

MONEY: GOD AND KING ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF
RESTORATION COMEDY.

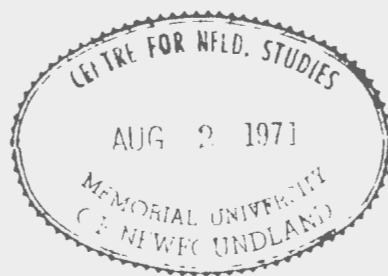
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MONEY, GOD AND KING
ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF RESTORATION COMEDY

A Dissertation

by

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MONEY: GOD AND KING

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF RESTORATION COMEDY

ABSTRACT

MONEY: GOD AND KING

The new comedies produced on the London public stage between 1660 and 1700 depict a society in which money is the measure of all values, in which money is the catalytic force in all actions, in which money is both god and king. They articulate the conflicts created by the intrusion of capitalistic attitudes and beliefs into a traditional hierarchical society. An economic "system", especially a system in embryonic form, is not easily attacked, even if its existence is recognized, but the prospering merchant, a manifestation of that system, is easily identified. He provides a palpable and convenient target for any attack on economic processes or changing social structure. He, with money, can purchase those things, land, prestige, a noble bride, or power, which belong by natural right to the gentleman. He is an eminently suitable quarry because of his religious and political associations; his kind beheaded a king and dispossessed the nobility. Thus, economic grievances have religious, political and social concomitants which are reflected in the comedies.

The comedies apparently attempt to convey the belief that in this society the gentleman is the only honest man, cynically resigned to but not involved in the universal money-mongering. What they do convey, however, is that the gentleman too is strongly motivated by money. Unable to earn money, rejecting both business and the professions, the gentleman can depend only on inherited wealth or marriage to a fortune. The comedies present the facts, but they present them in such a way that the gentleman's quest for money appears more honourable than that of the merchant. The gentleman's viewpoint predominates because of the financial condition of most of the playwrights and because of the constraints under which they wrote. Ironically, while the gentleman condemns business, he reveals his own attitude *to human relations and society by depending almost wholly*, in his use of language in the comedies, on the imagery of commerce. And so, from the comedies emerges the picture of a society in which the procedures of the market-place are used in assessing all human relations and all actions, of a society in which the standard question is "For what is worth in any things/ But so much money as 'twill bring".

PREFACE

I began this study in Newfoundland, continued it in England and completed it in British Columbia. In all three places, there are people to whom I owe thanks; the staff of the Memorial University of Newfoundland Library who were always patient and helpful in dealing with my requests for microfilm, xerox material and inter-library loans; the staffs of the University of London Library and the British Museum, who accorded me reader's privileges and helped me in the location of rare material, and of the Readex Microprint Company, London, and Camden Public Library, London, for the provision of material not otherwise available; the staff of the Library of the University of British Columbia for help in the checking of innumerable details.

For their suggestions and help with the earlier drafts and for their guidance and criticism of this final presentation of the thesis, I wish to thank Dr. Noreen Hayes and Dr. G.M. Story, of Memorial University of Newfoundland.

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INTRODUCTION

"MONEY, THE LIFE-BLOOD OF THE NATION"

The title of this study, "Money, God and King", is open to a number of interpretations. The words are from a Restoration comedy, where, in context, they have a particular meaning; this particular meaning is significant because it represents a major judgment made in many of the new comedies produced between 1660 and 1700. The judgment is really the designation of causes for current ills in Restoration society; the implication, as we shall see, is that these causes originated in the recent past but continue to exist in the present. The words of the title, however, have also a more general meaning; they suggest a number of attitudes to money. These attitudes prevail in the present, according to the comedies. Finally, the title serves as a description of the economic system of capitalism. Adam Smith is to provide the rationale for the profit motive in the last quarter of the next century,¹ and so, with this final interpretation, there is the implication of a future result of the present practices shown in the comedies. The import of all these comments will be clarified in this introductory chapter; the simplest approach to their elucidation is by an examination of the general

meaning of this title, with its suggestion of various attitudes to money.

The quotation implies that money has both divine and earthly powers, that it is worshipped and served, that it orders beliefs, values and conduct and it establishes rank and rules and procedures. With such a burden of meaning, the quotation may seem too ponderous to be applied to the fragility of comedy. It may seem even more inappropriate to a study of the new comedies produced on the London public stage between 1600 and 1700, "the sports of a witty fancy", as Lamb described them. However, I have used the quotation with deliberate intent; I have applied it to the "fairylane", this again is Lamb's term, of Restoration comedy because I think it is a fitting description of a central concern of the plays. Let me demonstrate at this point the pervasive influence of money in one of the characteristic motifs of the comedies. The demonstration itself will serve to lead directly to the heart of my subject.

The titles of the comedies yield a surprising amount of information. The word "love" occurs in at least twelve titles; "lover" appears in nine others; "loving" in one. The word "amorous", which carries a greater measure of ambiguity than "loving", is attached to a variety of persons in the titles. There is an

amorous prince, an amorous bigotte, an amorous jilt, and even an amorous old woman. Other words, such as "mistress" and "she-gallant", which appear in titles, may also be ambiguous, but "curtizan" is explicit. With "wild gallant", "keeper" and "cuckold", the last of which appears in five titles, there is no doubt as to the amatory proceedings signified. Many gallants in Restoration comedies, however, find that love leads them to "commit Matrimony", and perhaps this course is indicated in the seven titles which include "match" or "wedding" or "marriage".

Altogether 43 comedies employ in their titles one of the words mentioned above. Other words, such as "bride", "bridegroom", "husband", "jealousy", which appear in titles and which may be closely related to the words chosen, have not been taken into consideration. This statistical exercise, is revealing, although the information it provides may be of a confirmatory rather than of a startling nature; it is simply that a great many Restoration comedies, from the evidence of the titles, appear to be concerned with sexual pursuit, courtship and marriage. This, indeed, appears to represent how many readers regard the comedies. Yet one need read only a few well-known Restoration comedies to become aware that Cupid does not scatter his arrows aimlessly.

