dell'Arte gives some interesting insights into the development and uses of visual spectacle in Restoration theatre. For the sake of brevity, this section will look at one particular character from the Commedia repertoire: Harlequin. Growing from the roles of Arlecchino and Zanni in the original early modern Commedia genre, Harlequin was a character that demonstrates the shift towards the physically spectacular developments of later theatrical performances, taking on a new balletic style of movement, which had replaced his more grounded performance style, familiar in Italy.

The many characters which populate the Commedia genre relied on 'stereotyped characters, masks, broad physical gestures, improvised dialogue and clowning, represented the very theatricality of the theatre'.[46] Alongside elaborate costumes and stock props each character stereotypically represented a certain class, age or occupation of person. Ranging from maids to lovers, masters to servants, the genre of Commedia became successful, largely due to its ability to encapsulate varying members of the English classes in a 'spectacularly' performative manner.[47]

Predicated on characters that embodied stock characteristics, Commedia dell'Arte was a visually spectacular and striking performance style, which provided delight through the

[44] J. Paul Hunter, 'The World as Stage and Closet', p. 271
[45] Examples include: Joseph Haines as Harlequin, John Rich as Harlequin and Colley Cibber as a Fop.
[46] Mel Gordon, *Lazzi: The Comic Routines of the Commedia Dell'Arte* (New York: Performing Arts Journal Publication, 1983), p. 3.
[47] Gordon, *Lazzi*, p. 3.

performer's bodily skills, and endures into contemporary performance practice. Erika Fischer-Lichte notes that

> [t]he basic stock roles consisted of four masks, two elderly men, the Venetian merchant, Pantalone, and the Bolognese lawyer, Dottore, two zanni, or servants, from the region near Bergamo, Arlecchino and Brighella, and at least one of two couples, innamoriati (young lovers), the Spanish Capitano – the braggart soldier – and a maid.[48]

Each of the characters identified here contributed to the farcical and improvisational nature of the genre and in their own way deserve to be considered as part of the wider spectacle of performance. While these characters made significant contributions to the theatre of the Restoration, and there is some analysis of these in relation to Behn's play *The Emperor of the Moon* in the next chapter, for the moment, due to space and degree of 'spectacularity', this chapter will focus on the most spectacular, recognisable and widely used Harlequins.

The borrowing of practices from an extensive linage of French, Spanish and Italian performance styles, such as Commedia dell'Arte, challenged the physical developments of the Restoration actor, concentrating on gesture and movement to represent a recognisable character. The exciting combination of both physical and visual wonder, which was offered by Commedia dell'Arte, became a prominent feature of Restoration performance; the success of which can be partly measured by its inclusion in theatrical advertisements and script frontispieces, demonstrating the appealing nature of the style.[49] This is seen particularly clearly in the work of Edward Ravenscroft, who included the phrase 'after the Italian manner' on his frontispiece and Willam Mountfort who likewise inserted 'with the humours of Scaramouche and Harlequin', demonstrating the ability to harness the popularity and spectacularity of the genre to promote interest in their plays.

In its early Italian form, Commedia dell'Arte made extensive use of masks to represent stock characters, meaning that the actors themselves had to use their bodies to compensate for the lack of facial expression, something which continued into the English adaptation.[50] We see this influence in the early *Punch and Judy* shows, which first appeared in something like the form we now know them at the time of the Restoration. These borrowed

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[48] Erika Fischer-Lichte, *History of European Drama and Theatre* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 131.
[49] Examples of this include: Edward Ravenscroft's *Scaramouch a Philosopher, Harlequin A School-Boy, Bravo, Merchant, and A Magician. A Comedy After the Italian Manner,* William Mountfort's *The Life and Death of Doctor Faustus, With the Humours of Harlequin and Scaramouche*, and Peter Anthony Motteux's *The Novelty Every Act a Play: being a Short Pastoral, Comedy, Masque, Tragedy, and Farce, after the Italian Manner.*
[50] See chapter 4 'The Masks' (pp.41-49), of Pierre Louis Duchartre, *The Italian Comedy: The Improvisation, Scenarios, Lives, Attributes, Portraits and Masks of the Illustrious Characters of the Commedia dell'Arte,* translated by Randolph T. Weaver (New York: Dover Publications, 2012)

the characteristics of Commedia's mean, vicious and crafty character Pulcinella, and transposed his narrative to a puppet theatre booth. [51] Moreover, the static face of Mr. Punch is an extension of the original Commedia mask. For the professional theatre of the Restoration, on the other hand, the masks were often removed, but the physically spectacular, improvisational stock characteristics of the roles remained – and were additionally paired with more expressive costuming. This is particularly relevant to Harlequin, as he adopted many guises in his employment in English Restoration theatre.

The character of Harlequin is thought to have been a combination of traditional Commedia characters that appealed to the Restoration audience and offered the opportunity for a multi-dimensional performance. The Harlequin of the Restoration stage, recognisable for his physical skill and role as a servant developed characteristics from both Arlecchino, a character who was developed in Italy in around 1595 by the famous performer Tristano Martinelli, who instilled in Arlecchino's character his own great skill in acrobatics, comic timing, a recognisable posture and behaviour in line with Commedia traditions; and also from Zanni, a character whose main role was to be a servant and who 'performed as a verbal and gestural virtuoso' and as 'oppressed and degraded figure'.[52] Additionally, unlike the improvisational characteristic of Italian and French Commedia, based on established but memorized *lazzi* (see below), English adaptations were more reliant upon a highly scripted, detailed set of stage directions, which enabled the most spectacular elements of Harlequin, the physical acrobatics and comic verbal and physical trickery, to be exploited for to the playwrights' advantage. Much like the English actor Joseph Haines, who will be discussed later, Martinelli uses his abilities as an actor to ensure that the character of Harlequin presented the audience with this variety of spectacular styles.[53]

For the English scripted Harlequin, it was the combination of physical dexterity and verbal wit, which resulted in him being recognised as one of the most 'spectacularly' skilled characters of the period. Of the early character of Harlequin, the English adaptation of Arlecchino, Luigi Riccoboni has said

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[51] See Ryan Howard, *Punch and Judy in 19th Century America: A History and Biographical Dictionary* (London: McFarland & Company, 2013), p. 9.

[52] Robert Henke*, Performance and Literature in the Commedia Dell'Arte (Cambridge: Cambridge* University Press, 2002), p. 23.

[53] Of Joseph Haines, Samuel Pepys recounts in his diary that he was 'the incomparable dancer of the King's house, and a seeming civil man, and sings pretty well' He also saw him at the King's playhouse and noted; 'there saw "The Spanish Gipsys," the second time of acting, and the first that I saw it. A very silly play, only great variety of dances, and those most excellently done, especially one part by one Hanes'. Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* <www.pepys.info> [accessed 21 October 2015]

> [t]he acting of the Harlequins before the 17th Century was nothing but a continual play of extravagant tricks, violent movements, and outrageous rogueries. He was at once insolent, mocking, inept, clownish, and emphatically ribald. I believe that he was extraordinary agile, and he seemed to be constantly in the air; and I might confidently add that he was a proficient tumbler. [54]

The Restoration theatre did something more interesting with this character. Of the actors who played Harlequin in seventeenth-century England, Joseph Haines became one of the most well-known and popular. He used his adaptable skills to play a variety of different character types and roles, something which is particularly useful in his portrayal in 1677 when he stared in Edward Ravenscroft's, *Scaramouch A Philosopher, Harlequin A School-Boy, Bravo, Merchant, and A Magician. A Comedy After the Italian Manner* (1677).[55] As a recognised actor, singer, dancer, guitar player, fortune-teller and author, Haines brought a variety of skills and abilities to this role.[56] Additionally, Haines had travelled to France a number of times, some of which were for investigatory purposes into performance styles, and returned to England to continue his acting with a new variety of skills which would help him to be continually entertaining and spectacular, gathering proficiencies particularly useful for the portrayal of physical characters.[57] In line with the observation of Riccoboni, the opening to Ravenscroft's play provides an instantaneous spectacle for the audience, utilising Haines' skills as a singer and dancer. The stage directions read,

> *Enter Harlequin. […]*
>
> *Sings a ridiculous song.[…]*
>
> *Fences and Jumps forwards and backward with his wooden sword against the Fencer, his foil, and at last runs away.*[58]

The actor that enters the stage in Ravenscroft's play *Scaramouch a Philosopher* is one whose movements and responses are dictated through the intricate stage directions, based on the traditional expectations of a stock Commedia character. Ravenscroft effortlessly showcases Harlequin's abilities as both a delightful form of display, and a means of comic spectacle in

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[54] Luigi Riccoboni cited in Pierre Louis Duchartre, *The Italian Comedy: The Improvisation, Scenarios, Lives, Attributes, Portraits and Masks of the Illustrious Characters of the Commedia dell'Arte,* translated by Randolph T. Weaver (New York: Dover Publications, 2012), p. 121.

[55] Edward Ravenscroft, *Scaramouch A Philosopher, Harlequin A School-Boy, Bravo, Merchant, and A Magician. A Comedy After the Italian Manner* (London: Robert Sollers, 1677)

[56] Philip Highfill, Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhams, 'Joseph Haines', *The Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actress, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and Other Stage Personnel in London: 1660-1800.* Volume 7 (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1993), p. 7-16.

[57] J. Milling, 'Joseph Haines', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) < http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11878?docPos=1 > [accessed 04 September 2015]

[58] Ravenscroft, *Scaramouch A Philosopher*, pp. 2-5.

the same instance. Seen here above, at one moment Harlequin appears to be demonstrating a skill in fencing, before his lack of skill comically alters the narrative. This in part demonstrates the capriciousness of Harlequin, and endorses how his erraticness benefitted Ravenscroft's intention of using Commedia to heighten the spectacle of the play. As such, Harlequin magnificently adds to the comic value, visual display, and physical demands of the Restoration stage from his first entrance; securing Ravenscroft's play as a popular farce and spectacle.

Within the first few pages of Harlequin's entrance, Haines sings, dances and fences, showing from the outset his performative dexterity. With the need to represent the stock characteristics necessary for Harlequin, it is then the adaptability and the virtuosity of the character and Haines that make him an important and interesting subject for the study of Restoration spectacle. Due to their noteworthy and detailed use of Harlequin's spectacular traits, the next section will focus on Edward Ravenscroft's *Scaramouch A Philosopher, Harlequin A School-Boy, Bravo, Merchant, and A Magician. A Comedy After the Italian Manner* (1677), and Aphra Behn's *The Emperor of the Moon*. (1677).

## Physical and verbal dexterity

For Ravenscroft, Harlequin and Haines provided the unique opportunity to apply multiple meta-character frames to the traditional stock character of Commedia, which saw Harlequin *perform* a range of extravagant characters, with varying degrees of physicality and comic behaviour. The brilliance of Harlequin, in terms of spectacular entertainment is his adaptability of behaviour and skill, something which is utilised by Ravenscroft throughout. The most notable use of his malleability is showcased when he is not 'playing himself', but rather Haines is representing yet another character type, while retaining some of Harlequin's defining characteristics. The roles played are varied and in themselves possess a spectacular nature, with their over-exaggerated representations. After his magnificent entrance as 'himself', Harlequin *plays* a mischievous school-boy, showcasing himself visually and verbally playful, and very entertaining. Through his physical movements, interaction with both the mistress and the other 'children', and his use of the set, he adds to the visual spectacle of the stage, while also embodying the traditional Commedia stock characteristics.

The scene opens with a school setting and the stage is set to allow Harlequin to play with it. The directions state

> *[t]he scene draws, and discovers Harlequin amongst a company of little children at school, all gabling together in a school-tone; the mistress sitting in the middle in a great chair, with a great rod and a ferrula sticking upright at either corner of the back of the Chair. Harlequin snatches a piece of bread and butter out of one of the children's hands, the child falls a crying.*[59]

Harlequin's relationship with the other actors on stage during this scene provides a very important contribution to the overall sense of spectacle. Not only do these relationships facilitate the introduction of a visually mischievous and physically childlike Harlequin to populate the spectacle of the scene, but through his interactions which the other 'children' on the stage more of his traditionally spectacular elements of performance are displayed. For example, the bodily stance and physical acrobatics which Harlequin performs permits his character to dictate the extent to which the scene is a visual delight.[60] Additionally, the spoken interactions between the 'children', Harlequin and the Mistress are simple and child-like, making a pronounced use of his verbal dexterity. Moreover, if we can assume that the 'children' were played by the other adult actors in the play, then the entire scene becomes spectacular through the comic image of adults imitating children. As the scene progresses, and the 'children' become significantly more disruptive, they begin to 'throw books' and 'run to their places', using the size of the stage to create a travelling scene were all performers are using their bodies to physicality represent children.[61] This scene of visual and verbal comedy is climaxed in a moment when the young school-boy Harlequin is being chastised by the mistress for imitating a philosopher. As she 'whips his hand'

> *Harlequin puts his head through the back of the chair, lifts it up, runs about the room with it hanging on his neck; all the children take rods, and, with the mistress, run about the stage whipping him. He runs out, the scene shuts.*[62]

Ravenscroft purposely uses the exits of Harlequin as an indication that one spectacular moment in his disguise has ended and another is about to begin. Once the scene shuts on Harlequin as a child, we see him re-enter once more and meet with Scaramouch; another popular and adaptable Commedia character, and one whose relationship with Harlequin with often exploited for comic value.[63] Ravenscroft writes not a new scene but a scene change and

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[59] Ravenscroft, *Scaramouch a Philosopher,* p. 33.
[60] Further stage directions in this act add to the physical display provided by Harlequin, they read: Harlequin goes and sits in the Mistresses Chair, takes the Rod and plays with it; pulls out an Apple, and eats and sings with his mouth full, p. 34
[61] Ravenscroft, *Scaramouch a Philosopher,* p. 34.
[62] Ravenscroft, *Scaramouch a Philosopher,* p. 36.
[63] N.B. There are two spellings of Scaramouche used in the period. More widely his name appears with an e on the end, Ravenscroft, however, chooses to omit this. For the references to the character in the play the e shall be omitted, however, for reference to the more widely recognized Commedia play, I shall retain the e.
Scaramouche was a combination of Zanni and Captiano and in his usage on the Restoration fulfilled many roles,

a continuation of the scenic design that has appeared before. Here Ravenscroft exaggerates and exploits the differences between the two characters. From the beginning of the play Scaramouch is described as a philosopher who is well educated and has power over the other characters. On the other hand, Harlequin has until this point demonstrated a disregard for power and self-control but rather opted for a more energetic, dexterous outward persona. Ravenscroft portrays both Harlequin and Scaramouch as philosophers in this scene, drawing comparisons between the two to signify the spectacular variants of Commedia. While Scaramouch's philosopher is more akin to his traditional Capitano or Zanni with his sly, trick-based personality, Harlequin retains a petulant attitude and behaviour which, when contrasted with his lack of abilities and changing costuming, makes for a contrasting spectacle, both visually and verbally. For example, Harlequin is instructed to wear 'a great gown of mat, with hanging-sleeves of the same, and a broad straw-hat, with one half of the brim pulled under his chin, parting from the head' (the same outfit as worn by Scaramouch), yet it is with Harlequin's behaviour that the spectacle becomes one where the outfit appears unfitting, and, therefore, ridiculous for the scene.[64]

Harlequin's playful nature is employed once more when performing the role of a Bravo. For this presentation a combination of costume, physical dexterity and comic character-play is interpolated with comic affect. The stage directions for this character read

> [e]nter Harlequin in the habit of a Bravo, with a huge sword and a girdle stuck rounds with pistols and daggers, which are discovered by his cloak falling off; —Rosy cheeks, with great whiskers.[65]

For this role Ravenscroft adorns Harlequin with props, which he attempts to use: 'pushes on all sides with his sword' and 'shoots', and cosmetics designed to enhance and alter his physical appearance.[66] Once again, Ravenscroft uses Harlequin's flexibility as a device for developing a vivid theatrical scene, employing both visual appearance and linguistic extravagance (specifically Harlequin's pronunciation) as a form of entertainment. In

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including a servant and a master. Instances of Harlequin and Scaramouche together are very common in the inclusion of Commedia in Restoration performance. As a character, Scaramouche has been described as sly but supple who often grimaced. Scaramouche was also represented in the puppet plays of the period, staring as the dog owner and other parts in many of the performances. For more information on Scaramouche see, *The Routledge Companion to Commedia dell'Arte,* ed. by Judith Chaffee and Olly Crick (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), Philip Highfill Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhams, 'Philip Griffin', in *The Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actress, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and Other Stage Personnel in London: 1660-1800.* Volume 6 (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1993), pp. 368 – 371 – an actor well known for his Scaramouche portrayal.

[64] Ravenscroft, *Scaramouch a Philosopher,* p. 37

[65] Ravenscroft, *Scaramouch a Philosopher,* p.44.

[66] For a further, more detailed assessment of cosmetics in Restoration performance, see the later section on the Restoration Fop.

comparison to the verbal interactions Harlequin had as a child, which were simple and short, once he has adopted the role of the Bravo his speech is strong, staccato, repetitive and lengthy, utilising multiple metaphors to express discomfort and dislike. For example, he recounts,

> [s]'death! Heart! and ounds![67] Oh! That he were but here now, in the midst of twenty friends and all their swords in their hands; Eh, you rogues, you dogs, come on! Alone! Morblieu! Sa, fa; kill, kill; no quarter; slay, cut, thrust, kill, stand fast; Eh! you cowardly rogues, you dogs, you sons of whores! Have at you, at you, at you, at you, at you! Do you give ground? Stand fast you dogs, fast! Ha! Eh![68]

The language used by Harlequin simultaneously disguises him, and distinguishes him from the other characters he plays; through his use of movement and character portrayal, the role is once again turned into a spectacle for its physical and verbal dexterity. Ravenscroft adds a further demand to Harlequin, and Haines', vast skills through the speed with which he is required to changes from one role to another. In the space of a scene change, or indeed stepping from one situation to another, the physicality, verbal delivery and impetus changes, and Haines would have been expected to maintain these characters and the original Harlequin sufficiently throughout. Subsequently, this in itself forms a spectacle for the audience as they sit and watch the actor morph through a spectrum of deliveries in front of their eyes.