"Wealth", it seems, if I may borrow some lines from Samuel Butler's Hudibras, "is a great/Provocative to am'rous heat" [II, 1, 453-4]. Farquhar's The Beaux' Stratagem, for instance, revolves around the attempts of Aimwell and Archer to recoup their fortunes by finding rich brides. Archer, in the third act, offers Aimwell cautionary advice on the selection of a woman to be courted: " . . . instead of riveting your eyes to a beauty, try and fix 'em upon a fortune". Aimwell's rejoinder shows that he is quite aware of the relevance of money to courtship: "Pshaw! no woman can be a beauty without a fortune". The importance of money is shown again at the end of the play, for when it appears that Mrs. Sullen will not recover her fortune, Archer bluntly rejects her. The priority given to money is indicated, in the first act of Etherege's The Man of Mode, by Medley's words when he describes Harriet: "Why, first, she's an heiress vastly rich". The woman's possession of money may be merely a provocative element in the gallant's resolution to pursue her, but it is a necessary condition in his decision to marry her. Marriage, indeed, at times is described in simple transactional terms, as Pinchwife's words, in the first act of Wycherley's The Country-Wife, make clear: "I must give Sparkish to morrow five thousand pound to lye with my

Sister". In the comedies, to recognize the importance of money in matters of love is simply to take a rational view of social circumstances. This rational view is presented quite casually in the opening scene of Congreve's The Way of the World. Mirabell is disturbed that Millamant appeared to support her Aunt's comment on his prolonged visit. Fainall reacts with amazement to Mirabell's remark that Millamant should not have agreed with her aunt: "What! though half her fortune depends upon her marrying with my lady's approbation?" The incidental nature of this exchange serves to indicate the normality of Millamant's behaviour.

Transactional and rational attitudes are transparent even in the imagery of the comedies. The opening lines of Etherege's The Man of Mode provide an example. Dorimant is musing over a letter he has written to his mistress:

What a dull, insipid thing is a billet-doux
written in cold blood, after the heat of the
business is over! It is a tax upon good
nature which I have here been laboring to
pay, and have done it, but with as much
regret as ever fanatic paid the Royal Aid
or church duties.

Here a sexual relationship is equated with business and the billet-doux is identified with a tax. Dorimant's repugnance for the task is expressed through an extension of the taxation image. Later in the same act, the

rational attitude, expressed in transactional terms, is reflected by Medley when he cautions Young Bellair against marriage: "Is it not great indiscretion for a man of credit, who may have money enough on his word, to go and deal with Jews, who for little sums make men enter into bonds and give judgments?" The referents are so obvious that the statement needs no explication.

Thus, no matter what the titles indicate, there appears to be an important financial concern in the "Utopia of gallantry", again Lamb's words, shown in the comedies. A few titles do indeed suggest an economic motive; three, for example, include the words, "city heiress". Carlile's The Fortune-Hunters and D'Urfey's Love for Money, however, are the only two comedies with the money motive expressed in the title. Of course, titles have very limited value as signs to what a play is actually about. But that over forty titles suggest some sort of a love plot and only about five suggest a money-hunting plot seems to indicate that the Restoration dramatists see themselves as concerned with love and marriage rather than fortune-hunting as topics. Yet, if the financial motive evident in the few well-known comedies examined above is typical of what happens in other "love" comedies, it appears that the economic consideration in marriage is perfectly valid, or, even,

is as valid as or more valid than personal emotions. This is a matter which I shall examine in a later chapter on marriage, but it has also an immediate pertinence. Courtship and marriage are rituals defined by the beliefs and institutions of a society; the attitudes to courtship and marriage are predetermined by that society. Therefore, do the rituals suggest anything about the nature of that society? If money is an important consideration in love and marriage, how is money regarded in society? If the closest kind of relationship, marriage, is viewed almost as a system of barter and exchange, how are all other human relations perceived?

The society which I am discussing is, of course, the society postulated by the comedies themselves, the milieu created by the dramatist in which his characters have their being. It is this society which I examine in the present study. The title indicates the basic topic: the importance of money. The sub-title, "Economic Aspects of Restoration Comedy", indicates the nature and scope of the examination.* I have chosen to discuss economic aspects because one cannot ask what is the importance of money without also raising such questions as what is

*I use the term "Restoration", with the poetic licence which has become customary in dealing with the comedies, to include the whole period 1660-1700.

money important for, how is money important, and why is money important. And these questions may lead to political, social, religious or economic matters. I have chosen to examine the economic aspect because, to me, it is the most obvious element in the comedies and because its centrality helps to radiate light on the political, social and religious concomitants.

The problem I had to resolve before tackling the subject was that of the correlation between the "society" of the comedies and real Restoration society, the question of the versimilitude of the comedies. Lamb appeared to dismiss any possibility of versimilitude: "They are a world of themselves almost as much as fairyland . . . It is altogether a speculative scene of things, which has no reference to the world that is ".² Lamb was supported, with qualifications, by Schelling and Crawford.³ Many scholars, however, have agreed with Palmer who stated that "The excellence of Restoration comedy is, in fact, directly due to the honest fidelity with which it reflects the spirit of an intensely interesting phase of our social history".⁴ Bonamy Dobrée asserted that "If we were to try to sum up what the comedy of this period as a whole achieved, it would be to say that it gave a brilliant picture of its time rather than a new insight into man",⁵

and H.F.B. Brett-Smith stated that we "must adopt the point of view of the age, and not blame the author for picturing what he saw".⁶ Lamb's view or any acceptance of Lamb's view would render my investigation meaningless. The arguments of those who like Elmer Edgar Stoll object to the "photographic fidelity" interpretation in no way nullify my approach. In "The Beau Monde at the Restoration", Stoll concludes:

M. Baldensperger . . . declares that literature is, though an expression of society, not a description of it; that it does not so much reflect it as refract it, and magnify it; and that even the expression of society it can be only when taken as a whole . . . [the] Comedy of Manners does reflect [the beau monde]--in so far as that or any other mode of life can be truly mirrored in what is not a drama but a comedy, and a satire, and first and foremost not a document but a highly amusing entertainment, with fantastic and improbable situations, and with social and moral arrangements and principles, though near enough to the actual to be recognizable, pretty much upside down. It refracts instead of reflecting.⁷

My view is that while we must guard against a too-ready acceptance of writers' declarations of intent to "mirror" the age, we must not be in haste to dismiss them. These statements are too ubiquitous, too deliberate, too self-conscious to be entirely without foundation. Etherege's letter to Jephson (1687/8) contains one of many similar indications that there was a certain "fidelity" in the comedies:

. . . tho' I have given over writing plays I shou'd be glad to read a good one, wherefore pray lett Will Richards send me Mr. Shadwell's [Squire of Alsatia, prod. D.L. May] when it is printed, that I may know what follies are in fashion; the fops I know are grown stale, and he is likely to pick up the collection of new ones.⁸

Dryden, in turn, in the epilogue to The Man of Mode (1676), pointed out that, in Sir Fopling, Etherege had presented a compound of current fads. In The Kind Keeper (1678), Dryden himself "so much expos'd the keeping part of the Town, that the Play was stopt . . .".⁹ And there is sufficient contemporary rumour, belief and evidence to substantiate that certain of the comedies were based on or depicted known figures of the time. About Etherege's The Man of Mode, Dennis wrote: "I remember very well that upon the first acting this Comedy, it was generally believed to be agreeable Representation of the Persons of Condition of both Sexes, both in Court and Town".¹⁰ Of Shadwell's The Sullen Lovers (1668), Pepys wrote: "But, Lord! to see how this play of Sir Positive At-all, in abuse of Sir Robert Howard do take, all the Duke's and every body's talk being of that, and telling more stories of him of the like nature, that it is now the town and country talk, and, they say, is most exactly true. The Duke of York himself said that of his playing at trap-ball is true, and told several other stories of him".¹¹ And no matter how opinion may differ as to the

identities of his other characters, Crowne admitted that he had portrayed Titus Oates as Doctor Sanchy in City Politiques (1683).¹²

However, before any conclusions can be reached about the "reality" depicted in the comedies, certain objections require examination. A character in a play or even the author may be, deliberately or otherwise, presenting a distorted or unusual view of reality. The traditional malcontent harps on the degeneracy of the times; the sycophantic writer presents a glowing picture of his patron. The large amount of material in the period serves as a general corrective for both types of distortion. In addition, in this period, when a playwright does deviate for some individual reason, he usually indicates to the audience that he has done so because he is catering to its taste; in any case, he cannot strain versimilitude too much. There is enough internal evidence in the comedies, for instance, in the attitude of the other characters to the one who deviates, and external evidence in prologues, epilogues, preface, dedications and criticism to alert the reader. That a self-perpetuating trend exists in Restoration comedy is evident. But distortion here is regulated by the audience; a dramatic tradition will only exist so long as it is acceptable to the audience.

In general, then, I have followed both Nicoll and Dobrée in viewing the comedy as tending to the realistic¹³ and the heroic play as idealistic.¹⁴

After considering the versimilitude of the comedies, my next task was to examine what other students of Restoration drama had discovered about my topic of investigation. Here I encountered a gap in this branch of English studies. Two important works cover the adjacent periods. Professor L.C. Knights, in Drama and Society in the Age of Jonson, deals with the question of "determining the relations between dramatic literature . . . and 'the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange' in the Shakesperian period". He finds that no play "is a dramatization of an economic problem or consciously intended as propaganda for this or that form of economic organization". This conclusion can be applied also to the comedies of the Restoration. Professor Knights's next statement, however, cannot be applied without qualification to the Restoration:

What we do find, however, is that the material on which the dramatists work--in comedy and history plays--is drawn from--has an immediate reference to--the movements, the significant figures of contemporary life; the satire on usurers, the profiteers and the newly rich, on social ambition and the greed for money, can be abundantly illustrated. And the social interests that are drawn on are not those of one class alone.¹⁵

The major change, as we shall see, is that Restoration

comedy does draw on the social interests of one class. There are also minor changes; "the significant figures of contemporary life" are often amalgamated and disguised in Restoration comedy; the satire on usurers, specifically as such, dwindles in amount. In Restoration society, it is dangerous for the playwright to satirize an individual directly; in Restoration business, borrowing and lending are beginning to be cloaked in respectability. John Loftis deals with the early eighteenth century in Comedy and Society from Congreve to Fielding. Loftis sees this as a period when comedy and society undergo parallel and related changes. He summarizes the changes which occur in the plays:

During the first years of the eighteenth century, the best dramatists held firmly in their satirical judgments on class relationships to evaluations not unlike those of the first generation after the Restoration. However, certain lesser yet still competent dramatists were moving away from these evaluations even at the turn of the century. After 1710 . . . the better dramatists reversed their judgments, openly espousing the claims of the merchants . . .¹⁶

My study attempts to form the link between Knights's and Loftis's work. However, rather than dealing with society and comedy, as these two writers have done, I have limited the investigation to certain economic aspects which I shall describe below. As I indicated earlier, economic facts may have social consequences. A number of important studies deal with

social matters which have relevance to the present topic. The two books which follow provide useful introductory or background material. Kenneth Muir's The Comedy of Manners offers a penetrating analysis of the work of nine major playwrights. He considers each of the dramatists separately in order to resist the temptation of making them all fit into a general theory, but he does reach the conclusion that the "comedy of manners requires equality between the sexes together with social inequality". Kathleen M. Lynch's The Social Mode of Restoration Comedy is invaluable for an understanding of the conventions of polite society which found expression in the drama of 1630 - 1640 and were continued in Restoration comedy. Her approach, however, tends to stress the continuity of the "manners" mode and to neglect the distinctive features of Restoration comedy. Three works were of more direct value to my study. The members of the small clique which dominated early Restoration society included a number of aristocrats, such as John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, and a few playwrights, such as William Wycherley. John H. Wilson's The Court Wits of the Restoration offers a fascinating study of the social influence of this "merry gang". David R. McIntyre Wilkinson traces the correlations that existed between the courtesy books and the comedies. His study sheds an interesting sidelight on certain modes of behaviour,

such as that of exerting superiority, and on conventions of wit, such as the "bon-mot" use of language, which appear constantly in the comedies. He concludes his study, The Comedy of Habit, by accepting, rather ruefully, L.C. Knights's low estimate of the comedies. Gellert A. Alleman's Matrimonial Laws and the Materials of Restoration Comedy is essential for a just appreciation of the significance of the matrimonial contracts and escapades.¹⁷

At this point it is necessary to put my topic in perspective. The comedies of the Restoration, in general, are comedies of exploitation. People are exploited for money, for sexual gratification, for revenge. An examination of any one of these motivations may give it an importance, an isolation and a simplicity which may be misleading. Dorimant, for instance, in Etherege's The Man of Mode, initially appears to be motivated by the desire for sexual conquest and for money. Bellmour, in Congreve's The Old Batchelor, is motivated by the desire for sexual conquest and for requital. Gerrard, in Wycherley's The Gentleman - Dancing - Master, may be impelled by all three motivations. Does the financial motivation of Dorimant or Gerrard operate only when accompanied by other motivations? Will Bellmour be

sufficiently motivated by his desire for requital in the absence of any possibility of sexual conquest?