## Visuality

While plays such as Ravenscroft's provide good records of Harlequin and other Commedia characters in the period, it is helpful also to draw on other kinds of records – and in particular contemporary drawings, paintings and engravings. Due to their ability to tangibly capture an instance or presentation of a character, M.A. Katritzky conducted a detailed investigation into the visual records of Commedia, looking to establish what they could add to our understanding of the practice, and how such performances might have actually looked. In this pivotal work, Katrizky argues that, along with the important work by other academics such as Sterling, a 'new awareness of the importance of pictures as primary documentary materials for investigating the costumes, gestures, postures and physical repertoire of early comedians' had been established.[69] Applying such thinking to the images of Harlequin has a great deal to offer in terms of assessing his spectacular potential. The first

[67] Exclamation of anger or surprise. OED 1.a.
[68] Ravenscroft, *Scaramouch a Philosopher,* p.45.
[69] M.A.Katritzky, *The Art of Commedia: A Study in the Commedia dell'Arte 1560-1620 with Special Reference to the Visual Records* (New York and Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006), p. 27.

image pictured below is a 1700s painting of Harlequin, which shows him in a semi-traditional costume and holding his habitual baton.

Illustration 14: Engraving of Harlequin, ca. eighteenth century, Harry Beard Collection. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

This particular image of Harlequin (illustration 24) is particularly telling in its depiction of his physicality. The actor portraying Harlequin in this image looks delicate in form, with his weight being carried on his toes, taking the balletic stance of the English Harlequin, rather than Arlecchino. His arms are elegantly placed above his head and his back slightly arched, confirming that the character of Harlequin was fluid in his movements and physicality, and was not portrayed with the stiff frame of some of the more authoritarian stock characters.[70] Overall, his general appearance demonstrates a level of ostentatious design, in terms of costume and stance, while also presenting fluidity in gender representation.

[70] For example, of Capitano John Rudlin contends his stance consisted of 'feet planted apart in order to occupy maximum space, chest pushed forward, back straight, hips wide'. Of Dottore he says, 'weight back on heels, belly forward, hands gesturing in front. The later French pedants is more dapper and leans forward from the waist.' Of Pantalone he notes, 'his back bends the other way to the zannis, giving him an old man's stoop, protecting his purse and his penis and effectively restricting the motion of his legs. The feet are together, toes apart, knees well bent and facing apart creating a focus on the crutch.' John Rudlin, *Commedia dell'Arte: An Actor's Handbook* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002)

Likewise, the image of *Harlequin and the Swans*, detailed below (illustration 25), demonstrates Harlequin's lyrical and acrobatic style. In this image the physical spectacle of Harlequin is effortlessly captured and the actor presenting this character is seen to be supple, expressionistic through his body, and skilled.

Illustration 15: Harlequin and the Swans. ca. 1800s. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

As the actor in this image is wearing a mask, there is no facial expression to read, so his actions are expressed through his stance – a position that suggests he is mimicking the flight and elegance of the swans, and demonstrating the ability of the Harlequin actors.

In a less graceful, but equally informative image of Harlequin, the physicality of the character can once again be clearly identified.

Illustration 16: Jean-Antonie Watteau. Harlequin, Pierrot et Scapin: Les Petits Comédiéns Italiens. 1719. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

In this French image by Jean-Antonie Watteau (illustration 26), Harlequin (second from the front, with his hand on his head) is featured amongst a range of other Commedia characters. What is particularly interesting in this image is the way in which each of the actors represents their character's stock characteristics. For Harlequin, this is once more related to his physicality. Providing again no facial expressions, this depiction of Harlequin captures his body as a form of meaning. In contrast to the other portrayals, in this image his hips are lowered and pushed forward, more akin to Arlecchino's traditional stance than those seen in Restoration performances. His back is arched and his arms angled into position. His frame is slumped and a less delicate physicality is adopted. While this depiction is not as telling in terms of acrobatic skills as the others, this encapsulation still demonstrates the importance of posture and physicality in the generation of Harlequin's spectacle.

The spectacular detail of costume was also captured in images from the period. In addition to his physical skills, the Harlequin character was adorned with a decorative and recognisable costume, adding to his overall spectacle. The traditional costume of Harlequin (or Arlecchino) utilised bright colours and interesting patterns, which had the ability to draw the audience's attention with its eye-catching design. As John Rudlin concludes, Harlequin (Arlecchino) was often seen in

> [a] tight-fitting long jacket and trousers, sewn over with random, odd-shapen patches of green, yellow, red and brown – possibly remnants of leaves. The jacket is laced down the front with a thong and caught by a black belt worn very low on the hips. The shoes are flat and black. He wears a beret, or later a malleable felt hat with a narrow brim, with a feather or tail of a fox, apparently this was a sign of the wearer being a butt of ridicule. There is a sentimental French story of Arlequin's friends giving him the off-cuts of their mardi gras costumes for the poor boy to make one of his own, but the Italian Arlechinno has patches which are sewn on, rather than the sewn together lozenges of the later French Arlequin and English Harlequin.[71]

Mr Lee's depiction of Harlequin below exhibits the highly detailed patterned design of his costume (illustration 27). The outfit is fitting to his form, but looks supple enough for him to perform his detailed movement routines. The addition of a hat aligns his costume with the description provided by Rudlin.

Illustration 17: Mr Lee Lewis in the character of Harlequin. ca. 1777-1780. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

[71] John Rudlin, *Commedia dell'Arte: An Actor's Handbook* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), p.76. Pierre Louis Duchartres cited in Rudlin, provides an additional description and history of the costuming of Harlequin, noting There were varicolored patches, darker than the background of the costume, sewn here and there on the breeches and the long jacket laced in front. His soft cap was in the mode of Charles IX, of Francois I, or of Henry II; it was almost always decorated with the tail of a rabbit, hare or fox, or sometimes with a tuft of feathers. This attire had much definite character in itself, and might be considered a conventialized and ironic treatment of the dress of a tatterdemalion. It was not until the 17th century that the patches took the form of blue, red and green triangles which were arranged in a symmetrical pattern and joined together by a slender yellow braid. At the end of the 17th century the triangles became diamond-shaped lozenges, the jacket was shortened, and a double pointed hat took the place of the toque.

Furthermore, this particular illustration contains reminiscent styles of the Zanni character which forms part of Harlequin's design: Katritzky identifies Zanni's outfit as having often featured 'an uncollared hip-length long-sleeved belted jacket, loose or baggy trousers in matching material often ending just above the ankles, and no codpiece. […]The suit may have additional details.'[72]

Some of the surviving images of Harlequin capture his visual 'spectacularity' through the bright colours of his costume. In contrast to the image of Mr. Lee above, the below illustration of Mr. Polworth emphasises the intricate detailing and visually appealing nature of the costume. Showcasing Harlequin in red, yellow, and blue, his visual appearance is heightened by the combination of the colours, patterning, and tight-fitting design (illustration 28).

Illustration 18: J. K. Green. Mr. Lewis Polworth as Harlequin. 1844. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

The popularity of the Harlequin costume design saw it being used and adapted in other forms over the years. In the later image of Hester Booth below, the Harlequinade pattern of coloured, intersecting triangles is used for her dress. Performing a Harlequin dance,

[72] Katritzky, *The Art of Commedia*, p.189

the costuming of Booth highlights the importance of Harlequin and his associated movement during the period, and demonstrates that this costume carried such spectacular value that it could be used to represent not just Harlequin himself, but other entertainments which emerged from his performance style (illustration 29).

Illustration 19: John Ellys. Hester Booth in Harlequin Dance. ca. 1722-1725. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

While the English Harlequin takes many of his characteristics from the Italian Arlecchino, and visual depictions of Harlequin's from the period do demonstrate the use of such an elaborate and brightly coloured costume, for Ravenscroft, it is not the eye-catching costume which adds spectacle to their scenes, but rather his shape-shifting tendencies, allowing for multiple, elaborate and telling costumes.[73]

[73] Rudlin, *Commedia dell'Arte,* p. 77. 'A shape-shifter: he frequently adopts disguises and cross-dresses without demur'

## Lazzi

Plays that utilised Commedia as a genre often included fast-paced scenes and changed the focus to physical and visual performances, with little consideration or concentration on words. These moments are called lazzi. This style of Commedia performance dates back to the improvisational techniques of the early performance troupes.[74] The lazzi of Commedia dell'Arte became an important feature in Restoration spectacle as a pre-planned form of entertainment.[75] While traditional Commedia was based on improvised scenes developing from rehearsed set lazzi routines, the stage of the Restoration utilised the lazzi as a way of staging visual and physical buffoonery, which is recognised in a number of plays from the period.[76] As Luigi Riccoboni concluded, the term lazzi alluded to the 'comic business that tied together the performance' and which showcased 'the actions of Arlecchino or other masked characters when they interrupt the scene by their expressions of terror or by their fooleries'.[77] For the Restoration stage, the lazzi provided an intense moment of a comic, slap-stick routine, which centred on the display of Commedia characters in their most physically and visually dynamic. In his collation of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century lazzi, Mel Gordon remarks that hundreds of these lazzi were likely to have been created and used, although those that survive only do so through descriptions of the performers and viewers.[78] Ravenscroft makes use of a number of these traditional lazzi in his play, but the most notable is the traditional 'sack lazzo', known for its comically violent exploration of the relationship between Harlequin and another character.[79]

Late in Act IV, Scene I of Ravenscroft's play, Harlequin enters with a sack. In an attempt to fool Scaramouch, Harlequin convinces him to get inside it to hide from being beaten. Haines's Harlequin vocally imitates five additional characters. This scene presents the most amount of Commedia comic value and is spectacular in its characterisation of Harlequin and the hilarity of him beating Scaramouch. Again Harlequin counterfeits as a Bravo and beats Scaramouch; he then acts as a Dutchman with an accent and later as three men

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[74] Mel Gordon, 'Lazzi', in *The Routledge Companion to Commedia dell'Arte,* ed. by Judith Chaffee and Olly Crick (London and New York: Routledge, 2015) pp. 167-176.
[75] James Philips, 'Zanni', in *Fools and Jesters in Literature, Art, and History: A Bio-bibliographical Sourcebook*, ed. by Vicki K. Janik (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998), p. 510.
[76] Mel Gordon notes that for traditional Commedia although 'the *lazzi* were frequently thought of as occurring spontaneously or off-the-cuff, most were rigorously rehearsed and their insertion in performances sometimes preplanned', p. 5, this was certainly the case for the lazzi use in Restoration performances.
[77] Luigi Riccoboni cited in, Mel Gordon, *Lazzi: The Comic Routines of the Commedia Dell'Arte* (New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications, 1983), p. 4.
[78] Gordon, *Lazzi,* p. 12
[79] Gordon, *Lazzi,* p. 14

'speaking and singing in three several voices.' [80] This scene is important when understanding the way in which Harlequin used by Ravenscroft. He plays a number of different roles in the scene, expressing them both physically and verbally, meaning he is able to act as a story-telling device – a form of visual spectacle – and also fulfil the comic necessity of a farce.

In *The Emperor of the Moon,* Aphra Behn uses Harlequin to a similar end. For example, what could be more spectacular to an audience than Harlequin trying to tickle himself to death? Behn's spectacular stage directions read,

> [h]e falls to tickle himself, his head, his ears, his arm-pits, hands, sides, and soles of his feet; making ridiculous cries and noises of laughing several ways, with antic leaps and Skips, at last falls down as dead.[81]

Magic and magical lazzo also formed an important part of Harlequin's persona.[82] The inclusion of magic, or conjuring, in historical theatrical performances was not just reserved for Harlequin and Commedia dell'Arte, though. As Michael Mangan argues,

> [m]agic is, of course, a long-standing component of theatre, not only insofar as magicians have performed in theatres for the last two centuries, but also in that stage illusions are incorporated into many plays [83]

Utilising a long tradition of magicians appearing on the stage, Ravenscroft makes the last of Harlequin's roles that of a magician; combining the conjuring element and traditional Commedia traits and drawing on the multiple lazzi. In his exploration of magic in eighteenth-century musical theatre, David Buch argues that

> the approximately 600 surviving synopses of the Commedia dell'arte plots reveal numerous superhuman characters and marvellous elements. The *mago* or the *negromante* (sorcerer) figured among the stock characters, along with astrologers, sorceresses, fairies, oracles, spirits and ghosts.[84]

These plots, for the most part, allowed for a mystical presence to be accompanied by machine based scenery or spectacle. Buch also notes that '[t]he Italian comedies employed two types of magic plots. In the first, magic plays a minor role, most often in the form of a magician who helps characters at critical moments, less frequently as an encounter with an oracle. In

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[80] Ravenscroft, *Scaramouch a Philosopher*, pp. 71-69. N.B. The page numbers in this copy go out of order for this section. The pages follow on from each other in terms of narrative but backwards in terms of number.
[81] Aphra Behn, *The Rover and Other Plays*, ed. by Jane Spencer (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p 287.
[82] See John O'Brian, *Harlequin Britain: Pantomime and Entertainment, 1690-1760* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2004), pp. 108-110.
[83] Michael Mangan, *Performing Dark Arts: A Cultural History of Conjuring* (Bristol: Intellect Books, 2007) p. XI
[84] David J. Buch, *Magic Flutes and Enchanted Forests: The Supernatural in Eighteenth Century Musical Theatre* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 2008) p.p. 17-18.

the second, magic and magicians are central.'[85] For the plot of Ravenscroft's play, the former statement is true.

Magic within *Scaramouch a Philosopher* comes as a closing statement to a fast moving, ever-changing and alternatively spectacular play. Although in this particular play magic is not used to call upon the new capabilities of the Restoration stage, it is used to extend the performative nature of both Commedia and the actor. The type of magician Harlequin adopts is one of mockingly stereotypical language, costume and interaction. For his entrance as a magician in Act V, Scene I, Harlequin's description is 'like a magician, with a great pair of spectacles on his nose, a long prospective-glass, looking at Spittazferro at a distance'.[86] The physical appearance of Harlequin appeals to the farcical nature of the rest of the play, providing the audience with a satire of a magical person, and using the physical foundations of Commedia to develop a playful, spectacular conjurer.

Throughout the scene as the magician, Harlequin and Ravenscroft combine three different forms of entertainment. As with the rest of the play, in his magic guise Harlequin is 'spectacularly' dexterous and a physical performer, demonstrated in his continuous movement around the scene and moments of dance.[87] Additionally, language is utilised by Ravenscroft and through words of nonsense, Harlequin demonstrates his ability in playing the role of the magician and exploiting Haines's vocal dexterity also. Alongside his costume, physical performance and language, Ravenscroft adds layers of spectacle through the addition of basic mechanics. The following section of Act V, Scene I, highlights these elements working in a spectacular unison of visual, physical, verbal and mechanical wonder:

> *(Enter again in a room. Harl. With a dark lanthorn.)*
>
> Tricola, tracola, whiz! Tricola, tracola, Buz!
> Tricola, tracola, Fitz!
> Tricola, tracola, Ptru-ru-ru!
> Tricola, tracola, Bro-thro-rou!
> Tricola, tracola.
>
> *(Goes about prancing, sings this ridiculously; at last stops).*
> Tricola, tracola.
> Tricola, tracola.
> Doodle doodle-doo.
> My Conjurations are Pacifick;

[85] Buch, *Magic Flutes and Enchanted Forest*, p.18.
[86] Ravenscroft, *Scaramouch a Philosopher,* p. 69.
[87] For example, 'Goes about prancing, sings this ridiculously; at last stops.', p. 67.

*(A vision of horns appears in shadows, increase to a vast bigness, and vanish.)*[88]

Ravenscroft's analysis of magic therefore revolves around Harlequin's surprising transformational abilities and the spectacle of the actor. This is most notable when considered in comparison to the use of magic in William Mountfort's *Doctor Faustus*, as it revolves around more stereotypical ideas of magic. Here Mountfort's play boasts the paraphernalia of a magical wand and a book of formulae to provide the spectacle, rather than the actor, and as such, relies less on the skills of the performer than in Ravenscroft's depiction.[89]

## Pantomimes and Harlequinades

> Pantomime was originally a theatrical entertainment in which the meaning was conveyed entirely without the use of dialogue and using gesture and bodily action.[90]

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An important development in the spectacle of Commedia dell'Arte was the creation of the pantomime and Harlequinades, and the very visual, slap-stick and mime-based performance. Although these entertainments were first thought to have been recognised after the period the thesis addresses, they are performances which used the visuality and physicality of Commedia and Harlequin. These were used as a means of circumventing some of the restrictions placed on theatre production in other playhouse by presenting narrative through the recognisable entertainments used in public playhouse without the use of language. Using visual and physical performance in this way, the pantomime and Harlequinade could be seen to play with the boundaries of legitimate and illegitimate theatre, and present entertaining productions and past times for paying audiences, which varied greatly from the traditional play. As these productions encapsulate the very essence of visual and physical spectacle in Commedia, it is important to discuss a little about them.

In 1716, *The Loves of Venus and Mars and Perseus and Andromeda* was performed, combining for the first time music, dance, scenery and machinery in the form of a pantomime. In 1717, theatre manager John Rich, and dancer/choreographer John Weaver united their skills and staged Harlequin Sorcerer, the first English pantomime which also

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[88] Ravenscroft, *Scaramouch a Philosopher,* p. 66.
[89] William Mountfort's *The Life and Death of Doctor Faustus, With the Humours of Harlequin and Scaramouche*, and Peter Anthony Motteux's *The Novelty Every Act a Play: being a Short Pastoral, Comedy, Masque, Tragedy, and Farce, after the Italian Manner.*
[90] Maureen Hughes, *A History of Pantomime* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 2013), p. 15.

combined mime and the actions of Harlequin.[91] While these were not the first times the phrase 'pantomime' had been used in England, nor the first time that mime had been utilised in a range of performance styles and periods, it was the first time that Harlequin and the performance genre of Commedia dell'Arte was used in its construction.[92] As Marvin A. Carlson contends, the model for pantomime consisted of 'a combination of dance, music, and particularly, magic and spectacle [which] was grafted onto familiar stories of myth and legend, or even parodies of other stage works'.[93] The popularity of Harlequin and the later Harlequinades, which relied on his levels of buffoonery and physically spectacular scenes, gave birth to the English pantomime that we still recognise today.[94]

John Rich's Harlequin was a significant factor in the formation of spectacular pantomimes. As Rich embodied his own form of Harlequin, he was able to secure him as the main character for this style of performance.[95] This later became known as a harlequinade, which, as defined by the Oxford English Dictionary, was the 'part of the pantomime in which Harlequin and the clown play the principal parts'.[96] This, therefore, suggests that the pantomime of the seventeenth century was interpolated with moments of significant spectacle, drawing on the many ways in which Harlequin could delight the Restoration audience. Initially, the harlequinade of the Restoration relied solely on mime, meaning it was a visual form of spectacle and one that required extensive performer skills. For the harlequinade to be truly spectacular, Rich utilised his role as Harlequin to incorporate other spectacular traits into the pantomime. For example,

> Rich gave his Harlequin the power to create stage magic in league with offstage craftsmen who operated trick scenery. Armed with a magic sword or bat (actually a slapstick), Rich's Harlequin treated his weapon as a wand, striking the scenery to sustain the illusion of changing the setting from one locale to another. Objects, too, were transformed by Harlequin's magic bat.[97]

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[91] O'Brian, *Harlequin Britain*, pp. 108-109.
[92] OED. 1.A - Originally: (*Classical Hist.*) a theatrical performer popular in the Roman Empire who represented mythological stories through gestures and actions; = pantomimus *n.* Hence, more generally: an actor, esp. in comedy or burlesque, who expresses meaning by gesture or mime; a player in a dumbshow.
[93] Marvin A. Carlson, *Voltaire and the Theatre of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Greenwood Press, 1935), p. 33.
[94] Victoria and Albert Museum – 'Early Pantomime', *VAM* (London: 2015) < http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/e/early-pantomime/> [accessed 07 October 2015]
[95] Phillis T. Dircks, 'John Rich', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) < http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23486> [accessed 12 August 2015].
[96] OED. 1. Harlequinade.
[97] David Mayer, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Theatre and Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 196.