What complicates matters still further is that love may exist alongside a number of other motivations. In the plays just mentioned, Bellmour, Dorimant, and Gerrard all marry, apparently for love. But we know that Belinda's £2,000 fortune, Harriet's fortune, and Hippolita's £1,200 a year all carry weight with the lovers. There are, it seems, few penniless but honest heroes.

Interwoven with all these motivations may be something which exists in a society where idleness is a prerequisite. Idleness may produce boredom which in turn sets off an aimless or chance "adventuring", a quest for novelty and diversion. This, indeed, may be the basic stimulus to the cuckolding of a citizen, the chase of a pretty face, or the discomfiture of an upstart knight.

Thus, it should be apparent that financial and economic considerations, although isolated for examination here, need not and do not exist alone.

The three motivations, of money, sexual conquest and revenge, of course, do not occur in a vacuum. The aftermath of the civil strife appears to have brought an accentuation of the prudential in human conduct if one

may judge, for example, from the reiteration of the self-protection motif in the courtesy books. Self-protection, as a way of life, calls into play certain sets of standard postures: of constant and conscious affirmation of superiority, of hostility and an absence of benevolence, of distrust and cynicism about the appearance of things, and, in a situation where one's social role is of paramount importance, an overwhelming fear of ridicule. This large cluster of prudential stances may be embodied in attitudes of exploitation. In addition, the court-oriented society and those of its members concerned with the pursuit of what they pictured as the good life were at risk in this period: the select society was endangered by infiltration, by circumvention and by the appearance of new criteria which were the result of changing economic conditions affecting the society structure. The gay life of fashionable society was also under attack by the old and by moralists and reformers, and this attack was based on traditional sanctions as well as the Puritan legacy.

These considerations are introduced to put financial and economic attitudes in perspective, not to diminish their importance. The power of money and the effects of money are matters of significance in the comedies. Some indication of the importance of money was given in my introductory comments about love and marriage.

But a more general concern is obvious in the number of references to money. The statements vary from the simple assertion of Sir Charles, in D'Urfey's The Richmond Heiress, that "Money indeed will do anything" [22], to the more analytic comment of Heartall, in D'Urfey's earlier play, The Royalist, "'Tis not the Silver nor gold for it self, That makes men adore it, but 'tis for its Power" [8]. Sir Timothy Tawdrey, in Behn's The Town-Fopp, reveals the effect of the power of money on himself: "All things are sacrific'd to it's pow'r, and no Mortal conceives the joy of, Argent Content. 'Tis this pow'rful God that makes me submit . . ." [2]. Sir Wealthy Plainder, in Dilke's The Pretenders, reflects on the social effects: "I have at length observed, that for the procuring of this Devil of Wealth we stick at no Baseness, and the possessing it does generally serve to foment our Villanies" [47]. The statements on the importance of money are ubiquitous and pervasive; they not only recur frequently but they also touch almost every aspect of social life.

There are many reasons why the comedies might reflect a dominating concern with money during the second half of the seventeenth century. The changing economic conditions of the period, as I shall show later, were affecting traditional ideas of the nature of society.

But these economic changes in themselves tended to make obvious the importance of money. Agriculture, industry and trade were expanding rapidly. For agricultural improvement and industrial development, investment and capital were required. For trade, fluid capital was necessary. With trade, competition developed. In trade, speculation, banking and insurance became important. By trade, fortunes were made. Money as capital and money as profit were the prime movers in this economic development.¹⁸ The contemporary observer had no term for a developing capitalistic system; he could have had no recognition that there was indeed a "system". All he could have seen were events and activities and motives which betokened the overwhelming importance of money. Money, it seemed, had become the lifeblood of the nation. His cynical evaluation of this situation might well be that of Sir Hudibras:

For what is worth in any thing
But so much money as 'twill bring. [II, 1, 405-6]

A system, especially a system which in its early stages was difficult to conceptualize, would have been an unsatisfactory target. The individual responsible for, engaged in, and prospering by the operation of the system was immediate and palpable. Thus the merchant became the convenient quarry. The medieval concerns about usury, money begetting money, and sumptuousness continued to exist as background doubts in the new economic circum-

stances. They were invoked constantly in reaction to the procedures of trade and the visible accumulation of wealth through trade. Always there was the suspicion or certainty that business was roguery and the businessman a knave. Tom Brown expressed these opinions:

Some call trade honest gain, and to make it more palatable have lacquered it with the name of godliness; and hence it comes to pass, that the generality of Londoners are counted such eminent professors. But of all guessers, he came nearest the mark that said, Trade was playing a game at dropping fools' pence into knaves' pockets, 'till the sellers were rich, and the buyers were bankrupt.¹⁹

There are implications in this statement to which I shall return in a moment.

Economic circumstances provided one reason for the attention given to money in the comedies. There was another reason which was not specifically economic. This was the increasing prosperity and influence of the Puritans. The great civil conflict divided the country so that after the Restoration there existed two antagonistic groups, Royalists and Puritans. These terms, however loose they may be, are used quite deliberately here, for they signify the division as it is recognized in the comedies. The portrayal of the Puritans follows the lines drawn in Butler's Hudibras:

To make Presbyterie supreme,
And Kings themselves submit to them;
And force all people, though against

Their Conscience, to turn Saints,
 Must prove a pretty thriving trade,
 When Saints Monopolists are made.
 When pious frauds and holy shifts
 Are dispensations and gifts,
 There Godliness becomes mere ware,
 And ev'ry Synod but a Fair. [I, 111, 1139-48]

The implications of "trade", "Monopolists", "ware" and "Fair" are obvious: religion is likened to commerce; and the motivation for both is profit. The extended figure, however, does more than offer a simple comparison. There is the implication of a transmogrification of each element. Religion can cloak the knavery of commerce, the "pious frauds and holy shifts"; likewise, commerce can mask the knavery of religion, "When Saints Monopolists are made". The Puritan Saints, moreover,

Can furnish out what Sums they Please,
 That Brooding lye in Bankers hands,
 To be Dispos'd at their Commands:
 And daily increase and Multiply,
With Doctrine, Use, and Usury. [III, 11, 860-4]