The inclusion of Harlequin's magic in the pantomime by Rich presented a range of spectacular opportunities, leading to the use of scenery and machinery, as well as Harlequin being positioned as the centre of attention in all his spectacular design.

New characters, including ones that still remain in contemporary pantomime performance, were developed in-line with the spectacle presented by Harlequin. As the image below captures (illustration 30), Harlequin himself changed very little in terms of visual design. His costume and physicality appear to have still been at the forefront of his spectacular purpose. Similarly, the characters represented alongside Harlequin have elaborate costumes, distinct physicality and expressive gestures to convey character.

Illustration 20: William West. Harlequin Mother Goose. 1811. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

The spectacle of the pantomime centred on the many qualities of Harlequin. Incorporating music, dance, and scenery into the performance additionally heightened the spectacle of Harlequin and the Restoration stage. Meaning that pantomime of the seventeenth century encapsulates the very pinnacle of Harlequin's magnificence.

# Fop, or Beau

Adaptations of the Commedia tradition provide a very clear example of ways in which characters could physically contribute to the spectacle of the Restoration theatre. We should not, however, assume that it was only in this 'pantomimic' tradition that the spectacular male character and their actors flourished. In those more mainstream and sophisticated plays, which we think of as being 'typical' Restoration comedies, we can see a further spectacular character and a turn towards the visual. The ubiquitous stereotyped character of the Fop (or Beau as he was sometimes called) provides another example of a spectacular combination of character and actor in Restoration performance. But whereas Harlequin and his genre of Commedia relied greatly on the near-acrobatic physical abilities of the performer, the Fop offered a different kind of visual impact. With a significant focus on sartorial design, the Fop was concerned with providing the most elaborate and eye-catching visual display possible. Encapsulating the ornamental design of the Fop, Jean de La Bruyère provides a vivid contemporary picture of the everyday figure on whom the theatrical stereotype was based:

> [t]he Fops and coxcombs are singular in their dress, their hats are broad, their Sleeves are larger, and their coats of clear another cut than those of other Men; they frequent all public places, that they may be taken notice of: whilst the man of sense leaves the fashion of his clothes to his tailor: It is as great a weakness to be out of fashion as to be in it they […] rather take up with the most extravagant ornaments, the most indifferent Drapery; nay, the fancy of the Painter, which is neither agreeable to the air of the face.[98]

The importance of sartorial design to the character of the Fop for Restoration playwright and actors suggests that the part was designed to be read as a statement of character, status and class.

Literary investigations of Restoration comedy have, until comparatively recently, tended to understate the importance of the visual elements of the performance of dramatic 'character', starting from (and sometimes ending with), the words on the page. However, an approach to the text that incorporates an understanding of theatre semiotics may prove more fruitful in identifying some of the more visually performative elements of the Fops' presentation. Referring again to the study of semiotics, which featured in the introduction, the

[98] Jean de La Bruyère, *The characters, or, The manners of the age by Monsieur de la Bruyere. Made English by several hands ; with the characters of Theophrastus, translated from the Greek, and a prefatory discourse to them, by Monsieur de la Bruyere ; to which is added, a key to his Characters.* (London: John Bullford, 1699), 532.

visual spectacle of the Fop can be further explored for its underlying meaning.[99] In their examination of theatrical semiotics, Elaine Aston and George Savona identify the numerous ways in which the visual semiotics in performance function to inform the spectator's understanding of the narrative, setting and meaning achieved through an intricate system of observable signs.[100] Aston and Savona also consider the role of the actor as both part of the function of the character and as a sign in themselves, distinguishing the actor as having a performance status of his own. Through a collaboration with their characters, actors become a significant part of the sign-system of the stage; they have both a wider function within a play as well as representing a particular set of characteristics or character, both of which could be easily recognised by the audience as purposeful. These could include discussions of class, gender positions, and ideology. They propose that

> [t]he project of differentiating between the 'character' (i.e. the constructed psychology) and the functions (structural, ideological, theatrical and so on) of character with drama must ultimately take account of the actor. Within the theatrical context, the actor serves as the agent whereby character is mediated to the spectator.[101]

When applying this thinking to the Restoration stage, it is a combination of the character presented and the actor playing them provides the spectacular appeal. This form of semiotic signing can be applied to performers and parts from the Restoration, and assist in our understanding of their role in spectacle. For example, to embody the role of the Fop the actor would have had to adorn himself with large amounts of costume, cosmetics and properties. Although this would have defined him as the character firstly, it would have been his performance skill as an actor that would have presented the rest of the spectacle, and being famous for doing so.[102]

Further work relating to the purpose and interpretation of actors and their roles has attempted to argue that the actor, and his many characters, possessed the ability to inform the audience with visual knowledge and meaning. In his influential book, *The Semiotics of Theatre and Drama*, Keir Elam traces the developments of semiotic thinking in relation to the

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[99] For more information on the foundation of semiotics in performance, please refer back to the introduction of this body of work.
[100] Elaine Aston and George Savona, *Theatre as Sign-System: A Semiotics of Text and Performance* (Oxon: Routledge, 1991)
[101] Aston and Savona, *Theatre as Sign-System*, p. 46.
[102] A good example of this is Colley Cibber who, before he had even arrived in London, was commended for his abilities as a performer and for his capabilities to stage an impressive Fop. Eric Salmon, 'Colley Cibber', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5416?docPos=1> [accessed 21 October 2015]

theatre and actors at length.[103] Recognised by Elam as a significant development in actor semiotics, Petr Bogatyrev's work identifies the actor as being considered as a semiotic signifier in itself. With his work dividing a stage performance into elements which each had their own signifying power, he notes that 'the stage radically transforms all objects and bodies defined within it, bestowing upon them an overriding signifying power which they lack – or which is at least less evident – in their normal social function', demonstrating the early thought of the actor as a contributing part of the workings and active sign-system of the stage.[104] Once more, this thinking can be applied to the role of the Fop. Through the character's individual traits and the actor's skill, the Fop presents a politically charged view of the stage while also giving his costume and cosmetics an additional purpose. Furthermore, the work of Honzl and Karel Brusak, who both place significant emphasis on the role of the actor to become a sign within a theatrical context, establishes that the actor's role is designed for more than delivering spoken text. Of Honzl's work, Elam records 'if what matters is that something real is able to assume this function, the actor is not necessarily a man; it can be a puppet, or a machine (for example mechanical theatres of Lissitzky, of Schlemmer, or Kiesler), or even an object'.[105] Consideration of Honzl's work is of particular relevance to the Restoration stage, where the actor not only interacted with machinery and puppetry but additionally imitated such things in order to form a spectacle of himself. Moreover, the work of Brusak positions the actor in a similar way, suggesting that they must replace whatever is missing. For Restoration theatre this can be concluded as spectacular impact when no mechanical or scenic spectacle is present, and are therefore replaced with overly ostentatious characters, which flaunted elaborate personal design, such as the Fop.[106]

In his play, *Loves Last Shift* (1696), Colley Cibber introduces Sir Novelty Fashion in the dramatis personae as: '[a] coxcomb that loves to be the first in all foppery'.[107] The extravagant nature of this character is drawn upon throughout the play and he is later informed, 'Sir, you are an ornament to your clothes', positioning this Fop, and its performer

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[103] Keir Elam, *The Semiotics of Theatre and Drama* (New York and London: 2003)
[104] This work develops from the original workings of Mukarovsky's and Saussure as detailed by Keir Elam, pp. 4-5.
[105] Elam, *The Semiotics,* p. 13.
[106] See Elam, p. 13. "A great proportion of the actor's routine is devoted to producing signs whose chief function is to stand for components of the scene. An actor's routine must convey all those actions for which the scene provides no appropriate material setup. Using the applicable sequence of conventional moves, the actor performs the surmounting of imaginary obstacles, climbing imaginary stairs, crossing a high threshold, opening a door. The motion signs performed inform the onlooker of the nature of these imaginary objects, tell whether the non-existent door is a main or ordinary double door, single door, and so forth." *The Semiotics of Theatre and Drama*, p. 68.
[107] Colley Cibber, *Love's Last Shift, or, the Fool in Fashion* (London: T. Johnson, 1711), p. 10

as a visually spectacular adornment of the stage.[108] The theatrical Fop invaded Restoration narratives of comedy with their visual extravagance and satirical reflection of the audience – delighting them with their significant contrast from the remainder of the play. As a reflection of the gallery, the Fop was designed to embody the aristocratic circles through their costly and beautiful clothing, coupled with their outlandish and extravagant tastes and behaviours. The reflection of the Fop in theatrical terms sought to mirror and exaggerate the men of society whose interests lay in dressing to impress.

In his *The English Theophrastus* Abel Boyer describes the social fop, or beau as

> a creature who under the appearance of a man, has all the folly, vanity, and levity of a woman; he has more learning in his heels that his head, which is better covered than filled; nay, he known not what a man's head is good for, but to hang has hat or perriwig on; and if it were put to his choice, he would as soon lose that, as any other part about him: He thinks the chief end of man is to dress well, and that Death it self us not so ghastly as a dishabillé; His valet, his tailor, his barber; and his seamstress, are his cabinet council to whom he is more beholden for what he is, than to his maker. Sir John Foppington, to give our Beau his title, is one that has travelled to see fashions, and brought over with him the nicest cut suit, the prettiest fancied ribbons for sword-knots.[109]

For Boyer, then, one of the most significant features of a Fop was his interest in sartorial design. While there has been extensive research conducted into the connection between sartorial pleasure and the stage fop, including important work by J. L. Styan, Philip Carter, Kristina Straub, E. K. Atwood, Michèle Cohen and Amanda Bailey, to name but a few, the sartorial design as the Fop's spectacle, akin to the spectacularity of painted scenes and elaborate stage settings, however, is yet to be fully developed.[110] As Richard Flecknoe concluded of the Restoration stage, 'ours now for costume and ornament are arrived to the heights of magnificence', suggesting that by the Restoration period, costume had become something to be admired and appreciated as much as the larger scale spectacles, such as

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[108] Cibber, *Love's Last Shift,* p. 33.

[109] Abel Boyer, *The English Theophrastus: Or, the Manners of the Age. Being the Modern Characters of the Court, the Town and the City* (London: W. Turner, 1702), pp. 51-2.

[110] See J. L. Styan, *The English Stage: A History of Drama and Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), Kristina Straub, *Sexual Suspects: Eighteenth-Century Players and Sexual Ideology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), Michèle Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 1996), Amanda Bailey, '"Monstrous Manner": Style and the Early Modern Theatre', *Criticism*, 43:3, 249-84, Amanda Bailey, *Flaunting Style and the Subversive Male Body in Renaissance England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), E.K. Atwood, 'Fashionably Late: Queer Temporality and the Restoration Fop', *Comparative Drama*, 47:1, 85-111 and Philip Carter, 'Men about Town: Representations of Foppery and Masculinity', in *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Hannah Chalus and Elaine Barker (London: Longman, 1997), pp. 31–57

scenery and machinery.[111] Once converted to the stage, the Fop's interest in clothing and fashion became one of their most spectacular contributions to stage comedies, leading to conversations about the extravagance of their dress, and scenes combining the vanity of the fop with dressing scenes designed to both entertain the Restoration audience and draw their attention to a visual design. The most magnificent example of sartorial design as a form of visual entertainment is the Fop, particularly, Cibber's Fop. As Cibber himself embodied the role of Sir Novelty, bringing to the role his own personal interests in foppery, his play exemplifies the visual delight associated with the design of the Fop through its ability to draw the audience's attention to the intended spectacle of costume and clothing.[112] For example, Hillaria commands the attention of the characters in the play and the audience at once, stating 'Oh! *Mr Worthy*, we are admiring Sir *Novelty,* and his new suit, did you ever see so sweet a fancy?' making Sir Novelty and his clothing the centre of attention and the object of spectacle.[113]

In order to properly highlight and accentuate the spectacle generated by such sartorial design, playwrights often included scenes where the individual details of the Fop's appearance were drawn attention to. For example, George Etherege's *The Man of Mode* (1676) presents one of the most celebrated fops in all current criticism, Sir Fopling Flutter, described by John Richetti as '[an] overdressed aristocrat, a foolish and self-absorbed dandy or fop'.[114] Flutter's interest in fashion and dressing in-line with fashion provides a valuable scene where the importance of the spectacle of clothing and visual display is best exemplified. In this scene, the characters of Dorimant and Medley comment on the sartorial display of Flutter. The scene reads,

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[111] Richard Flecknoe, *Love's Kingdom a Pastoral Trage-comedy: Not as it Was Acted at the Theatre Near Lincolns-Inn, but as it was Written, and Since Corrected; with a Short Treatise of the English Stage* (London: R. Wood, 1664), p. 93.
[112] Eric Salmon, 'Colley Cibber', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) < http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5416> [accessed 9 October 2015]
[113] Cibber, *Love's Last Shift,* p. 34.
[114] George Etherege, *The Man of Mode, or Sir Fopling Flutter*, ed. by. John Bernard (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), p. 6.

***L. Town.*** He's very fine.
***Emil.*** Extreme proper!
**Sir *Fop.*** A slight suit I made to appear in at my first arrival - not worthy your consideration, Ladies.
***Dor.*** The pantaloon is very well mounted.
**Sir *Fop.*** The tassels are new and pretty.
***Med.*** I never saw a coat better cut.
**Sir *Fop.*** It makes me show long-wasted, and, I think, slender.
***Dor.*** That's the shape our ladies dote on.
***Med.*** Your breech, though, is a handful too high, in my eye, Sir *Fopling*.
**Sir *Fop.*** Peace, *Medley*, I have wished it lower a thousand times, but a Pox on it, it will not be.
***L. Town.*** His Gloves are well fringed, large and graceful.
**Sir *Fop.*** I was always eminent for being bien ganté.
***Emil.*** He wears nothing but what are originals of the most famous hands in *Paris*.
**Sir *Fop.*** You are in the right, Madam.
***L. Town.*** The Suit?
**Sir *Fop.*** Barroy.
***Emilia.*** The garniture?
**Sir *Fop.*** Le Gras—
***Med.*** The shoes!
**Sir *Fop.*** Piccar
***Dor.*** The periwig?
**Sir *Fop.*** Chedreux.
***Town.* and *Emilia.*** The gloves?
**Sir *Fop.*** Orangerie - You know the smell, ladies! - *Dorimant*, I could find in my heart for an amusement to have a gallantry with some of our English ladies.

The detailing of Flutter's individual items of clothing exaggerates its importance as a visual pleasure.[113] The level of detail provided by Etherege ensures that all spectacular adornments of his clothing were identified and appreciated. Etherege's text provides one of the few examples where the conversation allows for a reader to appreciate the spectacle of his outfit, and understand what it might have looked like on the stage.

In a similar reference to the costuming of a fop Aphra Behn includes the following lines in her prologue:

> [a]t last by happy Chance is hither led
> To purchase clap with lots of maidenhead;
> Turns wondrous gay, bedizen'd to excess,
> Till he is all burlesque in mode and dress.[114]

In *Love's Last Shift*, Cibber focuses on Sir Novelty's vanity and through Hillaria draws attention to his physical appearance, including his clothing and visage:

> Sir Nov: Pray madam, how do I look today? What cursedly? I'll warrant; with a more hellish complexion than a stale actress in a morning – I don't know, madam; - but the devil take me, in my mind, I am a very ugly fellow.

[114] Aphra Behn, *The Amorous Jilt, or, The Younger Brother* (London: J. Harris, 1696)

> Nar: Oh! Sir Novelty, this is unanswerable; 'tis hard to know the brightest part of the diamond. […] But you Sir Novelty, are a very true original, the very Pink of Fashion: I'll warrant you there's not a milliner in town but has got an estate on you […]
>
> Hill: Oh! Mr Worthy, we are admiring Sir Novelty, and his new suit, did you ever see so sweet a fancy? He is as full of variety as a good play.
>
> E.Wor: He's a very pleasant comedy indeed, madam, and dressed with a great deal of good satyr, and no doubt may oblige both the stage and the town, especially the ladies.[115]

Cibber and Etherege's plays position the character of the fop, and the actor who played it, as part of the constructed spectacle. In Etherege's play the actor playing Flutter is established as a frame upon which adornments of clothing, the foppish character and his subsequent spectacle were applied. This connection to Sir Novelty is furthered in the line 'you take such extravagant care in the clothing your body'.[116] Elsewhere the centrality of visual display in the depiction of this stereotype is further emphasised in scenes where the body of Fop is dressed or undressed with the elaborate spectacle of foppery. Scenes of dressing move the fop from something rather unremarkable to something that could be read as capturing the audience's attention by presenting a new visual persona, as well as highlighting the actor's role in generating this character.

John Vanbrugh's *The Relapse* (1697) contains such a spectacular scene. Entering in his nightgown Lord Foppington adopts his spectacular attire, becoming a visual delight. La Verole states, '[m]e Lord, de shoemaker, de tailor, de hosier, de seamstress, be all ready, if your Lordship please to be dress' before the tailor remarks 'I have brought your Lordship as accomplished a suit of clothes, as ever peer of England trod the stage in'.[117] Through the application of visually delightful adornments and costume, the Fop is positioned as a subject to which visual spectacle can be applied and appreciated. This is further reflected in Lord Foppington's appreciation of his own dressed appearance, as he says 'Ay, but let my people dispose of the glasses so, that I may see myself before and behind, for I love to see myself all round'.[631118] The desire for Lord Foppington to admire himself can be read as a reflection of the spectators' and the actor's desires also.[119] Furthermore, while not being Sir Foppington

[115] Cibber, *Love's Last Shift,* p. 32.
[116] Cibber, *Love's Last Shift,* p. 50.
[117] John Vanbrugh, *The Relapse*, *or, Virtue in Danger* (London: Samuel Briscoe, 1697), p. 10.
[118] Vanbrugh, *The Relapse,* p. 10.
[119] A comparison of adopting a character to become a moment of spectacle can also be formed with the dressing of Malvolio scene in Twelfth Night where he dresses as a fop in yellow stockings, something which survived from the stages of Renaissance through to the adaptations of the Restoration by Davenant.

himself that dresses, a dressing scene in *The Man of Mode* (1676) by Dorimant confirms the importance of sartorial design both in presentation of certain characteristics and spectacle.

What we see here is that the importance of sartorial spectacle transcends the fop, and becomes something that can provide a spectacular element for any character in the theatre. As Emma Katherine Atwood has identified 'In his comprehensive study of masculinity, Thomas King notes how difficult it is to distinguish Dorimant from Fopling, especially while Dorimant dresses, suggesting that sartorial spectacle was so effective as a form of adornment that once it was utilised the characters became less distinguishable.[120] This kind of scene gives time to the spectacle of dressing, and the opportunity for the audience to enjoy the action playing out in front of them. Most importantly though, it allows the characters to make ornaments of themselves to be viewed and admired.[121] The time dedicated to this act becomes a spectacle within itself, making the visual detail of sartorial design the main action for the scene, drawing the audiences' attention. Atwood contends,

> Foppington deliberately takes and inordinate amount of time to dress. Here an important distinction emerges: though he, like Dorimant, *dresses*, which fulfills a useful social obligation, Foppington's primary interest lies in *Fashion*, ornamentation that resists utility, celebrates pleasure, and relishes being seen.[122]

The attention drawn to dressing and clothing in these plays was also reflected in social circles. Clothing and hair was a significant feature of Restoration life, dividing the classes and reflecting the glamour of the court. Additionally, they were incorporated into theatrical performance as a means of providing inexpensive but effective spectacle. As J. L. Styan reminds us

> [i]n comedy, stage costume was always 'modern dress', since the actor had to compete in appearance with the beaux in the audience, often wearing the patron's discarded clothes. His ability to wear his wardrobe well frequently became a source of humour in the lines, and was at the heart of the fop as a character. The principle item was a highly embroidered coat reaching to his knees, with noticeably wide cuffs and pockets love about his legs. Lace and ribbon trimmed his shirt and his shoes displayed a pair of high red heels. He wore or carried a plumed hat at all times, and his hair was as long as he could grow it – by the end of the century it was necessary to wear a full-bottomed wig that tumbled over the shoulders to provide the masses of curls deemed necessary. By that time cheeks of lacquered rouge punctuated with beauty

[120] Emma Katherine Atwood, 'Fashionably Late: Queer Temporality and the Restoration Fop', *Comparative Drama,* 47:1 (Spring 2013), 85-111 (p. 93).
[121] This is similar to the discussion surrounding women in breeches roles, and to some degree, the sense of watching and generating visual pleasure from it can also be applied.
[122] Emma Katherine Atwood, 'Fashionably Late', p. 97.

> spots were also the fashion for men as well as women. The vanity of the fop draws further attention to the spectacle of sartorial presentation combined with the fops lacking wit.[124]

The importance of costume, hair, and cosmetics reach their climax in the presentation of the Fop. These additions worked with the actor's own appeal to provide a spectacular representation of character and persona, generating a delight of utmost significance. Clothing and costume spoke to the audience of status, class and character type, demonstrating their place within the narrative or signalling recognisable character types. Furthermore, costume was used to give identity to the characters and the actors and actresses playing them.

Isabel Chisman suggests that

> [i]n the minds of an audience, and actor and his clothes should be indivisible – the character revealed in the costume, the costume the epitome of the man. The hall-mark of a great actor is his ability to make inanimate objects – clothes, properties, even hangings – speak for him.[125]

For the Fop, then, the costume spoke of vanity, self-interest, and elaborate visual presentation.[126] Laura Rosenthal furthers this suggestion by concluding that

> [i]ntricately costumes and coiffed female (and male) bodies attracted the admiring gaze of spectators. Comic types, such as fops and the fine lady, revealed their foibles through their costumes, and tragic kings and queens often appeared in aristocratic cast-offs.[127]

Finding ways to draw the 'admiring gaze' of the audience through the use of costume was as important to the male actors as it was the female actresses, as it secured their place as part of the spectacle of the stage. Demonstrating their place within the narrative, or signaling recognisable character types, costume was used to give further identity to the characters and the actors and actresses playing them. Drawing attention to the clothing of characters, playwrights ensured the audience were aware of the spectacle designed for them. An example of this can be read in the prologue to *The Mistake* (1706), which reads

> [w]ith audiences composed of belles and beaux,
> The first dramatic rule is, Have good clothes…
> To charm the gay spectator's gentle breast,
> In lace and feather tragedy's expressed,

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[124] J. L. Styan, *The English Stage: A History of Drama and Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 244.
[125] Isabel Chisman, *Manners and Movements in Costume Plays* (London: Forgotten Books, 2013), p. 6. RP
[126] See Cynthia Lowenthal, *Performing Idenities on the Restoration Stage* (Illinois: Southern Illinois Press, 2003), p. 21.
[127] Laura Rosenthal, 'Entertaining Women: The Actress in Eighteenth-Century Theatre and Culture', in *The Cambridge Companion to British Theatre 1730-1830*, ed. by Jane Moody and Daniel O'Quinn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 159-174 (p. 160.)

And heroes die unpitied, if ill dressed.[128]

The connection between costume and character in this prologue is an important one, as it demonstrates the power costume had to display character, confirming that much of the spectacle of some characters was determined by how elaborate, fitting and visually pleasing their sartorial design was.

Much like cosmetics, hair carried a social significance. Its portrayal on the Restoration stage was accompanied by a spectacular appeal, due to its visual impressiveness and ability to represent character(istics). This is present in *Love in the Dark* (1671), where Bellinganna, played by Mrs. Bowtel, exclaims

> I think 'tis my Husband himself! How these fashionable clothes, and white perriwigs, (the great levelers of faces) alter men! But I'll take no notice of him.[129]

Moreover, in *Loves Last Shift,* Cibber proposed that seeing the character without his periwig dressed with white powder meant that some of his visual appeal was also lost. This can be seen as Sir Novelty exclaims, '[s]top my vitals, I am very sorry for it; prithee name but one, that has a favourable thought of me, and to convince you that I have no design upon her, I'll instantly visit her in an un-powdered periwig'.[130] Sir Novelty's offer to visit any woman other than Hillaria without his wig looking its best suggests that he would not be appealing were it not perfect, contending that the wig does as much for his visual appearance as his costume. Furthermore, as Aileen Ribeiro notes, 'wigs were status symbols precisely because they were expensive, difficult to wear with ease, and require correct manners and deportation', allowing the Fop to promote his status as well as draw delight from his appearance.[131]

Likewise, cosmetics were utilised throughout the period by men, especially town Fops and young boy actors, to accentuate their beauty and visual appeal. This did not start with the Restoration: the connection between cosmetics and the early modern stage has been examined at length by leading scholars such as Edith Snook, Annette Drew-Bear, Farah Karim-Cooper, and Patrician Phillippy.[132] Through tracing a history of their usage, these

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[128] John Vanbrugh, *The Mistake* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1706), p. A3.
[129] Sir Francis Fane, *Love in the Dark, or, The Man of Business* (London: Henry Herringman, 1671), p. 57.
[130] Cibber, *Love's Last Shift*, p. 34.
[131] Aileen Ribeiro, *Fashion and Fiction: Dress in Art and Literature in Stuart England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 239.
[132] Edith Snook, *Women, Beauty and Power in Early Modern England: A Feminist Literary History* (Hampshire: Palgrave McMillan, 2011); Patricia Phillippy, *Painting Women: Cosmetics, Canvases & Early Modern Culture* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006); Annette Drew-Bear, *Painted Faces on the Renaissance Stage: the Moral Significance of Face-Painting Conventions* (London and Toronto: Associated University

scholars have concluded that within Renaissance theatre, cosmetics were a significant part of performance, suggesting that 'there is extensive evidence of the use of make-up by Elizabethan public players' and 'that […] extensive evidence exists that both boy and adult players used make up in Renaissance drama'.[133] Similarly, Phillippy's work on cosmetics presents their role as partly for the formation of spectacle and subjectivity.[134] 'Stage make-up' that was used in a purely practical way, to ameliorate the effects of stage lighting, and 'cosmetics' ('painting') of the kind that early modern satirists tended to vilify as indicative of vanity are sometime indistinguishable in the Restoration period. The complex meaning of make-up and cosmetics as part of theatrical spectacle in the Renaissance period is most thoroughly presented in Karim-Coopers analysis of cosmetics in Shakespearean and Renaissance performance. She suggests that cosmetics were part of the culture of performance, and with that culture came additional meanings.[135] Overall, this research has concluded that opinions of cosmetic and beautifying varied throughout the period.

Edith Snook has set forth the idea that with historical resources at hand

> [s]cholars have detailed how women who painted were derided for being vein, deceptive, seductive and akin to prostitutes […] anxieties about paint were alighted with more general apprehensions about female power.[136]

The vanity connected to cosmetics, as noted by Snook, is clearly reflected in the male character of Sir Novelty, and the Fop, in Restoration theatre. Moreover, in his interactions with other characters he demonstrates his eagerness to promote his visual display, in the hope of appreciation. The seductiveness of the Fops appearance is encapsulated in his desire to be as elaborate as possible, using cosmetics to heighten and accentuate the visuality of his face and drawing attention to it. However, this use of cosmetics by the Fop was not always seen as a positive. In *Tunbridge Walks, or The Yeoman of Kent* (1703) cosmetics and the Fop are discussed in a negative manner. It says.

> [o] lord, complexion! Who the Devil minds that? And hast thou the assurance to despise men and wit, and values they self upon thy white gloves, they honey-water bottle and thy painted face?[137]

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Presses, 1994); and Farah Karim-Cooper, *Cosmetics in Shakespearean and Renaissance Drama* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006)

[133] Annette Drew-Bear, *Painted Faces on the Renaissance Stage: The Moral Significance of Face-Painting Conventions* (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1994), p.14

[134] Patricia Phillippy, *Painting Women: Cosmetics, Canvases & Early Modern Culture* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006)

[135] Farah Karim-Cooper, *Cosmetics in Shakespearean and Renaissance Drama* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006)

[136] Edith Snook, *Women, Beauty and Power in Early Modern England: A Feminist Literary History* (Hampshire: Palgrave McMillan, 2011), p. 21.

Baker's account suggests a significant shift in the understanding of cosmetics in male presentation, therefore. As this body of research contends, cosmetics had played a significant role in Renaissance theatres, turning young boys in to young ladies, and so a tradition for male cosmetic use was already established before the Restoration. However, the account from Baker contends that by the Restoration cosmetics had taken a new form, moving from the representation of women, to the beautifying of men for vanity reasons, leading to a negative connection and something which feeds into our understanding of the Fops' vanity and desire for visual spectacle.

Mary Pix provides a further account of cosmetics and men in the period. In *The Beau Defeated* (1700), Pix contends that cosmetic painting has two sides as both a positive thing, connecting it with painted cherubs, and demonstrating the degree of perfection achievable with cosmetics, and a negative, connecting it with a Fop and his effeminacy. Her representation of a Fop is, according to Mr Rich, focused on '[p]atching, painting, powdering like awWoman'.[138] While this comment can be read as both insulting and commendable, it is important to note that the Fop is confined to actions of patching, painting and powder, all of which were designed to promote a spectacular visual appearance. The degree to which men were painted to be part of the visual spectacle of the stage is difficult to determine, but allusions to cosmetics and facial adornments used by men, such as that of Pix above, do appear in some plays. The most significant example of actors using cosmetics to improve their visual appeal to become part of the spectacle of the stage can be seen in accounts of Thomas Doggett's acting. Of Doggett it is recorded

> [h]e could with great exactness, paint his face to resemble any age, from manhood to extreme senility, which led Sir Godfrey Kneller to say that Dogget excelled him in his own are; for he could only copy nature from the original before him, while the actor could vary them at pleasure and yet always preserve a true resemblance.[139]

Additionally, Farim Karim-Cooper suggests that men 'wore cosmetics during dramatic performances in the late sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth centuries' to represent ghosts if nothing else.[140] Talking more generally about society in general J. L. Styan concludes that '[b]y that time [Restoration] cheeks of lacquered rouge punctuated with beauty

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[137] Thomas Baker, *Tunbridge Walks, or, The Yeomen of Kent* (London: Bernard Linton, 1703)
[138] Mary Pix, *The Beau Defeated, or, The Lucky Younger Brother* (London: W. Turner, 1700)
[139] *Once a Week, Volume 13*, ed. by Eneas Sweetland Dallas; and William S. Walsh, *Curiosities of Popular Customs and of Rites, Ceremonies, Observances, and Miscellaneous Antiquities* (London: Gale Research Company, 1966), p. 340
[140] Karim-Cooper, *Cosmetics in Shakespearean and Renaissance Performance,* p. 176.

spots were also the fashion for men as well as women'.[141] Making the use of cosmetics as popular for men as women.

Distinguishable props also accompanied the Fop's costume, designed to further promote their fashionable spectacle. The most common of these is the looking-glass or mirror. The looking-glass was closely connected with the sartorial and cosmetic spectacle attached to the Fop. In his *A Defence of Dramatic Poetry*, Edward Filmer supports the suggestion that the looking glass carried significant importance, especially for the theatrical Fop, saying

> [b]ut of all fools the fop is the blindest; his faults are his perfections, whilst he looks upon himself as the compleatest of courtiers and gentlemen; and by that means perhaps, though never to be cured of the fondness he has for his own tawdry picture; however, in all places in the world he will never play the *Narcissus* at the *theatres,* nor fall much in love with his own painted face, in a Sir *Courtly*'s or a Lord *Foppington*'s *looking glass.* This I will positively say, he that does not bring the fop to the playhouse, shall never carry it from thence. And in all the stage *fop-pictures,* the playhouse bids so fair for mending that fool too, that if the good will fails, the fault's not in the mirror, the hand that holds it, or the light it is sets at, but the perverse and depraved optics that cannot see themselves there.[142]

The opportunity presented to the fop to view themselves additionally invites the audience to view them as an ornament or object of delight. The mirror therefore seems to be an obvious choice of prop for the Fop, to both admire his own appearance and draw others to admire it also.

## Visuality

The recorded visuality of the Fop does much to reinforce the spectacle of his design. The image of Colley Cibber as Lord Foppington below showcases his elaborate and intricately designed costume. With the multiple layers, Lord Foppington's costume demonstrates the visual spectacle of class and status (illustration 31).

[141] J.L.Styan, *The English Stage*, p. 244.
[142] Edward Filmer, *A Defence of Dramatick Poetry being a Review of Mr. Collier's View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the Stage* (London: Eliz Whitlock, 1698), p. 82.

Illustration 21: Colley Cibber as Lord Foppington. Cited in Encyclopedia Britannica.com, 2015.

The fabric used in the costume appears to be expensive and luxurious, meaning the spectacle is connected to both the character's role and the visual design of the stage. Furthermore, the wig worn by Cibber in this print is well maintained, and contains a significant amount of hair, which, when coupled with his handkerchief, snuff box and feathered hat, the image of Lord Foppington captures the ornamental design and spectacle of performance connected with the Fop. The stance of Cibber also supports the claim that the Fop embodied a continual visual spectacle.

A similar degree of spectacle can also be admired in a later image of Lord Foppington from 1824. In the image on the following page (illustration 32), Lord Foppinton is presented in an elaborately decorated costume, which shows ruffles, piping and a stiff collar. Much like the image of Cibber, Mr. Brown is captured in character with a neatly styled wig, snuff box prop and jewellery, the spectacle of class and a visually ornamental presentation of character is offered. Additionally, the facial beauty of the Fop in this image suggests that he is exceedingly concerned with his attractiveness and visual appeal.

Illustration 32: Mr Brown as Lord Foppington. Cited in, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, *The Dramatic Work of Richard Brinsley Sheridan,* ed. by Joseph Knight and Henry Frowde (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1906)

Furthermore, the background can be read as part of the overall image of the Fop. The Fop as a visual delight relies on both his surroundings and his own image, both of which are concerned with a construction of visual spectacle, rather than a natural one.

The range of male characters presented on the Restoration stage continually reshaped the spectacle of the actor in this period. The creation of each character relied on a range of skills and spectacular qualities, which enabled them to be both identifiable and a successful form of entertainment in themselves. There are a wide range of characters and actors that could be examined for their spectacular contribution to the stage. Through their interactions with an ever-developing stage and the demands placed upon them by an ever more mechanical and new form of performance, the characters of the Restoration adapted to find more ways to become a significant contributor to spectacle. This chapter has focused on

extreme versions of physical and visual spectacle, however, it is important to note that spectacle in actor performance also followed a more intricate integration of spectacular design, as well as other forms of spectacle, including singing, dancing, spoken word and puppetry, to name but a few.

# Chapter Nine

# Magnificent Spectacle: Aphra Behn's *The Emperor of the Moon* (1687)

This thesis intended to demonstrate that creating a spectacular performance in Restoration playhouse relied on more than just machines and scenery. In order to show this, I have identified a series of other theatrical elements, such as the skills of actors and actresses, and the use of automata, costume and singing and dancing, which should be seen as part of the performative spectacle of the period. By drawing on examples from plays performed between 1660 and 1714, it has been possible to demonstrate how these elements added a level of spectacle to the performance. However, it is also important to show how these elements worked together, creating a multi-layered spectacle for the audience. In order to demonstrate this I will be exploring each of the elements I have so far identified in Aphra Behn's *The Emperor of the Moon*, a play which, until now, has been more readily examined for its literary qualities than for its intricate spectacular content.[632]

Behn's play has been chosen for this investigation for number of factors. Firstly, Aphra Behn, thought to have been the first professional female playwright in English theatre, and one of the more prolific writers of the Restoration period, has generally been interpreted as writing in a style that relied more heavily on literary potential, than on spectacle.[633] However, *The Emperor of the Moon* resists this generalisation, suggesting that there was something specific or unusual about the writing and purpose of staging this play, and as such, illuminates our understanding of how spectacle could be manipulated to fit within an author's style of work. Additionally, it appears that the stage scenery and machinery used in this play might have originated from John Dryden's *Albion and Albanius* (1687), one of the plays identified by Milhous as being a spectacular. Scholars have proposed that the costs associated

[632] As Al Coppola concludes, in his major works on Behn, Derek Hughes dedicated fewer than three pages to *The Emperor of the Moon* and additionally stated that 'The play must not be over-interpreted', something which Coppola himself suggests is not possible while exploring the connection between the play and the spectacles of science presented within it. Al Coppola, 'Retraining the Virtuoso's Gaze: Aphra Behn's *The Emperor of the Moon,* The Royal Society, and the Spectacles of Science and Politics', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 41:4 (2008), 481-506 (p.481).