Here the accumulated wealth of the Puritans is linked again with commerce, money in "use", and with commerce's ancillary activities, banking and "Usury". This verbal transposition of Puritan to trader apparently matched what was accepted as the reality after the Restoration. Sir William Petty, in Political Arithmetic [written 1676], was quite explicit: "Trade is most vigorously carried on, in every State and Government, by the Heterodox part of the same, and such as profess Opinions different from

what are publickly established . . . the truth whereof appears also in all the particular Towns of greatest Trade in England".²⁰ The identification of Puritan with merchant meant that in either role the victim could be flailed with the failings of both. Tom Brown used this strategy in the passage quoted earlier with his references to "honest gain" and lacquer of godliness; he also extended his condemnation to "the generality of Londoners". Using the same strategy, the royalists, in royalist comedies, could attack their antagonists, the Puritans who, although defeated, continued to prosper. The Puritans' concern with money and their involvement in trade provided a vantage ground for the comedies to make a more general indictment of their religion and cause; the identification of Puritan with merchant offered an immediate target for any attacks on changes in economic conditions.

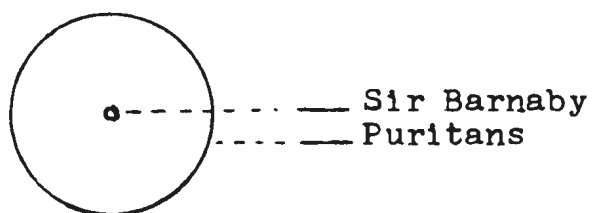
A third reason for the concern with money appears to have been the increasing occurrence or conspicuousness of the avaricious man in the changing economic environment. More trade and freer trade provided greater opportunities for speculation and financing and accumulation of large profits. In this atmosphere, the greedy could presumably pursue their quest for money with few restraints. In D'Urfey's Sir Barnaby Whigg (1681), Sir Barnaby reveals that his soul is "always in the heart of the City - in

Lumbard Street" [10]. To catch a widow with an estate of £10,000, he will embrace any religion: "I'll turn Turk, man, Jew, Moor, Graecian, any thing; Pox on't, I'll not lose a Lady, and such a sum for the sake of any Religion under the sun, by Mahomet not I - " [50]. To save his neck, he enlists for the king, but, according to Wilding, he is for anything "so there's but Money; Plunder the City, raise the Mobile, plot with a Priest . . ." [50-51]. These quotations serve to represent Sir Barnaby as merely the avaricious character. However, in Restoration comedy, this type of character is rarely as simple or as straightforward as he at first seems. Simple statements on a character's greed often mask quite complex clusters of attitudes which are not solely economic. The following discussion, for instance, points to other dimensions in the portrayal of Sir Barnaby:

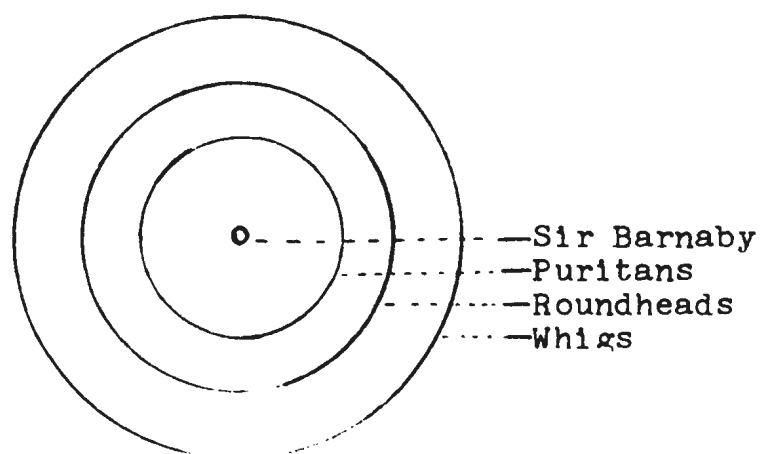
<u>Benedick</u>	In all turns of State, change his Opinion as easily as his Coat, and is ever Zealous in Voting for that party that is most Powerful.
<u>Wilding</u>	They of his tribe says, theirs is the Church-Militant; but I say Money is both their God and King, and the greatest Zealot amongst them for the Sake of the Popes Golden Slipper, shall not only kiss his Toe, but eat it, as the story goes of the hungry Spaniel. [9-10]

In this conversation, what begins as an attack on one individual becomes an indictment of his "Tribe". The

words "Church-Militant" and "Zealot" alone are sufficient to identify the Puritans. Schematically, then, for this play Sir Barnaby may be represented as the centre of a circle:



The diagram has been introduced at this point because more dimensions have to be added. Sir Barnaby is described as "one of Oliver's Knights" [9]; he has to be forced to uncover and toast the King; he is berated for his disloyalty [19]. Here the dimension of Roundhead is evoked. The family name of Sir Barnaby adds the final dimension. Thus the diagram is completed:



Sir Barnaby is a microcosm; his cupidity, apostasy and disloyalty epitomize the dominant motivations and attitudes of the Puritans, Roundheads and nascent Whig party. All

the religious and political beliefs of these groups are summarized in Wilding's phrase "Money is both their God and King". Their religion is a subterfuge for gaining money; their political beliefs are determined by what will bring the greatest profit, not by any acceptance of a divinely-ordered structure with the monarch at the head.

This cluster of attitudes, of course, is similar to the cluster surrounding the Puritan-merchant. It has been separated here for two reasons. First, there are a number of miserly Puritans who, in the comedies, are not associated directly with trade. Sir Barnaby is an example of this group. They may be wealthy and they may have titles, but they are motivated by greed for money. Second, the members of this group are frequently identified with "the good old Cause". Unlike the merchants who profit through trade in the present while gentlemen fail to profit or decline, these adherents of "the good old Cause" prospered in the past, during the civil wars, at the expense of the gentlemen. The "Commonwealth's-men" deprived the royalists of their lands and rents and status. Under the pretence of religion or politics, "Oliver's Knights" pursued their quest for money. Now that the monarchy has been restored they merely await an opportune time to pounce again. The depiction of the avaricious man contains many evocative features.