[633] See ODNB for her biography and account of her success. Janet Todd, 'Aphra Behn', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1961?docPos=1> [accessed 21 October 2015].

with *Albion and Albanius*, created by the large scenic displays and mechanical feats of spectacle, were not recoverable, and that Behn was approached to write a play which utilised some of this scenery and machinery.[634] Secondly, *The Emperor of the Moon* breaks the traditional conventions of Restoration spectaculars – set forward by Milhous, Hume and others,– due to its intermittent but still awe-inspiring demonstrations of spectacle. And finally, the play appeared in several performance spaces, including the Dorset Garden, the Theatre-Royal, and Lincoln's Inn Fields, demonstrating its adaptability, as well as the spectacular capabilities of all of these theatres.[635]

This chapter argues that Behn's *The Emperor of the Moon* would have been just as spectacular for a Restoration audience as any of Milhous's 'Dorset Garden Spectaculars', but this would be have been because of the alternative forms of spectacle employed by Behn, as much as the conventional ones. It also demonstrates that spectacular shows were staged in theatres other than Drury Lane. Although that theatre should still be thought of as the period's crowning glory for its mechanical capabilities, other performance spaces still rivalled it in terms of overall performance. This chapter will, therefore, utilise the re-framed and wider understanding of spectacle which this thesis has proposed, in order to explore *The Emperor and the Moon*'s spectacular qualities. Moreover, the chapter will begin to explore Behn's use of spectacle to appease the Restoration audience by exploring the journey Behn takes from a serious, political statement about personal issues at the beginning of the play, through to a ridiculous, absurd and crowd-pleasing spectacular finale, which utilised various forms of alternative and conventional spectacle in order to make it enchanting.

Behn's *The Emperor of the Moon* was first performed in 1687 by the United Company, which was established in 1682. Initially performed at the Dorset Garden, following the large-scale productions of *The Tempest* (1673/4), *Psyche* (1675) *Circe* (1677) and *Albion and Albanius* (1685)*, The Emperor of the Moon* has been given little attention in relation to its use of similar entertainments, demonstrated in its final scene. In her chapter on spectaculars, Milhous concludes that *The Emperor of the Moon* is an 'ordinary play', demonstrating no particularly spectacular traits. Similarly, Vanessa Coloura, in her thesis on

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[634] See Judith Milhous, 'The Multimedia Spectacular on the Restoration Stage', in *British Theatre and the Other Arts, 1660-1800*, ed. by Shirley Strum Kenny (London: Associated University Presses, 1984), pp. 41-62

[635] For a record of the performance at Drury Lane, see the dramatis personae in Jane Spencer's edition, where she also argues that the play was revived a number of times at the Lincoln's Inn Fields. Aphra Behn, *The Rover and Other Plays*, ed. by Jane Spencer (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. xxi. For all subsequent references to the play the page number of this edition will be shown in parenthesis in the body of the text. The title pages for the 1687 and 1688 editions record The Queen's Theatre as the venue for performance, whereas the title page for the 1757 edition record the Theatre-Royal as the venue.

the spectacles of kingship in Behn's work, contends that '[w]ithin this definition of theatrical spectacle, even Behn's most visually lavish play, *The Emperor of the Moon*, does not match the level of technical stage effects of the Dorset Garden Spectaculars'.[636] Coloura approaches *The Emperor of the Moon* through Milhous's definition, and her conclusion is based on an argument that Behn furthers the meaning of spectacle to the characters themselves. Coloura's analysis is in some ways convincing, but in accepting Milhous's categorisations she excludes further forms of spectacle present in the play, which work alongside and contribute to the spectacle of the characters. The dismissing of the wider forms of spectacle present in Behn's play by Milhous and Coloura, concludes that the play may only be seen as spectacular by virtue of its performance space, its re-use of scenery and machinery created for the overtly spectacular *Albion and Albanius*, and the downfall of the characters. This however is not the case.[637]

*Albion and Albanius* contained such large amounts of extravagant scenery – and even pyrotechnics – that it made a financial loss and so, according to Coloura, 'ticket prices had to be raised for admission in order for the United Company to recoup its costs'.[638] As the machinery used in *Albion and Albanius* was retained by the company, it would have been possible for Behn to write a play of her own that could have utilised both the machinery and an elaborate set to create spectacle in every scene. That is not, however, what she chose to do: rather, I argue she made a conscious decision to limit her overtly spectacular and obviously visual elements of spectacle to the end of the play, while additionally developing a sophisticated range of alternative spectacular effects, which were delicately and meaningfully intertwined and interpolated throughout, in order to demonstrate her own writing ability and success. As this thesis has sought to demonstrate that spectacle in Restoration theatre cannot, and should not, be confined to just the building and extensive use of machinery, this chapter will focus on Behn's use of alternative forms of spectacle, and demonstrate that the practice of generating spectacle for a Restoration playwright was more skilful and intricate than has previously been assumed.

Behn's theatrical output occasionally relied not only on borrowed scenery, but borrowed narrative also. *The Emperor of the Moon* (1687) draws on Nolant de Fatouville's

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[636] Vanessa Shana Coloura, 'Spectacle of Kingship in Aphra Behn's Dramas, 1677-1689' (unpub. PhD thesis, University of California, Santa Barbera, 2007), p. 19.
[637] Dryden's *Albion and* Albanius was performed in June and July and again in March 1687. Much of the machinery featured in *Albion and Albanius* is later used in *The Emperor of Moon.* It is generally thought that that machinery and staging in the Restoration were reused for a number of plays due to the cost.
[638] Coloura, 'Spectacle of Kingship', p. 18

*Arlequin Empereur dans la Lune,* performed in France in 1684.[639] Containing much of the same plot, Behn varied her adaptation by changing character names and place settings; however, the most obvious variation between the two is the inclusion of on-stage machinery and elaborate stage settings, re-making the French play to make it appeal to the spectacle-loving British audience and demonstrating Behn's ability to work with adapted play texts. Behn's Dedicatory Epistle claims that took a

> very barren and thin hint of the plot […] from the Italian, and which, even as it was, was acted in France eighty-odd times without intermission. 'Tis now much altered, and adapted to our English theatre and genius, who cannot find an entertainment so cheap a rate as the French will, who are content with almost any incoherencies, howsoever shuffled together under the name of farce; which I have endeavoured as much as the thing would bear, to bring within the compass of possibility and nature, that I might as little impose upon the audience as I could; all the words are wholly new, without one from the original.[640]

The most altered of her scenes is the final one, which, in her adaptation, is also undoubtedly the most overtly spectacular: using flying machines, two elaborate chariots, and intricate staging. Together, these elements meet Milhous's Dorset Garden Spectacle description, and there is no doubt that the addition of these machines was a fundamental part of Behn's play and her hope to make it financially successful. It is often claimed that the play is lacking other elements of spectacle, as it is not as elaborate in terms of Milhous's other criteria: it is more restrained than her definition suggests, both in its use of music and the limited size of its cast. With these considerations of Restoration spectacle in mind, it is important to note that Behn was utilising more conventionally understood spectacular aspects in *The Emperor of the Moon,* as well as the more alternative forms. The suggestion that the play's earlier parts are not spectacular is challenged through the many elements of spectacle identified in this thesis, meaning that those elements which until now have not been deemed spectacular can be re-addressed to contend that they are, in fact, in their own way a remarkable example of Restoration spectacle. I contend that Behn's aim was not to merely condense the spectacle present in her play to the final scene, thereby reducing costs, but rather to disrupt the

[639] Spencer proposes that Behn possibly travelled to Paris to see the 1684 performance of the original. However, as Spencer acknowledges, there is has been no evidence found to date to support this. Just as likely, she contends, is that a friend of hers shared the script with her. Alternatively, Montague Summers suggests that she read an edition of the original in 1684, but as Spencer identifies, published editions date from 1690. It is unclear then, as to how Behn knew about Fatouville's play, but the influences within the script still remain undeniable. Spencer, *The Rover,* p. xviii.

[640] Jane Spencer, *The Rover*, p. 274. This is likely to have been in part a gesture of solidarity with Edward Ravenscroft – for whom Behn had previously written commendatory verses for his 1672 play that was badly received – and whose farce Scaramouch (Commedia inspired) was staged a full decade earlier and did equally as badly.

audience's understanding of spectacle, as present in the plays of the recent seasons at the Dorset Garden, and of course she does this in a number of ways.

As was Behn's intention for her audience, it is best to approach an analysis of spectacle in this play from its opening. The play opens with the spectacle of an automaton, as the prologue is delivered by a character played by Jevon and a speaking head, who muses over political concerns. This is quickly followed by the spectacle of Commedia dell'Arte as the relationship between the doctor, his daughter and niece, and their servants unfolds in a visually and physically spectacular way. Following the love story of the two young women, the plot is shaped through the misdirection and fooling of Doctor Baliardo by the Commedia characters – Scaramouch, Mopsophil and Harlequin, and the young women who plot to convince Doctor Baliardo to allow Elaria and Bellemante to marry. Subsequently, Doctor Baliardo, an amateur astrologer, is fooled into believing that the love-objects of Elaria, his daughter, and Bellemante, his niece, are inhabitants from the moon, resulting in Behn's spectacular ending, crowded with mechanical spectacle.

Behn was not naïve about the power of spectacle for theatrical purposes, and in her epistle dedicatory and prologue ensures the audience is aware of her intentions. The Epistle discusses farce, and even defends it, highlighting the opportunities it offered for spectacular entertainment:

> I am sensible, my lord, how far the word farce might have offended some, whose titles of honour, a knack in dressing, or his art in writing a billet doux, had been his chiefest talent, and who, without considering the intent, character, or nature of the thing, would have cried out upon the language, and have damned it (because the persons in it did not all talk like heroes) as too debased and vulgar to entertain a man of quality; but I am secure from this censure, when your lordship shall be its judge, whose refined sense, and delicacy of judgement, will, through all the humble actions and trivialness of business, find nature there, and that diversion which was not meant for the number, who comprehend nothing beyond the show and buffoonery (*Emperor of the Moon*, p. 274).

Behn then makes direct reference to farce's use of spectacle, its increasing popularity in that period, and its effect on an audience, assuring them that they have no control over their desire to witness the farce's spectacle, and advising the sceptical line? that the 'puppets have more sense than some of you' (*Emperor of the Moon*, p. 277). Farce in the Restoration period was

thought to present unrealistic characters, rely too heavily on physical comedy, and be concerned with the witty servant outsmarting the master.[641]

Behn's earliest form of spectacle is found in the prologue, which alerts the audience to the company having 'bought a share in the speaking head', presumably a form of automaton or puppet (*Emperor of the Moon*, p. 276). As Spencer has suggested, there were probably two talking heads available in 1687, both of which originally belonged to the King's Company.[642] One possibility can be found in the *Newdigate Newsletter* of 26 March 1687:

> [a] country man having invented a head & so contrived it that whatever language or tune you speak in the mouth it is repeated distinctly and audibly.[643]

However, as Jane Spencer further indicates

> the head actually used in this play is likely to have been one contrived by the actors in competition with this. The promise to the audience that they will save a sice (=sixpence) by watching the play (l. 31) suggests the existence of a rival speaking head which they would have to pay to see elsewhere.[644]

Spencer's claim suggests the head that appears in Behn's play may not have been as intricately designed as the others, as it was advertised as a cheaper alternative. Moreover, the account from the *Newdigate Newsletter* and the line from Behn's prologue further suggest that automata were utilised in Restoration plays, specifically *The Emperor of the Moon,* and that they added a particularly spectacular delight. Behn indicates that the automaton's contribution to the spectacular nature of the stage was its physical presence and visual effect, alongside the possibility for its operation to be concealed.

While the operation of the talking head can certainly be argued to be spectacular, the head had a purpose far beyond that of an ingenious machine. Through humorous dialogue with Thomas Jevon, who calls upon the speaking head, Behn presents the automaton as having a conscious voice of its own; this is seen in the line '[s]peak louder, Jevon, if you'd have me repeat' (*Emperor of the Moon*, p. 277). Here Behn plays with the audience's understanding of how such machines might have operated. By having Jevon speak directly into the head's mouth, and through a combination of responses in the automaton – varying from an imitation, to a song of its own, and times where it laughs – Behn demonstrates the

[641] Peter Holland, 'Farce', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre,* ed. by Deborah Payne Fisk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 107-126.
[642] Behn, *Rover and Other Plays,* p. 379.
[643] *Newdigate Newsletter*, 26 March 1687.
[644] Behn, *Rover and Other Plays*, explanatory note 30, p. 379.

capability and delight present in the use of a speaking head. Moreover, the visual image of the head could also provoke political interpretations, as it rose '*upon a twisted post, on a bench, from under the stage*': a head on a 'twisted post' would have reminded an audience of the head of executed political offenders being publically displayed, and the most likely resonance for a Restoration audience, due in part to the head singing 'God bless the king' (*Emperor of the Moon*, p. 276-7), would incite the displayed head of Oliver Cromwell, which was placed on a post and displayed in Westminster after Charles II exhumed his body for a posthumous execution.[645] Opening the play with a speaking head on a post therefore did two things: raised specific historical connections, and teased the audience with the puzzle of how the spectacle of the speaking could be being achieved.

By having the play's first spectacle one that both raises cultural questions and uses trickery to accomplish its effect, Behn uses the head's wonder to frame the rest of the play's spectacle, providing an interesting framework through which her play can be viewed. While a head presented on a post raises specific historical connotation, it also acts a device for hiding the operation of the head. Moreover, by choosing to have the head clearly severed from a body, coupled with its emergence from under the stage (as many spirits do in this period), Behn is able to add an illusion of magic, which might suggest the resurgence of the past. I argue that for Behn, the speaking head presents the opportunity to reflect on historical events and political influences, while finding an appealing way of presenting them within the spectacularly complex nature of Restoration performance. In her analysis of Behn's prologue, Kate Aughterson argues:

> [t]he prologue delineates a developmental trajectory for drama, which Behn's actor claims has been mainly driven by audience demand (*Emperor of the Moon*, pp. 6-7; 15-20; 28). It begins with heroic tragedy, moves to satiric comedy, then farce and finally to puppetry (the 'speaking head'). Whilst this is clearly a parodic view of Restoration dramatic literary history, it is interesting for two reasons. The first is that it mirrors exactly the developments in Restoration drama after 1660, and thereby illustrates Behn's active and critical engagement in dramatic history, and her understanding of her own place within that. Secondly, she suggests that the intersection of the audience and genre is a crucial and central determining factor in performance and reception. This means that she understood drama as a deeply social and political form,

[645] Nirmal Puwar, 'Citizen and Denizen Space: If Walls Could Speak', in *Visuality/Materiality: Images, Objects, and Practices*, ed. by Dr Divya, P Tolia-Kelly and Professor Gillian Rose (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 75-84 (p. 82).

> one necessarily responsive to economic and social demands, dependent upon them for its life and performance.[646]

What Aughterson identifies here is Behn's awareness of her theatrical and social surroundings, and that through combining this knowledge with the demands and delights of the stage, the opening of Behn's play constructs a framework of meta-theatrical qualities, which provides impetus for the play's remaining forms of spectacle.

The presence of the speaking head on a post during the play's opening moments is significant to the spectacle that follows, because, in effect, the head's presence means that the prologue is spoken not just by one performer, Jevon, but by two – introducing the relationship between actor and object, which is present throughout this play. Using two characters in a prologue is peculiar to *The Emperor of the Moon*, especially when compared with performances of the surrounding theatrical seasons: *Albion and Albanius* in 1685 and 1687; *Devil of a Wife, Dr Faustus,* and *Banditti* in 1686; *Bellamira, The Lucky Chance,* and *Island Princess* in 1687; and *Squire of Alsatia, Darius King of Persia, Fools Preferment, Injured Lovers* in 1688, all of which have prologues spoken by a single actor. The addition of another character, or head, in this situation, adds further alternative spectacle to the performance. The head is (or appears to be) under the control of the actor, and is seemingly operated by speaking into its mouth. The stage directions state that the head rises '*on a bench, from under the stage*', suggesting the use of a trap door. The spectacle is generated partly through the use of the stage, as the audience is only able to witness the head itself, and not the under-stage machinery. Having a head that is able to repeat the words of an actor would have entertained the audience with its novelty, and its disconnection from human life, allowing it to say whatever the playwright or performers might have been too afraid to say themselves. This is seen in the line 'God bless the king'. The use of the talking head on stage with the actor highlights the possible inability for human actors to create spectacle, and thus connecting to Behn's later lines of '[t]here's nothing lasting but the puppets' shows' and '[t]heir gallants being as mere machines as they', implying that Behn was both aware of and concerned about the shift towards a more mechanically designed stage (*Emperor of the Moon*, p. 276-7). As the Restoration theatre continually moved towards a machine-operated stage to provide the spectacle and interest for the audience, playwrights were becoming accustomed to writing for this type of playing space. Behn's use of the head encapsulates the

[646] Kate Aughterson, *Aphra Behn: The Comedies* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 226-7.

theatrical requirements of the time, being less about character and plot and more about creating a new trick. However for Behn, she is not content with simply providing the audience with what they want in terms of spectacle, but wants to provide them with a particular statement also. In providing this speaking head as an object both of wonderment and dismay, she is also questioning whether this mechanised development in the theatre, with machines replacing actors, is to be wholly welcomed.

When considering the action of the play itself, what is apparent is that whereas in her dedicatory epistle Behn refers generally to 'farce', this play is a comedy that draws specifically upon the conventions of Commedia dell'Arte.[647] In doing this, she was drawing on a form of comedy with a track-record as a crowd-pleaser: as John Rudlin has summarised, 'Commedia dell'Arte was born, sometime around the middle of the sixteenth century, in the market place where a crowd had to be attracted, interested and then held'.[648] As was explored in chapter eight, Commedia made use of 'actors representing stock characters' that were two-dimensional, each with their own recognised actions and characteristics. Behn's characters are based on a range of stock figures, which, as she notes in her epistle, are borrowed from the Italian performance style; the names of these are in some cases literal translations of Commedia stock types, including Harlequin (Arlecchino), Scaramouch (Scaramucci), Dr. Baliardo (Il Dottore), and the young lovers (Innamorati). To varying degrees, all her characters conform to Commedia conventions with their stock characteristics and behaviours, bringing with them the recognisable and widely used conventions of spectacle and delight.

Using Commedia as a style for her actors, one which was difficult to master, suggests that Behn perceived this to be a key way to invite the audience into the play to see trickery and spectacle as deeply inter-connected with the narrative and each other: Behn's plot incorporates the physical characteristics and gestures of the characters into the wider stage action. The very fact that such action is so carefully scripted means that it is more accurate to connect *The Emperor of the Moon* to Commedia Erudita than to Commedia dell'Arte: the former, as Rudlin explains, was not as improvisatory as Commedia dell'Arte, instead being 'scripted and performed without masks and in elaborate costume on the private indoor stages'.[649] Behn does not rely solely on this style of Commedia though, as its highly scripted nature removed some of the opportunity for physical spectacle. Rather, she counterbalanced

[647] Paula R. Backscheider records that 'Behn said she began writing *The Emperor of the Moon* in 1684 to please the beleaguered and ill Charles II, who had tried to bring a Commedia dell'Arte troupe back to court in 1683' Paula R. Backscheider**,** *Spectacular Politics: Theatrical Power and Mass Culture in Early Modern England* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), p. 103
[648] John Rudlin, *Commedia dell'Arte: An Actor's Handbook* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 23.
[649] Rudlin, *Commedia dell'Arte,* p. 23.

the scripting of the characters with stage directions, which called for physically spectacular action to be presented. A particularly clear example of how spectacular the result can be seen in Act I, Scene II where her very detailed stage direction reads:

> [Scaramouch] puts himself into a posture ridiculous, his arms akimbo, his knees open wide, his backside almost touching the ground, his mouth stretched wide, and his eyes staring. Harlequin, groping, thrusts his hand into [Scaramouch's] mouth. [Scaramouch] bites him. [Harlequin] dares not cry out. […] Making damnable faces and signs of pain, [Harlequin] draws a dagger. Scaramouch feels the point of it, and shrinks back, letting go of his hand. (*Emperor of the Moon*, p. 289)

Moreover, this style of Commedia still drew on the same character types, but relied less heavily in improvised lazzi. Behn maintains control of her characters as her play is most certainly scripted to a high degree, and she uses stage directions to tightly control their physical activities, including fights, dances, and running (as opposed to walking).

By making use of the slapstick nature of their behaviours, and their recognised characteristics in this scene, both Scaramouch and Harlequin are fully established as Commedia types, and Behn makes the characters' physicality part of the trickery – and therefore, spectacle – of the scene. Through entertaining moments such as the one above, Behn makes Harlequin and Scaramouch a form of alternative spectacle, which was focused on the physical dexterity of her performers. The actions of the characters however, do not merely provide comedy, but also advance the plot without the use of language, and define the characters' relationship and explore their behaviours, again adding to the nature of the spectacle.

Of all the Commedia characters presented in this play, Harlequin is the most spectacular, and while all characters can be seen as possessing the relevant characteristics of their Commedia counterparts, it is Harlequin that Behn uses the most to increase the play's spectacular impact. As chapter eight identified, Harlequin's traditional traits centre on his physical agility and his trickster or clown-like nature. Behn makes use of both of these traits throughout the play, often teaming his physical dexterity with a comical narrative and language. This can be best witnessed in Act I, Scene II where, after learning his beloved is to marry a farmer's son, he decides to kill himself. What follows is a list of ways and reasons why not to kill himself in particular ways:

> -[i]t is resolved, I'll hang my self—no, —when did I ever hear of a hero that hanged himself? No—'tis the death of rogues. What if I drown myself?— No, — useless dogs and puppies are drowned; a pistol or a caper on my own sword would look more nobly, but that I have a natural aversion to pain. Besides, it is

> as vulgar as rats-bane, or the slicing of the weasand. No, I'll die a death uncommon, and leave behind me an eternal fame. *(Emperor of the Moon*, p. 287)

When none of these please, he decides to tickle himself to death:

> I have somewhere read an author, either ancient or modern, of a man that laughed to death.---I am very ticklish, and am resolved---to die that death.---Oh Mopsophil, my cruel Mopsophil! (*Emperor of the Moon*, p. 287)

And the following stage directions read

> *he falls to tickle himself, his head, his ears, his arm-pits, hands, sides, and soles of his feet; making ridiculous cries and noises of laughing several ways, with antic leaps and skips, at last falls down as dead.* (*Emperor of the Moon*, p. 288)

In this moment, Behn's conscious concern for spectacle is realised. By combining Harlequin's recognisable characteristics with a narrative that furthers her choices to use both farce and Commedia, Behn is able to achieve a spectacular scene which is loaded with comic potential and audience delight, but without the use of machinery or scenery. A further example of Behn's ability to adapt the spectacular qualities of Commedia and Harlequin is witnessed in a scene where he attempts to 'realistically' disguise himself as a woman.[650] Throughout the scene the stage directions draw on his traditional characteristics of trickery and agility, but also a narrative of comedy. They read: 'cries out as a woman', '[m]akes his little dapper leg instead of a curtsy' and finally '[r]eads the outside, pops them into his bosom' (*Emperor of the Moon*, p. 307) – making use of the bosom letter box device, as discussed in chapter seven. Again, Behn's ability to draw on conventions from the period, along with Commedia and farce, results in a scene which is filled with comical spectacle.

Alongside Harlequin, Behn utilises Scaramouch as both a comical spectacle and as a trickster. Once more, Behn's character conforms to the traditional traits of the Commedia type, being a dedicated servant that undoubtedly finds himself in compromising situations. Scaramouch is, indeed the driving force behind *The Emperor of the Moon*, embodying a trickster's role of plotting and scheming and in the case of this play creating the idea of a 'play' within a play which acts as a meta-textual device to allow for excessive spectacle in the final moments of the overall play (*Emperor of the Moon*, p. 280).[651] To increase his

[650] This disguise is only thought to be realistic by Doctor Baliardo; the audience is supposed to understand that it is Harlequin in disguise.

[651] The meta-textual device is decided in the first act of the play, and for this Behn draws on some of the only original lines from her source. The device is utilised in a manner which allows Scaramouch to create a plan for Bellemante, Elaria, Cinthio and Charmante to be together by constructing a narrative for Doctor Baliardo which

degree of spectacle, Scaramouch is quite often placed in situations with Harlequin, where his lesser physical dexterity is played against Harlequin's extremely agile nature. As Scaramouch is more of a thinker than a doer, his plotting, combined with Harlequin's action, often ends with hilarious results of daft fights or misunderstandings. For example, Act I, Scene II reads

> *[Scaramouch and Harlequin] go to fight ridiculously, and ever as Scaramouch passes, Harlequin leaps aside, and skips so nimbly about, he cannot touch him for his life; which after a while endeavouring in vain, [Scaramouch] lays down his sword.* (*Emperor of the Moon*, p. 292)

That is not to suggest, however, that Scaramouch offers no physical delight in his performance; his entrance reads '*peeping on all sides before he enters*' his sneaking, trickster nature is something which is repeated numerous times throughout the play, demonstrating his comedic nature but also his relationship with the Doctor (*Emperor of the Moon*, p. 278).

Of all the characters in this play, Scaramouch is the one with whom the audience is most likely to feel connected. Through passages such as the one above and his song, which is discussed later, for his lover Mopsophil, Scaramouch plays much of his visual and aural spectacle directly for the audience's pleasure. Additionally, he constructs the narrative for the spectators, and although he does not directly address them, he does introduce them to new action at the same time as fooling Doctor Baliardo. In this, part of his spectacle is generated through his narration of the plot, and the audience feeling they are in alliance with him. For example, the opening to Act I, Scene III shows him on the stage alone:

> (*Enter Scaramouch groping*)
>
> So, I have got rid of my rival, and shall here get an opportunity to speak with Mopsophil, for hither she must come anon, to lay the young ladies' night-things in order; I'll hide myself in some corner till she come. (*Emperor of the Moon*, p. 289)

Although Scaramouch's dialogue is not a direct aside to the audience, he is alone on the stage and this invites the audience into his world. By speaking his plan out loud he encourages the audience to almost embody the character as much as the actor, making the audience part of the narrative and thus the spectacle.

All of the characters in *The Emperor of the Moon* work as a form of spectacle, and these are often teamed with scenes that are built on comical happenings and misunderstanding. Examples such as Act I, Scene III where Harlequin, hiding under a table,

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the audience is privy to. Scaramouch says: 'Aye, a farce, which shall be called *The World in the Moon*: wherein your father shall be some imposed on, as shall bring matters most magnificently about'.

writes a love-letter for Bellemante, which she believes is being written by a figure she cannot see, demonstrate Behn's desire to use Commedia to accommodate unlikely situations, which could result in spectacularly visual, but simple entertainment (*Emperor of the Moon*, p. 289-96). For this scene there is no machinery or fancy dressing of the stage; rather, the scene is predicated on a comic interaction, which utilises the already spectacular characters in a humorous and unpredictable way.

The most spectacular scene utilises the spectacle of misunderstanding; in Act III, Scene I Harlequin enters riding a cart which he repeatedly turns into a chariot and then back to a cart again. It is significant that this scene relies on simple but humorous uses of the Commedia character in conjunction with unexpected events and witty narrative. Harlequin's dexterous and farcical manner is on show, with slapstick moments such as: 'Harlequin strikes [the officer]. They scuffle', and '[The officer] goes to the entrance to call the clerk; [in] the meantime Harlequin whips a frock over himself, and puts down the hind part of the chariot, and then 'tis a cart' (*Emperor of the Moon*, pp. 313-14). While it is easy to imagine the amusement the changing of the cart would have created, it is also possible to assume that the audience would have taken great delight in seeing Harlequin disguised as a farmer once more. The visual display of the cart changing into a chariot and back again, and the slapstick humour generated by the attack on the officer are reliant on Harlequin himself being part of the spectacle. Both of these events draw on his type-based characteristics and the actor's skills as a source of humour for the audience. Additionally, with little or no presentation of human feelings there is no opportunity for those watching to get involved in questions of emotion or internal life and thus be distracted from the visual display: the comedy is, I suggest, spectacular in its use of the external characteristics of the characters, without any internal ones.

If the use of Commedia type-characters is one way that Behn makes spectacle in her play, another method is her use of strikingly unusual props, which were added to the wider scenic display. For instance, in Act I, Scene II, Behn utilises the staging possibilities of an adaptable theatre by introducing a 20-foot telescope, through which Doctor Baliardo attempts to see the people from the moon. Here Behn gives to the audience a particularly striking visual spectacle without the use of concealed machinery. If we assume that the stage directions present an accurate account of the telescope, then its presence would have required an extendable, perspective stage, which we know theatres of the Restoration often possessed. Behn therefore applied simple but effective spectacle to the scene, presenting a magnificently

large sight for the audience, who would have thought it impossible that such an item could fit on what they previously perceived as a stage too small to hold the object. This, in turn, serves to disrupt the audience's expectations of the so-called reality of the playing-space. But even as the audience might have marvelled at the potential of the playing-space, Behn also allows them to see what the Doctor could see, taking them along with him in the desire for to see the moon's inhabitants. The characters which are shown to the audience and Doctor Baliardo include a nymph and 'creatures' of the air, so depending on the size and detail of the images, these can also be seen as increasing the spectacle of the image by drawing on the traditions and histories of the stage and providing visual delights (*Emperor of the Moon*, pp. 283-6).

Further scenic spectacle is used throughout *The Emperor of the Moon* to assist the play in travelling between chambers and rooms dressed with curtains to gardens and streets. To achieve this, it is likely that the performances made extensive use of moving scenes in all of its presentations. Alongside these visual representations of place, Behn stages comedic scenes that utilise large set pieces, such as closets, within which a misunderstanding occurs, resulting in almost all characters entering and adding a spectacular adornment to the stage. However, her most spectacular use of scenery appears in Act II, Scene III. The stage directions inform the reader that the stage is set to represent the inside of the house with 'hangings to be drawn at pleasure' (*Emperor of the Moon*, pp. 299-305). The performers and the scenic stage are then used together to produce an effective visual mirage, and Behn is using, and commenting on, the element of spectacle which relies on the creation of illusion. Behn constructs a scene where characters' identities are confused with that of an inanimate object. While Doctor Baliardo is expected to be away from the house, the lovers meet with the help of Scaramouch. However, when he returns home earlier than expected, Behn uses both the physical abilities of her characters and their skill in trickery to allow them to salvage the compromising situation. Scaramouch sets the lovers up in the form of a tapestry, made explicit in the stage direction: 'having placed them all in the hanging, in which they make figures, where they stand without motion in postures' (*Emperor of the Moon*, p. 301). While this provides a cover for the characters, albeit a far-fetched and imaginative one which enables them to escape from the furious returning patriarch, the tapestry also presents a visually appealing illusion. Behn achieves this by making use of the actors' physical appeal: they have to assume the role of a frozen object and a visual spectacle, which encouraged the audience to gaze at the performers. Additionally, Baliardo inspects the so-called tapestry armed only with the candle. While this would have indicated to a Restoration audience that it was dark, it also draws attention to the finer features of the performers. It is not really

possible to establish if the hanging was supposed to look real to the eye of the audience, or whether Behn was simply using it as an example of Baliardo's stupidity for the audience, but he concludes that 'the workmanship is excellent' (*Emperor of the Moon*, p. 302). Either way, Behn's explicit stage directions here demonstrate her desire to showcase the skill of the performers, and the ease with which Baliardo is fooled. It is also possible to conclude that the dressing of the stage in this way was designed to act as a visual stimulus with a spectacular effect, one which the audience was designed to sit back and gape at. Once again, the spectacle here is achieved not through the use of complicated machinery, but through the activities of the performers. This confirms the aim of the thesis, that the definition of Restoration spectacle needs to be re-examined.

Also implicit in the visual appeal of the tapestry is the presentation of the male and female bodies that are looked at, and examined by, both the audience and Doctor Baliardo. Although other critics considering the spectacle of the play have overlooked this particular scene, through the redefinition of spectacle addressed within this thesis, it is clear that this scene holds valuable importance. Drawing on the understanding of viewing, and the resulting spectacle examined in chapters seven and eight, the scene employs the visual image of the performers to further its erotic appeal. It opens with a discussion of the habits, or clothing of the many women of the play, Elaria, Bellemante, Mopsophil, Florinda, and ladies '*dressed in masking habits*' (*Emperor of the Moon*, p. 299). Their costumes are further drawn attention to in the scene; Elaria says, 'I am extremely pleased with these habits, cousin', and Bellemante replies '[t]hey are *A la Gothic* and *Uncomune*' (*Emperor of the Moon*, p. 299). By detailing what they are wearing, the directions indicate that the clothes were unlike anything previously worn and were therefore designed to draw the spectator's gaze to the women's bodies. Later in the scene, the tapestry is examined by Doctor Baliardo, and the figures are described as the inhabitants of the moon, suggesting that their costumes were reflective of the large-scale spectacle which appears at the end of the play. Additionally, Doctor Baliardo examines the tapestry with a 'perspective', drawing attention to the details of the human bodies, and placing them on show for the audience to admire as much as he does (*Emperor of the Moon*, p. 302). In amongst the spectacle of the bodies on show, Behn places a physically funny Harlequin to break the tension and shift the audience's focus. Harlequin is described as being 'placed on a tree' and so presumably higher up than Doctor Baliardo (*Emperor of the Moon*, p. 302). Once the doctor is looking away, Harlequin performs his recognised slapstick humour and hits Doctor Baliardo over the head; as he turns to see what has happened, Harlequin freezes again. Behn's combination of the spectacular traits of scenery, slapstick

performances and frozen bodies in this scene heightens the enjoyment for the audience by creating action which is varied but draws attention to the delightful and comic elements of all of the characters. Additionally, by utilising costume and performers as visual images, Behn is able to increase the erotic spectacle of the scene by giving the audience the opportunity to simply sit and watch as the characters are presented to them. As chapter seven identified, the female form was associated with spectacle, and playwrights could exploit that to their benefit. While Behn is not so overt in her exploitation of the female form as some other Restoration playwrights, she does draw attention to them and their beauty. Like many of Behn's other scenes, this one ends with a supposed misunderstanding and Scaramouch's trickery.

While Behn's play should by no means be considered a 'she-tragedy', due to its lack of sadistic violence, happy ending or tragic traits, some elements of the character relations could be argued as feeding into the controlling and emotional nature of plays of that genre, presenting an early example of the tastes developing in the Restoration audience. Through his control of his daughter and niece, Doctor Baliardo is able to deny them their desires and force them to suffer emotionally. The play opens with a song performed by Elaria, lamenting the pain of forbidden love (*Emperor of the Moon*, p. 278). Behn here presents Elaria as an object of beauty, and, through her ability to play the lute, also showcases her talents as a performer. The opening lines to the song read

> [a] curse upon that faithless maid,
> Who first her sexes, liberty betrayed;
> Born free as man to love and range,
> Till nobler nature did to custom change.
> Custom, that dull excuse for fools,
> Who think all virtue to consist in rules. (*Emperor of the Moon*, p. 278)

Behn also employs the traditions of song and its connection to femininity, which was discussed in chapter seven. As the lyrics very clearly relate to the control of her desires by another, Behn also positions the song as a spectacular vehicle by which Elaria's emotions can be explored. Furthermore, her reference to being a maid and that there is a curse upon her sex immediately identifies the power struggle between the strong, controlling male figure, and the powerless, controlled female; something which we know the Restoration audience delighted in. Initially this song was purposefully designed to enchant the audience. Moreover, the scene presents just two women on the stage, leaving the audience with an uninterrupted gaze, affording them the opportunity to enjoy both the feminine qualities attached to song and music, and the actresses' visual appearances. By positioning this song at the beginning of the

play Behn utilises it as a spectacular vehicle through which she allows the play to unravel and follow a narrative of successful love.

In this play Behn was moving towards a truly spectacular ending, integrating layers of alternative spectacle throughout the play to accommodate this. The later use of music therefore moves closer to the farcical and unbelievable ending to follow. Although music appears quite frequently in this play, the most spectacular use of song is seen in Act II, Scene IV where Scaramouch sings for Mopsophil. Once again Behn insists on adding comedy to the scene, and in this case it is Scaramouch up a ladder and the lines

> [t]hough I am come off *en Cavalier* with my master, I am not with my mistress, whom I promised to console this night, and is but just I should make good this morning; 'twill be rude to surprise her sleeping, and more gallant to wake her with a serenade at her window. (*Emperor of the Moon*, p. 307)

The visual spectacle presented here could not only prompt humorous actions, but suggest that her staging was created by using at least two levels, implicating that a balcony was created.