The victim in the comedies, then, may be a Puritan, merchant, citizen, Cromwell supporter, non-royalist, or Whig. He need be identified by only one label, for one classification associates him with all the others; if he is a citizen, he is a merchant and a Puritan. The victim, therefore, may be tarred by any one of a number of brushes. There is no problem in discriminating the victim in the comedies. If a character is not a gentleman, he must be a citizen and a Puritan or be classed with these groups. This simple division of society offered the comic dramatist and his audience a refuge from thought and a stronghold from which to attack opponents.

A fourth reason for the concern with money in the comedies was that the gentleman, whose viewpoint dominated the drama, was also affected by the increasing influence of money. His traditional status was threatened by the newly rich who could buy power and title and land. To maintain his position in London, the gentleman needed money for accommodation, dress, appurtenances and entertainment. If he had estates, he might depend upon rents or he might mortgage land. If he had suffered financially in the civil wars, he might seek court offices or a rich bride. His opportunities were limited; a gentleman did not engage in business. Yet to maintain his status

against the increasing affluence and influence of the lower social orders, he required a constant supply of money. Ironically, for him, too, money became god and king.

The foregoing analysis is a simplified account which reveals the complexity of the task of investigating the importance of money in the plays. This account indicates that the attention to money in the comedies may have economic determinants in society. It also shows that economic phenomena may have great social consequences, which are reflected in the comedies. Accordingly, I have designed this study to answer certain questions. My questions are selective; I have attempted to deal with economic aspects of the comedies rather than the total economic background of comedy and society. However, in choosing what seem to be the important and recurring interests of the plays, I feel that light is thrown upon the whole changing Restoration scene.

My first question is a necessary preliminary to any examination of the "evidence" of the comedies: How valid are their statements? The view of society reflected in the comedies is governed by the special nature and influence of the Restoration audience. To put the information of the comedies in perspective, we need to assess the truth and field of vision of the comedies' mirror.

Initially, then, we are faced with the application of three questions to the playwright himself. What is the importance of money to the writer of the comedies? Why is money important to him? How does its importance influence what he writes? The question really at issue here is the writer's ability to transcend his milieu. Is he merely a group spokesman, or is he something more? This matter is a fundamental economic aspect of Restoration comedy which may influence the economic opinions in the individual comedies.

London is the setting for both poet and audience. It is also the most common setting for the comedies. My second question, then, is: What is the importance of London? This general question raises many minor questions. What economic and social factors were involved in the city's growth and what economic and social changes did its growth occasion? These influences and changes are examined for their relevance to the material of the comedies. The importance of London, however, is of general as well as of specific relevance. Capitalism requires an urban social base; it cannot rise and thrive in an agrarian setting.²¹

London is the stronghold of the citizen, and here the gentleman comes into daily contact with the citizen. There are residues of political and economic hostility

which are fanned into flame by this contact. The third question concerns this historical ethos: What economic influences of the recent past predicate current attitudes to the importance of money and to its acquisition and possession?

Antagonisms are not maintained merely by memory of past events or by contact; they are aggravated by the increasing dominance of citizens' activities in commerce and capitalism. My fourth question is: What are the economic developments of the time and how are they reflected in the comedies?

The answers to the preceding questions suggest why old hatreds and current antagonisms are articulated in the portrayal of the merchant. The fifth question leads to a detailed examination of the portrayal: Why do the comedies reject the merchant as a person and business as an occupation?

These questions entail an examination of the current financial and economic context of the comedies, the background historical factors implicit in this context and the culmination of both as influences in the antagonism to the merchant. The four questions which follow concern the gentleman. Is a profession an acceptable occupation for a gentleman? What is the importance of money in fashionable society and what sources

of money are there in this society? What are the gentleman's attitudes to money? How important is money in marriage?

Basic to this examination of economic aspects of Restoration comedy is the topic of the importance of money: for the poet, in the economy, for the merchant, for the gentleman. The threads of this topic are interwoven in the comedies and thus a selection of details and areas has been necessary. The final chapter on the language and imagery of the comedies attempts to show how pervasive and unified the attitudes to money really are: through the imagery, it is evident that commerce and capitalism dominate the verbal mirroring of the environment.

Money, we shall see, was regarded in quite changed ways after 1660. So far as the comedies were concerned, there was a cynical resignation to the fact that money was the lifeblood of the nation, that "Everything has a price", that "it is the function of money prices to make all values commensurable", that "it provides the measuring rod of values". Pejorative statements synonymous to these abound in the comedies; the dramatists are describing the corrupting and disordering tendencies in Restoration society. The actual

quotations, however, are from a famous textbook on economics by a twentieth-century writer; the author is describing the normal and regulatory mechanisms of the modern economic system.²² By 1720, the economic function of money was evident, for example, to Swift:

Money, the Life-blood of the Nation
Corrupts and stagnates in the Veins,
Unless a proper Circulation
Its Motion and its Heat maintains.²³

By 1722, comedies, such as Steele's The Conscious Lovers, had begun to reject the Restoration attitudes towards the merchant and commerce. Sir Gilbert Wrangle, a merchant presented sympathetically by Cibber in The Refusal (1721), reflects the changed attitude: "Money! Money! there's the Health and Life-Blood of a Government" [III].

CHAPTER 1

"DANCERS ON THE ROPE": THE POETS AND THEIR PLAYS

James Ralph, in 1758, in a discussion of the state of authorship, posed the question which underlies this chapter: "If the great Use of the Stage is to be a Looking-Glas to the Times", then how true is the mirror when "The Stage is the Creature of the Public" and "the Administration of it is become a Perquisite of the Crown"?¹

This is a necessary question which must be considered before I examine the reflection of financial and economic matters in the comedies. What is at issue is the writer's freedom to present things as he sees them independently of external constraints. The question is not simple because the information we have is limited, and the insight into the individual playwright's make-up is indirect. All that can be done is to present certain facts or statements which must be interpreted with caution before they are applied to the comedies themselves. The information I present deals with three major aspects of the writer's condition: his financial status, the nature and influence of the audience, and the exigencies imposed by the theatre itself.