Behn's final use of song appears in the concluding scene and draws upon all of its historical connections to mythology and beauty. In Act III, Scene III a zodiac begins to sing before being joined by a chorus (*Emperor of the Moon*, pp. 328-30). Once more the topic of the song is love, and sung by 12 performers, it is the most visually and aurally impressive song in the whole play. This is followed by a chorus of performers, singing about each of the zodiac elements in turn. By repeating the lines

> [f]or since love wore his darts,
> And virgins grew coy;
> Since these wounded hearts,
> And those that could destroy,
> There never was more cause for your triumph and joy
> (*Emperor of the Moon*, pp. 328-9)

Behn utilises the familiarity of songs presented in this way for the audience to recognise and perhaps later join in.

Accompanying the sad spectacle of song is the more joyful spectacle of dance. Once more Behn utilises this convention to add to her play's overall spectacular appeal. On a number of occasions an 'antic dance', known for their fast-paced, unusual movements and bizarre costumes, adds an instant moment of visual delight, while also complicating the plot (*Emperor of the Moon*, p. 297). The first dance of this kind appears after the interval, opening the second half of the play, just as Elaria's song opens the first. Stage directions indicate that the main characters enter after the dance is complete, perhaps suggesting that Behn employed

a separate group of dancers to complete the sequence. As the dance itself is unrelated to any of the narrative that precedes it, or any of the events which are yet to happen, it serves to kick-start the alternative spectacle once more, but this time presenting an extreme form moving towards the overly spectacular ending. The second time an antic dance is performed occurs at the opening of Act III, Scene II, before a temple belonging to the Emperor of the moon is presented. On this occasion it is stated that the 'foreigners' – presumably those not from the moon – complete the dance, suggesting that it was a dance troupe that was tasked with performing it (*Emperor of the Moon*, p. 331).

The most conventionally spectacular part of *The Emperor of the Moon* is its final scene. From the opening Behn uses alternative forms of spectacle without the over-use of on-stage machinery to create an imaginary world in which Baliardo believes: that is until the end, when she combines her alternative form of spectacle, nature, with the more conventional machines and scenery. As the play reaches its conclusion, it is through the absence of complex machinery in the rest of the play that makes the final scene more spectacularly striking. As Behn begins to construct the moon and its inhabitants, she draws upon intricately detailed and extensive spectacle, which rapidly accumulates to allow the unusual world to become visible to the audience.

Starting relatively simply, the opening stage directions read '*The gallery, richly adorned, with scenes and lights*' showcasing a significantly more elaborate scene than before, but far less than at the play's climax (*Emperor of the Moon*, p. 326). As the audience is privy to Scaramouch's plot, they might anticipate some lavish spectacle to appear at this juncture. However, Behn's scene moves at such a startling pace, plying the stage with spectacle so rapidly, that they would have been as awe-inspired as someone witnessing this kind of performance anew. Once the scene begins to progress, the visual display becomes increasingly spectacular, as machinery and scenery are maximised to create

> *[t]he hill of Parnassus; a noble large walk of trees leading to it, with eight or ten negroes upon pedestals, ranged on each side of the walks. Next Kempler and Galileus descend on each side, opposite to each other, in chariots, with perspectives in their hands, as viewing the machine of the zodiac. Soft music plays still. (Emperor of the Moon*, p. 327)

Spencer suggests that to complete this stage direction, the scene could have been created by the 'first pair of shutters showing the gallery', these 'slide away to reveal shutters [which are] painted to represent Parnassus, at the second shutter position. The trees are painted wings, interspersed with pedestals.' *(Emperor of the Moon*, p. 327) Spencer's explanation is a

possible way of staging this scene so that the wing shutters on each side of the stage would draw the audience's attention to the back of the stage, where a painted shutter would give a perspective view of the gallery and then the hill. In this scene it is the painted scenery and the flying machine (which would have descended using the fly bars) that provide visual wonder. The scene quickly progresses though and Behn additionally uses large numbers of performers, which are integrated into the scene to provide the next spectacle. The subsequent stage directions read

> *Next the zodiac descends, a symphony playing all the while: when it is landed, it delivers twelve signs. Then the song, the persons of the zodiac being singers; after which the negroes dance and mingle in the chorus.* (*Emperor of the Moon*, p. 328)

From Behn's description it is likely that a flat surface was attached to a machine and all of the actors playing the zodiac would have been strapped to it. Here Behn provides twelve visual examples of spectacle. As the zodiac was played by performers, elaborate costume was likely to have been combined with the large-scale machinery and the beautiful scenery, filling the stage with spectacle. Behn ensures that all additions to the stage are as spectacular as possible.

Her finale comes in the form of the moon, the main spectacular feature of *Albion and Albanius*, utilising all of the stage's capabilities and all of her knowledge of audience tastes to produce a moving spectacle which grows in front of the audience's eyes. Her description reads

> *[a]fter which, the globe of the moon appears, first like a new moon; as it moves forward it increase, till it comes to the full. When it is descended, it opens, and shows the emperor and the prince. They come forth with all their train, the flutes playing a symphony before [the emperor], which prepares the song; which ended, the dancers mingle as before.* (*Emperor of the Moon*, p. 330)

Behn's requirement that the moon starts as a new moon before coming to full suggests that the extendable stage was again used. Additionally, Behn draws on the representation of nature, and specifically the moon, to promote the sense of a new world and far-off life. Starting at the back of the stage it is apparent that the moon moves along the fly tracks until it reaches the front of the stage, at which point it opens and descends, making use of the platforms inside such machinery as detailed in chapter five. As the moon, elaborate chariots and the zodiac are presented on stage to Doctor Baliardo and the audience, he says ''Tis all amazing, sir', a response very likely reflective of the audience's opinion too (*Emperor of the*

*Moon*, p. 330). The emphasis is clearly on machine-based spectacle, and the scene contains all of the criteria outlined by Milhous. However, with the addition of songs, extra characters, detailed scenery and advanced technology, the contemporary reader can assume it was spectacular and magnificent to watch, for more than just the flying and the alternative forms of spectacle contribute to the overall illusion. The sudden emergence of machinery in the final scene and elaborate on-stage scenario does not appear out of place due to the intricate plot. Here, at last, Baliardo's imaginings are manifest on stage. The opening gallery being described as 'richly adorned, with scenes and lights' (*Emperor of the Moon*, p. 326), which quickly changes to 'the hill Parnassus; a noble large walk of trees leading to it, with eight or ten negroes upon pedestals' (*Emperor of the Moon*, p. 327), demonstrates Behn's understanding of using layers of spectacle, which can allow the scene to progress through places and degrees of wonder.

The characters also play a significant role in creating spectacle in the final scene. They not only continue with the false story, but take on new characters and play dumb to the previously planned schemes. Throughout the earlier scenes, Behn controlled the use and the amount of spectacle; and although there is extensive use of machines and scenery, in terms of character the final scene is no exception. She layers the spectacle to allow a little at a time to be added to better the experience for the audience and by adding songs and dances she makes the final scene the package expected for a Dorset Garden Spectacular. In the final section of Act III, Scene III, however, Behn interrupts the theatrical illusion. Upon the realisation he has been duped, Doctor Baliardo states '[m]y heart misgives me. Oh, I am undone and cheated every way!'. In response to his claim, Kepler says '[y]ou're only cured, sir, of a disease / That long has reigned over your nobler faculties' (*Emperor of the Moon*, p. 333). This statement may have been as much intended for the audience as for Doctor Baliardo, as Behn leaves the Doctor and the audience to consider their misgivings in potentially believing in the wonder of elaborate spectacle, connecting her narrative once more to political undertones.

Once more Behn picks up on this moral lesson in her epilogue. Having presented the audience with alternative spectacle and expressed the misgivings of audiences for wanting machine spectacle, Behn asks her audience to 'Look back on flourishing Rome, ye proud ingrates, / And see how she her thriving poets treats […] And contributions raised to make them great' (*Emperor of the Moon*, p. 335). Here Behn seems to be asking the audience to remember back to a time when good plot was the definition of successful play. It is possible to suggest that Behn constructed a play that gave the audience what they wished to see; whilst its underlying intention was to question what was deemed to be a spectacle of theatre, which

was also embedded in her text. She concludes that the successful use of alternative forms of spectacle to entertain a Restoration audience, whose reasons for attending the theatre may have been to see the latest advances in technology, was possible. Through Behn's clever use of character, set and props she managed to create a performance, the popularity of which continued long into the eighteenth century. Behn's intention, according to her Dedicatory Epistle, was to create a play that could, in addition to exciting interest in its spectacular nature, appeal to those who valued the theatre for its intellectual worth. In the words of Behn, to those

> whose refined sense, and delicacy of judgement will, through all the humble actions and trivialness of business, find nature there'; her play is not designed on for, and that diversions which was not meant for 'the numbers, who comprehend nothing beyond the show and buffoonery. (*Emperor of the Moon*, p. 274)

Certainly, show and buffoonery it does have, and in abundance; but the play's concerns with the nature of theatre, and about the power of the would-be patriarch Doctor Baliardo – Doctor Fool, as his Commedia type-name translates – are there for those able to see them, even as they wonder at the spectacular ways that this is achieved.

In choosing Behn's play as the final exploration of spectacle in Restoration theatre this chapter has demonstrated that theatrical advances could be seen throughout the period, but what really generated spectacle for the audience was an entertaining and visually delightful performance. In *The Emperor of the Moon* it is possible to see the advances from the early stage techniques of *The Siege of Rhodes* (1663), but it is equally possible to identify the forms of spectacle still developing, such as relationships, which resulted in 'she-tragedies', advanced forms of automata and machinery, as well as new and adapting character types. While *The Emperor of the Moon* is not the most spectacular of all plays from the period, as shows like *Albion and Albanius* were arguably more representative of advances in scenery and machinery, Behn's play offers us a snapshot of the audience tastes, advances in performance style, and technical developments in the middle of what is one of the most interesting and progressive periods of theatre history. It is important to establish that Behn's play is just one of a significant number where alternative forms of spectacle are applied throughout, and which use the elements of spectacle identified in this thesis to appeal to the audiences' tastes and deliver a visual and audible? sensation. Whether other examples, some yet to be explored, utilise just one, or a range of these elements, this work has demonstrated

the necessity to expand the way spectacle can be perceived as something other than just scenery and machinery.

# Conclusion

We have scaling monkeys, and we have dancing swans,
To match our nimble capering chairs and stands:
There opera's with, and here without machines:
Here, scenes well wrought, and there, well painted scenes;
Castles and men in the air, the *world in the moon,*
Where you, like swallows fly, but soon you are gone.
We've something every different taste to hit,
I'gad, I think, we have every thing but wit;
For we have full scenes, and we have an empty pit.

[1]

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In many ways the previous chapter on *The Emperor of the Moon* (1687) is in itself a conclusion to this thesis as it draws together the many elements discussed. Through a testing of elements against Behn's work, chapter nine presented an opportunity to challenge the new and existing notions of spectacle to see if they did indeed apply. This concluding chapter, then will simply offer a broader overview of my re-examination of the notion of spectacle in relation to theatrical performance in the Restoration period. By consulting a broad range of diaries, accounts, plays and newspapers, this thesis has argued that spectacle held an important place in the creation of Restoration theatre, and that the term can be more broadly attributed than has previously been thought. Moreover, by identifying and characterising a taxonomy of elements which, in their own way, can be considered spectacular, this thesis has provided new evidence concerning the creation and operation of these elements and how they featured and interacted on the Restoration stage.

This doctoral project as a whole began with a consideration of – and a disagreement with - Judith Milhous's restrictive argument that just eight plays of the Restoration could truly be considered as spectacular, and that what defines the spectacular in this sense is, conventionally, an extensive use of scenery, machinery, and music, and a very large cast. By drawing on accounts which directly commented upon the theatrical performances of the

[1] Mary Pix, *The Innocent Mistress A Comedy* (London: J. Orme, 1697), p. 1.

period in order to establish a new terminology for spectacle and spectacular, this thesis has presented an updated widening of this previous definition and period of time that it can relate to. Through the unearthing and re-discovery of play texts and personal accounts which have previously not been considered for their contribution to our knowledge of spectacle, a broader range of elements have been examined for their spectacular content.

Diaries, such as those of Samuel Pepys, Colley Cibber, and John Evelyn have been of great importance to this thesis, as they are to every Restoration historian. For this project these diaries have been able to provide first-hand accounts of how spectacular elements of theatrical production were received – and an indication of what audience members might have found important in terms of the visual elements of performance. Moreover, the diarists' reflections on performance have been able to offer a more in-depth account of these elements, demonstrating that puppetry, for example, was not always deemed to be a positive form of entertainment. Using these diaries to lead the early enquiry on spectacle has made it possible to collate an overview of possible audience responses to theatrical production, and supported the generation of new areas and elements of spectacle research. Likewise, newspaper advertisements and news reports have contributed important information to the approach of re-examining spectacle. Advertisements have been able to offer guidance on the appealing aspects of a spectacle by listing them on the adverts themselves. In some cases, these additionally included a review of the action of the play, providing further examples of spectator response to their use of spectacle. In this regard, *The Spectator* has been a particularly valuable source of opinion as it shared the developments and delights of the playhouse, as well as recording stories and actions of those involved in theatre production.

The evidence used in this work has been located through an intensive search in historical databases, surviving documents held at libraries and a trip to the Castle theatre in Cesky Krumlov. The trip to the Czech Republic proved to be particularly fruitful for both confirming theatre practices in the long eighteenth century, and illuminating unknown information and machinery. Using the search terms such as spectacular, spectacle, 'delight', 'wonder', 'machine', 'flying' and 'enjoyed', the research has generated a new collection of terms through which the performance of this period might be further examined. In broadening the search terms in this way to include words other than spectacle and spectacular, this thesis has been able to identify new plays and source material which have previously not been consulted for their contribution to our understanding of spectacle.

Re-examining the concept of spectacle in Restoration theatre led to the expanding of elements considered to be spectacular. In total, this thesis has identified seven such elements,

and of these a series of sub-forms of spectacle have also been discussed. These, which deviate from those discussed by Judith Milhous, have been identified as important factors in theatrical performance from the source material collected. For some of those elements, it was necessary to re-examine the current understanding of their purpose and operation in order to determine if they could present an additional contribution to the examination of spectacle such as, for example, with theatre spaces. Other elements, identified later in the thesis, were examined for the first time in terms of their spectacular content. The chapters have been divided to represent each element in order to fully examine their contributions and explore the ways in which they achieved a spectacle. While the thesis is structured thematically rather than chronologically, and draws on plays from the entire period, its structure has nevertheless enabled the demonstration of the development of Restoration spectacle. By beginning with *The Siege of Rhodes* (1663), the first chapter provides an example of spectacle in performance at the beginning of the period. Accounts and stage directions provided by William Davenant positioned *The Siege of Rhodes* as a starting point for the development and generation of the large scale spectacle seen at the end of the period.

As much of the research previously conducted into Restoration performance focused on one particular theatre, often the Dorset Garden, the second chapter challenged this research and offered a comparison of the main London theatres. This chapter looked specifically at performance spaces used and built between 1660 and 1714 to understand how their construction, stage floors and trapdoors facilitated the inclusion of other spectacular delights. A key observation of this chapter came in the identification of a distinct similarity between the spaces and their capabilities. As such, it contended that more theatres than the Dorset Garden could be considered as having spectacular capabilities, and therefore allowed for the remainder of the thesis to consider a broad range of theatrical spaces. Moreover, the use of scenery in these spaces was one of the more consistent elements of Restoration spectacle, and was discussed in the third chapter.

Drawing evidence from documents produced and written in, or shortly after, the Restoration period provided the most valuable accounts of theatrical production. However, where documented evidence was sparse, or invited further analysis of its themes and intentions, twentieth and twenty-first century theories were usefully applied. Semiotic analysis was one such framework through which some elements of this thesis were examined. For the representation of weather, semiotics and semantics were able to demonstrate a connection between instances of nature and weather with wider meanings, including religion and fear. In this case, the application of semiotics in this thesis was able to broaden our

knowledge of the connections between theatrical representation and cultural concerns. Moreover, weather developed as a tool through which playwrights could alert the audience of a spectacular occurrence, developing a form of communication between the spectator and the stage, which was also significant in the use of machinery and scenery – with the entrance of clouds, for example. Furthermore, puppetry and automata also drew on reflections of events in order to provide much of their spectacle, and it is in these examples that semiotics can assist in our understanding of metaphor in the Restoration theatre.

The examination of automata offered in this thesis traces its spectacular developments past 1714. As Kara Reilly has identified, mechanics were known to the eighteenth century audience, and yet machinery such as automata and flying machines were widely advertised as a significant element of the spectacle of theatre. By using advertisements and accounts, the sixth chapter therefore framed puppetry and automata as an element which should be considered spectacular. Moreover, the examination of machinery in chapter five and automata in chapter six has further contributed to an ongoing discussion surrounding magic in theatrical production, something which these chapters contend were contributed to by the operation of delights without human intervention. This has drawn attention to the clear connection between the theatre and the supernatural in this period.

The introduction of women to the theatres in 1660 brought with it much controversy. Recent scholarship has examined the popularity of these actresses with great interest, considering their behaviours both on and off stage. This thesis has applied some of these understandings to challenge the current appreciation of female spectacle. There is very little doubt that popularity accompanied actresses of the Restoration theatre. Chapter seven breaks this popularity down and looks again at the accounts of female delight in order to identify and explore in greater detail the role of women in theatrical presentation, and additionally provides an analysis of some of their specific roles to exemplify this. As women have been a significant concern for contemporary scholars, male performers have had less direct attention for their role in Restoration theatre. Since actors did not possess the same newness as their female counterparts, their contribution has been somewhat ignored in terms of their skill and what their characters could offer to the overall spectacle. Male training was a significant part of their spectacularity and it is argued in this thesis to be the continuation of acting into the style we now recognise it as. In mainstream production, male actors were adopting both physical and visual spectacle in order to keep up with the wider developments of the stage. In this case, the Fop and Harlequin have been the focus of this examination due to their overtly spectacular characterisations and their inclusion in popular performance of the period. The

role of the actor in Restoration theatre is both an interesting and important one. This thesis has drawn attention to just two of the ways in which these performers might have been perceived as spectacular, and has offered a starting point for further analysis.