The writer's financial condition, while not a universal predicator of what he will do, merits examination

because theoretically, at least, it appears that some correlation exists between financial independence and creative independence so far as the theatre is concerned. Defoe dealt with this point in Vindication of the Press (1718):

. . . these Gentlemen, notwithstanding it be never so contrary to their Inclinations, are entirely oblig'd to prostrate their Pens to the Town, as Ladies of Pleasure do their Bodies . . . and as getting Money is the chief Business of the World, so these Measures cannot by any means be esteem'd Unjust or Disreputable, with regard to the several Ways of accumulating Wealth, introduc'd in Exchange-Alley, and at the other End of the Town. [21]

Not all dramatists, however, were "entirely oblig'd to prostrate their Pens to the Town" for money. Shadwell, in The Sullen Lovers (1668), complained of those "Gentlemen of £5000 a year" who ventured their reputation in playwriting for no gain "as poets venture their reputations against a sum of money" [III, 1]. And John Harold Wilson calculated that of the sixty-six poets who had plays produced between 1660 and 1685, two were dukes, four were earls, one was a viscount, and at least thirteen of the others were knights or esquires.² These figures require refinement and expansion for our study. For the period 1660 - 1700, of the seventy-three playwrights who had comedies produced on the public stage, six were above the rank of knight, eight were knights, and two carried the title of "Honourable". Of these sixteen gentlemen of

rank, only two, Lord Lansdowne and Sir John Vanbrugh, had comedies produced after 1685. Titled writers, therefore, made their greatest contribution in the earlier part of the period. It is noteworthy that in general these writers conveyed the same attitudes to money, although not always with the same vehemence or primacy as the "professional" writers.

Gentlemen with private means ventured their reputation; the other playwrights gambled their subsistence. The latter group, of course, far exceeded the gentlemen-writers both in number and in quantity of plays produced. Aphra Behn was responsible for twenty-one plays, Crowne wrote at least eighteen plays and masques. Dryden was involved in thirty dramatic productions, D'Urfey produced twenty-five plays or operas, and Shadwell had twenty works on the public stage. These playwrights wrote to live; they were professionals. None of them made a fortune. Writers who did not possess this fecundity usually led a precarious existence. This perhaps explains the number of actors who became involved in play-writing. They at least had a fixed salary. Betterton, Carleile, Cibber, Doggett, Jevon, Lacy, Mountfort and Powell all wrote comedies. The number of playwrights who had a legal education is also perhaps significant. Although they may have been merely following the conventional pattern of

completing their education at the Inns of Court, they may have found through this training some possibility of additional remuneration. Etherege, Higden, Ravenscroft, Wilson, and Wycherley were all, at one time or another, in attendance at one of the London law schools. Our information is scanty on many of these writers; on others we have only isolated items of facts or gossip. Duffet was originally a milliner in the New Exchange; Rawlins was chief engraver at the Mint; Tatham wrote city pageants; Payne, apparently, was a secret agent; Mrs. Pix was the wife of a merchant. Some writers did have a measure of independence. Cowley, Congreve, and Flecknoe could live quite comfortably. Motteux, through his industry as translator, editor and businessman, had various sources of income; and Smyth was an usher at Magdalen College School.³

Complaints about the penury of the poet are frequent. "I'd fain be thought a Poet", says John Lacy, in the epilogue to The Old Troop (1663), "I can prove it plain/Both by my empty Purse, and Shallow Brain." In the same epilogue, Lacy complains:

My Poets Day I morgage to some Citt,
At least six Months before my Play is writ . . .

Lacy apparently was one of the fortunate ones. In the Epistle to the Reader preceding The Dumb Lady (1669), he

reveals: ". . . if Poetry had gained its ends on me, it had made me mad; but that I having my ends on it, appears in my getting money by it, which was shown plentifully on my Poets days". Edward Ravenscroft, in his Address to the Reader for The Careless Lover (1672/3), suggests the precarious state of some writers when he speaks of the practice of writing dedications:

But this is excusable in them that Write for Bread, and Live by Dedications, and Third-Days. If once in a Year they meet not with a good Audience, or a Bountiful Maecenas, we are to expect no Play from them the next; because they want Money to keep the great Wits company; from whose Conversation, once in Twelve Months, they pick up a Comedy.

John Crowne's comments in the dedication of The English Friar (1689/90) are interesting for the information they provide on his own case and also for the general situation in which a writer had to work:

I had much Bread from the Princely bounty of K. Charles, and claims to more from his Justice for a great Province of vast value given in his Reign to the French; half of which was my Fathers rightful Property and mine, as his heir. This fixt me in a dependance on that Court, for I could have my compensation no where else; yet my aversions to some things I saw acted there by great men, carried me against my Interest, to expose Popery and Popish Courts in a Tragedy of mine, call'd The Murder of Humphry Duke of Gloucester, which pleas'd the best Men of England, but displeas'd the worst; for e're it lived long, it was stifled by command. Nay, in what I wrote for the Court, I spar'd not their tampering with Knavish Lawyers, Magistrates, and Irish Evidence.

Here is an explicit statement of the poet's awareness of pressures which could be exerted upon him if he offended.

Crowne, in his dedication of The Married Beau, touches upon another important concern. The production of a successful play might lead to some favour or advancement, to an office or place which would provide an independent income. Crowne's disgruntlement at the usual result of this expectation is obvious:

No ray from Court shines on us, that we live methinks, like people without the Sun. We are excluded from all commerce with any places of Profit, as if we were wild Arabs, that liv'd not by pleasing men, but plund'ring em . . . How many kings and Queens have I had the honour to divertise; and how fruitless has been all my labours? A Maker of Legs, nay a maker of Fires at Court has made himself a better Fortune, than Men much my Superiors in Poetry could do, by all the noble Fire in their Writings . . . I never had a Talent for begging, following, and waiting; the principal Qualifications requisite in a man, who will make his Fortunes in a Court; but they were always more burdensome to me, than any misery I ever yet felt. My chief, if not sole attendance, has been upon the fantastical Princes of my own begetting, the Offsprings of my own Muse, and my Rewards have been accordingly fantastical and imaginary.

Crowne's pessimism seems justified, although a few writers such as Wilson, Etherege, Dryden, Shadwell and Vanbrugh received at least token recognition. Congreve, who held offices which provided at times more than £700 annually, appears to have benefitted most.⁴

Before I examine the more direct sources and amounts of income available to the poet, let me attempt to establish some comparative sum by which this income may be evaluated. This is no easy task for the Restoration

period when an Etherege might live the life of a Court Wit and a Shadwell might live frugally; however, a better appreciation of the significance of the amounts of money which follow is provided by an awareness of the salaries of the more important actors.