Aphra Behn's *The Emperor of The Moon* (1687), has been of great importance to this project and its formation and, in concluding the thesis, is used to illustrate the combination of the new elements of spectacle. In the early stages of this research, Behn's play was used to explore what an alternative notion of spectacle, broader than Milhous's definition, might include. As a play which varies greatly from Behn's other work, *The Emperor of the Moon* identified itself as having distinct reasoning for its creation. As new elements of spectacular entertainment were identified I returned to Behn's play and tested them against my belief that Behn was using spectacle in an interesting but non-conventional way, and found that in all cases, Behn was purposely making use of these elements in her own manner. *The Emperor of the Moon* thus became an intricate illustration of stage spectacle, and because of Behn's apparent reluctance to draw on extensive machinery in this play, it demonstrated the stratified nature of spectacle, as well as the flexibility of its use. *The Emperor of the Moon* was written in the middle of the period this thesis examines, at a time when the theatres' experiments with spectacular effects were in a continual process of development, the theatre space was being re-imagined, and playwrights sought to respond to the delights of the audience, rendering *The Emperor of the Moon* an exquisite example spectacle in the period when it was reaching the height of its popularity.

But if Behn's work demonstrates some of the ways in which the spectacular nature of theatre could be exploited by a skilful writer, it also at times articulates a more sceptical approach to the delights of theatrical spectacle. While spectacle did form an important part of *The Emperor of the Moon's* success, the manner with which Behn presents it suggests that she was not as enthused by its popularity as some theatre-makers were, but that she had the skills to re-imagine the use of spectacle for her own purposes. This is expressed in the discussion of farce in her dedication. Speaking specifically of her play she writes, 'I am secure from this censure, when your lordship shall be its judge, whose refined sense, and delicacy of judgment, will, through all the humble actions and trivialness of business, find nature there, and that diversion which was not meant for the numbers, who comprehend nothing beyond the show and buffoonery'. Here, Behn suggests that spectacle and theatrical additions to performance are 'show and buffoonery', which she has included for success, but which she hopes some of the audience can see past to witness the intricate delights of her

play.[2] This thesis stresses the positive contribution which theatrical spectacle made to the pleasure of the Restoration audience. However, Behn's approach towards the use of spectacle is not untypical of some of the writers of the period, who believed it not to be a worthwhile form of entertainment without the accompaniment of an interesting and clever script. For example, Mary Pix's prologue, quoted in the epigraph to this chapter, demonstrates an alternative opinion to those who welcomed and encouraged spectacle, like William Davenant. Pix suggests how these elements provide superficial entertainments but do not constitute a delightful performance in itself – and may even be the cause of emptying rather than filling theatres. While this is just Pix's opinion it is something which should be borne in mind when looking at the wider theatrical trends of the Restoration.

As evidence from the period is limited and often hard to locate, this thesis is necessarily limited in its ability to provide a comprehensive account of the period. However, by examining a wide range of sources, it has presented a broader understanding of the period's theatrical activities, based on the information we currently have at our disposal. While this thesis has been able to draw on some personal accounts of performance from the period, some of the thinking has grown from present-day opinions of stage practices and, where possible, tracing them back to the Restoration period. In some cases, such a consideration has led to the discussion of elements which may have previously been omitted from the thesis. For example, the discussion sartorial design was identified as an important factor for the visual spectacle of the Fop. Moreover, the remit of this thesis only allowed for limited elements to be identified due to limitations of length and time. With greater freedom in these regards, it is possible that discussion of each of the elements identified within this thesis could be extended and study broadened into potentially additional ways that each identified element created spectacle. Furthermore, while the Restoration has been the focus for this thesis, I hope that this study has also provided grounds for further work in later periods. There are elements of Restoration performance which we can witness in present-day theatre, so a more longitudinal study of spectacle in theatre could certainly be conducted. This thesis has, however, drawn on a wealth of information from the period beginning with the return of Charles II's court, and concluding in 1714. The development of spectacle after 1714 is less obvious, and with the introduction of the Licensing Act later on in the period in 1737, the landscape of theatrical presentation began to change, but between 1660 and 1714, spectacle populated the theatres with great fervour.

[2] Aphra Behn, *The Rover and Other Plays*, ed. by Jane Spencer (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 275.

The purpose of this thesis was to re-examine Restoration source material in order to establish whether a broader understanding of the notion of the spectacular could be achieved. Specific genres of theatre have not been discussed at length in this thesis, as this thesis has instead identified spectacle as a cross-genre phenomenon incorporated within a diverse range of play texts in order to promote interest and delight in their performance. There is, though, still a wealth of information to be drawn on, and this thesis presents an opportunity for the notion of spectacle to be developed and advanced further, as our knowledge of the period and those that followed grows.

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# Appendix

## 1. Killigrew's Patent

Charles the Second, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., To all to whom theis present shall come, greeting; Knowe ye that Wee of Our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere Moĉon , and upon the humble peti[c]on of Our trustie and welbeloved Thomas Killigrew, Esquire, one of the groomes of Our bedchamber, have given and granted, and by theis present, for Us, Our heires and successors, doe give and grante unto the s[d] Thomas Killigrew, his heires and assignes, full power, licence and authoritie, that he, they and every of them, by him and themselves, and by all and every such person and persons as he or they shall depute or appointe, and his and their labourers, servant and workmen, shall and maie lawfullie, quietly and peaceably frame, erect, new build and sett up in any place within Our citties of London and Westminster, or the suburbs thereof, where he or they shall finde best accommoda[c]on for that purpose, to be assigned and allotted out by the surveyor of our works, one theatre or playhouse, with necessarie tyreing and retyreing rooms, and other places convenient, of such extent and dimension as the said Thomas Killigrew, his heires or assignes shall think fittinge, wherein tragedies, comedies, plays, operas, musick, scenes and all other entertainment of the stage whatsoever, may be shewen and presented: And Wee doe hereby for Us, Our heires and successors, graunt unto the said Thomas Killigrew, his heires and assignes, full power, licence, and authortie, from time to time, to gather together, entertaine, governe, priviledge, and keepe such and soe manie players and persons to exercise and act tragedies, comedies, playes, operas and other performa[c]ons of the stage within the house to be built as foresaid, or within any other house where he or they cann be best fitted for that purpose, within Our cities of London and Westminster, or the suburbs thereof, which said company shall be the servant of Us and Our deare Consort, and shall consist of such a number as the said Thomas Killigrew, his heires or assignes, shall from time to time thinke meete; and such persons to permit and continue att and dureigne the pleasure of the said Thomas Killigrew, his heires or assignes, from time to time to act playes and enterteyment of the stage of all sort peaceably

and quietly, without the impeachment or impediment of any person or persons whats[r], for the honest recrea[c]on of such as shall desire to see the same: And that it shall and maie be lawful to and for the said Thomason Killigrew, his heires and assignes, to take and received of such Our subhect as shall resort to see or heare anie such playes, scenes and entertainment whatso, such some of somes of money and either have accustomablie bin given or taken in the like kinde, or as shall be thought reasonable by him or them in regards of the greate expences of scenes, musick and such new decarons as have not been formerlly used; and further, for Us, Our heires and successprs, Wee do hereby give and grant unto the said Thomas Killigrew, his heires and assignes, full power to make such allowances out of that which he shall soe receive by the acting of playes and entertainment of the stay as asid to the actors and other persons imployed in actinge, representinge, or in ant qualitie whatso about the said theatre, as be or they shall thinke siit; and that the ad companie shall be under the sole government and authoritie of the said Thomas Killigrew, his heires and assignes; and all scandalous and mutinous persons from time to time by him and them to be ejected and disabled from playeing in the said theatre: And for that Wee are informed that divers companies of players have taken upon them to act playes publiquely in Our said cities of London and Westminster, or the suburbs thereof, without any authoritie for that purpose, Wee doe hereby declare our dislike of the same, and will graunt that onely the said companie to be erected and sett upp by the said Thomas Killigrew, his heires and assisnes, by virtue of theis present, and one other companie to be erected and sett up by Sir William Davenant, knight, him heires or assignes, and none other, shall from henceforth act or represent comedies, tragesies, plaies or entertainment of the stage within our good citties of London and Westminster, and the suburbs thereof, which said companie to be erected by the said Sir William Davenant, his heires or assignes, shall be subject to his or their government and authoritie, and shall be styles the Duke of York's Companie; and the better to preserve amitye and correspondence betwixt the said companies, and that the one maie not encroach upon the other by any indiect meanes, Wee will and ordain that noe actor or other person imployed about either the said theatres eisted by the said Thomas Killigrew and Sir William Davenant, or either of them, or deserting his companie, shall be received by the governour of the said other companie to be emploted in acting, or in anie matter relateing to the stage, without the consent and approbation of the governor of the companie whereof the good person so ejected or deserting was a member, signified under his hand and seale; and Wee does by theis present declare all other companie and companies before mentioned to be silencid and suppressed: And forasmuch as manie playes formerly acted doe conteine severll prophane, obscene and

scurrilous passages, and the women's part therein have byn acted by e in the habit of woemen, at which some have taken offence, for the preventing of these abuses for the future, Wee doe hereby strictly command and enjoyne, that from henceforth noe new play shall bee acted by either the said comp conteyninge anie passages offensive to pietie and good manners, not any old or revived play conteyninge ant such offensive pasaages as aforesaid, unill the same shall be corrected and purged by the said masters or governours of the said respective companies from all such offensive and scandalous passages as asfd; and Wee doe likewise permit and give leave, that all the woemen's part to be acted in either of the said two companies for the time to come may be perfomed by woemen, soe long as their recreacons, which, by reason of the abused afsd, were scandalous and offensive, may be suche reformation be esteemed, not onely harmless delight, but usefull and instructive representations of humane life, to such of our good subject as shall resort to the same; and theis our letter patent, or the inrollment thereof, shall be in all things firme, good, effectuall in the lawe, according to the true intent and meaning of the same, anything in theis present contained, or any law, statute, act, ordinance, proclamacon, provision, or restricton, or any other matter, cause or thing whatsoever to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding, although express mencon of the true yearely value or certenity of the premises, or of any of them, or of any other guise or grant by Us or by any of Our progenitors or predecessors heretofore made to the said Thomas Killigrew, and the said Sir William Davenant, in theis present is not made, or any statute, ordinance, provision, proclamacon or restricon heretofore had, made, enacted, ordeyned or provided, or any other matter, cause or thing whatsoever to the contrary thereof, in anywise notwithstanding. In witness whereof, Wee have caused theis Our letters to be made patent. Witness Ourselfe at Westminster the 25th day of April, in the 14th yeare of our reigne.

By the King.

(scal) *Howard.*

# 2. Davenant's Patent

CHARLES the Second, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., To all to whom these presents shall come greeting; Whereas Our Royal Father, of glorious memory, by his letters patent, under his Great Seal of England, bearing date at Westminster the 26th day of March, in the 14th year of his reign, Did give and grant unto Sir William Davenant, by the name of William Davenant , gentleman, his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns, full power, licence and authority, that he, they and every of them, by him and themselves, and by all and every such person and persons as he or they should depute or appoint, and his and their laborers, servants and workmen, should and might lawfully, quietly and peaceably, frame, erect, new build and set up upon a parcel of ground lying near unto or behind the Three Kings' Ordinary, in Fleet-street, in the parishes of Saint Dunstan in the West, London, or in Saint Brides', London, or in either of them, or in any other ground in or about that place, or in the whole street aforesaid, then allotted to him for that use, or in any other that was or then after should be assigned or allotted out to the said Sir William Davenant by Thomas Earl of Arundel and Surrey, then Earl Marshall of England, or any others, Commissioners for building for the time being in that begalf, a theatre or playhouse, with necessary tiring and retiring rooms, and other places convenient, containing in the whole 40 yards square at the most, wherein plays, musical entertainments, scenes or other the like presentment might be presented: And Our said Royal Father did grant unto the said Sir William Davenant, his heires, executors, administrators and assigns, that it should and might be lawful to and for him the said Sir William Davenant, his heires, executors, administrators and assigns, from time to time to gather together, entertain, govern, privilege and and keep such and so many players and persons to exercise sections, musical presentments, scenes, dancings and the like, as he the said Sir William Davenant, his heires, exores, admors or assigns, shall think fitting, and from time to time to act plays in such houses so to be by him or them erected, and exercise musick, musical presentments, scenes, dancing or other the like, at the same or others, houses or times, or after plays are ended, peaceably and quietly, without impeachment or impediment of any person or persons whatsoever, for the honest recreation of such as shall desire to see the same: And that it should and might be lawful to and for the said Sir William Davenant, his heires, exors, admors and assigns, to take and receive of such as such resort to see and hear any such plays,

scenes and entertainments whatsoever, such a sum or sums of money as was or thereafter from time to time should be accustomed to be given or take in other playhouses and plays for the like, plays, scenes, presentments and entertainments, as in and by the said letters patent, relation being there-unto had, more at large may appear: And Whereas We did by Our letters patent, under Our Great Seal of England, bearing date the 16th day of May, in the 13th Year of Our reign, exemplify the said letter patent granted by Our Royal Father, as in and by the same, relation being thereunto had, at large may appear: And whereas the said Sir William Davenant hath surrendered Pur said letters patent of exemplification, and also the said recited letters patent granted by Our Royal Father into Our Court of Chancery to be cancelled with surrender We have accepted, and do accept by these presents; Know ye that We, of Our especial grace, certain knowledge of meet motion, and upon the humble petition of the said Sir William Davenant, and in conson of the good and faithful servide which he the said Sir William Davenant hath done into us, and doth intend to do for the future, and in consideration of the said surrender, have given and granted, and by these presents for Us, Our heirs and successors, do give and grant full unto the said Sir William Davenant, his heirs, exors, admors and assigns, full power, licence and authority, that he and every of them, by him and themselves, and by all and every person and persons as he or they shall depute or appoint, and his and their laborers, servants and workmen, shall and may lawfully, peaceably and quietly frame, erect, new build and set up in any place within Our cities of London and Westminster, or the suburbs thereof, where he or they shall find best accommodation for that purpose, to be assigned and allotted out by the surveyor of Our works, one theatre or playhouse, with tiring and retiring rooms, and other places convenient, of such extent and dimension as the said Sir William Davenant, his heirs or assigns, shall think fitting, wherein tragedies, comedies, plays, operas, musick, scenes and all other entertainments of the stage whatsoever, may be shown and presented: And We do hereby for Us, Our heirs and successors, grant unto the said Sir William Davenant, his heirs and assigns, full power, license and authority from time to time to gather together, entertain, govern, privledge and keep such and so many players and persons to exercise and act tragedies, comedies, plays, operas and other performances of the stage, within the house to be build aforesaid, or within the house in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, wherein the said Sir William Davenant doth now exercise the premises, or within any other house where he or they can best be fitted for that purpose with Our cities of London and Westminster, or the suburbs thereof, which company shall be the servants of Our dearly beloved Brother James, Duke of York, and shall consist of such number as the said Sir William Davenant, his heirs or assigns, shall from time to time think

meet; and such persons to permit and continue at and during the pleasure of him the said Sir William Davenant, his heirs or assigns, from time to time to act plays and entertainments of the stage of all sorts, peaceably and quietly, without the impeachment or impediment of any person or persons whatsoever, for the honest recreation of such as shall desire to see the same; and that it shall and may be lawful to and for the the said Sir William Davenant, his heirs or assigns, to take and receive such Our subjects as shall resort to see or here any such plays, scenes and entertainments whatsoever, such sum or sums of money as either have accustomably been given and taking in the like kind, or as shall be thought reasonable by him or them, in reward of the great experience of scenes, musick, and such new decorations as have no been formerly used: And futher, for Us, Our heirs and successors we do hereby grant and give to the said Sir William Davenant, his heirs or assigns, full power to make such allowances out of that which he shall so receive by the acting of plays and entertainments of the stage as aforesaid to the actors and other persons employed in acting, representing, or in any quality whatsoever about the said theatre, as he or they shall think fit; and that the said company shall be under the sole government and authority of the said Sir William Davenant, his heirs or assigns, and all scandalous and mutinous person shall from time to time by him and them be ejected, and disabled from playing in the said theatre: And for that We are informed that divers companies of players have taken upon them to act plays publicly in Our said cities of London and Westminster, or the suburbs thereof, without any authority for that purpose, We do hereby declare Our dislike of the same, and will and grant that only the said company erected and set up, or to be erected and set up by the said Sir William Davenant, his heirs or assigns, by virtue of these presents, and other company erected and set up, or to be erected and set up, by Thomas Killigrew, his heirs and assigns, and none other, shall from henceforth act or represent comedies, tragedies, plays or entertainments of the stage within our said cities of London and Westminster, or the suburbs thereof, which said company to be erected ny the said Thomas Killigrew, his heirs and assigns, shall be subject to his and their government and authority, and shall be styles the company of Us, and Our Royal Consort; and the better to preserve amity and correspondence betwixt the said companies, and that the one may not encroach upon the other by any indirect means, We will and ordain that no actor or other person employed about either of the said theatres ejected by the said Sir William Davenant and Thomas Killigrew, or either of them, deserting his company, shall be received by the governor or any of the said other company, or any other person or persons to be employed in acting, or in any other matter relating to the stage, without the consent and approbation of the governor of the company whereof the said person so ejected or deserted

was a member, signified under his hand and seal. And We do by these presents declare all other company and companies, saving the two companies before mentioned, to be silenced and suppressed: And forasmuch as many plays formerly acted do contain several profane, obscene and scurrilous passages, and the women's parts have been acted by men in the habits of women, at which some have taken offence, for the preventing of these abuses for the future, We do hereby strictly command and enjoyn that from henceforth no new play shall be acted by either of the said companies containing any passages offensive to the piety and good manners, nor any old or received play containing any such offensive passages as aforesaid, until the same shall be corrected and purged by the said masters and governors of the said respective companies from all such offensive and scandalous passages as aforesaid: And We do likewise permit and leave that all the women's parts to be acting in either of the said two companies for the time to come may be performed by women, so long as these recreations (which by reason of the abuses aforesaid were scandalous and offensive) may such reformation be esteemed, not only harmless delight, but useful and instructive representations of human life, to such of Our good subjects as shall resort to the same; and these Our letters patent, or the inrollment thereof, shall be in all things good and effectual in the law, according to the true intent and meaning of the same, anything in these presents contained, or any law, statute, act, ordinance, proclamation, provision or restriction, or any other matter, cause of thing whatsoever to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding, although express mention of the true yearly value or certainty of the premises, or of any of them, or of any other gifts or grants by Us or any of Our progenitors or predecessors heretofore made to the said Sir William Davenant in these presents is not made, or any of any other act, statue, ordinance, provision, proclamation or restriction, heretofore had, made, enacted, ordained or provided, or any other matter, cause or thing whatsoever to the contrary thereof in anywise not withstanding. In witness whereof We have caused these Our letters to be made patent. Witness Ourself at Westminster this 15th day of January, in the 14th year of Our reign.

By the King.