Doggett's agreement with the Lincoln's Inn Field theatre in 1700 provided a salary of £3 a week and an annual benefit of, ordinarily, £60. Betterton, according to the Petition of the Players (c. 1694), agreed to act for £5 a week and an annual present of 50 guineas. Many of the other main actors appear to have earned about £3 a week.⁵ These figures suggest that an annual income of about £200 was at least adequate for living in London society. This amount coincides with Gregory King's estimates for 1688 for "Merchants and traders by land". King listed two classes of "Persons in offices", one with a yearly income of £120, the other with £240. In comparison, King gave £280 as the yearly income for "Gentlemen". Sir William Petty, as we shall see later, calculated that between £200 and £300 is required to maintain the younger brother in a suitable state.⁶

Within the frame of reference provided by these figures, let us examine the amounts earned by playwrights. The poet received the profits from the third performance of his play. Later, probably beginning in the late

1680's,⁷ he would receive the profits from the sixth and ninth performances. If the play did not last three performances, the poet received nothing. Influential friends could come to the assistance of the poets on these benefit days; for example, in the dedication of Theodosius, Lee thanked the Duchess of Richmond because she "brought in Her Royal Highness just at the exigent time, whose single Presence on the Poet's Day, is a Subsistence for him all the Year after". Sometimes the benefit could be considerable. Shadwell, for The Squire of Alsatia (1688), is reported to have obtained £130; Southerne £140 for The Fatal Marriage (1693/4), with an additional £50 as gifts and £36 from the publisher. On the other hand, Cibber revealed in the preface to Ximena (1719) that he did not gain even £5 from the benefit performance of his revised Richard III (1699). Some poets might secure other arrangements: Settle and Dryden, for instance, became sharers in the King's Company. Dryden was alleged in 1677 to have received £300 or £400 annually from this; later, when he was no longer a sharer, he estimated that he could receive £100 from the benefit on his revision of Robert Howard's The Conquest of China by the Tartars.⁸ Malone, however, estimated that Dryden's earnings from the theatre during the periods 1665-1670 and 1676-1685 did not exceed £100 annually.⁹ Other writers, such as

Crowne or Lee, may have had at times some stable financial arrangement: "After the Restoration, when the two houses struggled for the favour of the town, the taking poets were secured to either house by a sort of retaining fee, which seldom amounted to more than 40s. a week, nor was that of long continuance."¹⁰ These are some of the largest amounts. Chagrin, the critic, in Comparison between the Two Stages (1702), calculated that later in the century the poet could receive about £ 70 from a full house.¹¹ Otway, in the epilogue to The History and Fall of Cains Marius asks:

But which among you is there to be found,
Will take his Third Day's Pawn for Fifty pound?

D'Urfey lowers the figure, in the epilogue to The Fool turn'd Critick, to £13.¹²

Most poets, however, seem to have had hopes of a further source of income from their plays. Shadwell, for example, is reputed to have received "a handsome bounty of golden guineas" from the Duchess of Newcastle in acknowledgment of the dedication of The Humorists.¹³ And from the dedications to many of the comedies, it is evident that other poets benefitted similarly. Sir Samuel Tuke, in the dedication of The Adventures of Five Hours (1662/3), states the matter directly:

Since it is Your Pleasure (Noble Sir) that I should
hold my Fortune from You; like those Tenants, who pay

some Inconsiderable Trifle in lieu of a Valuable Rent,
I humbly offer You this Poem in Acknowledgment of my
Tenure . . .

Was honesty, flattery, or some more necessary and insidious influence at work, when the poet goes on to say: "I design'd the Character of Antonio as a Copy of Your Stedy Virtue . . ." D'Urfey, dedicating Madam Fickle (1676) to the Duke of Ormond, acknowledged that it was the Duke's "Clemency that drew me from a melancholy Retirement, where Content and I were often quarrelling about a slender Fortune, to visit the blissful Habitation of Virtue and Grandeur". Fourteen years later, D'Urfey, in the dedication to Love for Money (1690), is again thanking a patron for "abundant Favours all manners of ways . . .".

Ravenscroft, in his rewriting of The Careless Lovers as The Canterbury Guests (1694), spells out to Rowland Eyre the reasons for dedications:

. . . a second pretence is a grateful acknowledgment of favours receiv'd; but there Self-Interest advances under the Mask of Gratitude and good Manners, for our thanks seem rather invitations to new Benefits. To say truth, Poets choose Patrons for their Plays, with the same design that crafty Parents do able Godfathers for their Children.

But in spite of any recognition of ulterior purposes, the process continued. Thomas Dilke, a year later, is "desirous of making some evident Acknowledgments for the Favours I have received at Your Lordship's hands", in his dedication of The Lover's Luck to Lord Raby. John Dryden, Junior,

addressing his uncle Sir Robert Howard, in the dedication to The Husband his own Cuckold (1695/6), comments bitterly:

The Muses are become so prostitute, that every Enthusiast begets a work on 'em; Plays are grown near Foundlings, and generated so fast, that we find one or more laid at the door of every Nobleman; and these impudent Begetters are not satisfy'd that you give their unlawful Issue a maintenance and rearing, but have the Conscience also to expect a Reward for easing themselves of their ungodly burthen.

The young poet shows his irritation at the "illiterate breaking in daily" of those "who never had any other call to that Art beside the hope of a third day".

The dedication, then, was a possible source of immediate financial reward and continued patronage. The practice prevailed into the next century. Defoe, in 1718, stated that "an Author destitute of Patronage will be equally Unsuccessful to a Person without Interest at Court".¹⁴ Not all poets succumbed to the lure. Wycherley, for instance, dedicated his first play, Love in a Wood (1671), to the Duchess of Cleveland, reputed to have become his lover after the performance of the play.¹⁵ The dedication rings the changes on the typical formulae but here they are being manipulated, through the use of double entendre, for sexual reference. The only other dedication which Wycherley wrote was for The Plain-Dealer (1676). This was "To my LADY B-", who was, in reality, Mother Bennet, a widely-known procuress. While Wycherley was one of the Court Wits, he was the only one in financial

need. He lost the possibility of court preferment when he rejected the office of tutor to the Earl of Richmond, the king's bastard, to marry the Countess Drogheda. After unsuccessful law suits to obtain her jointure, he was imprisoned for debts in 1682 and languished in jail for four years before being released by payments from James II and Mulgrave.¹⁶ But usually the financial importance of the dedication could not be overlooked by the impoverished poet. Indeed, it could become a delicate matter of judgment. Otway, who in the epistle dedicatory to Friendship in Fashion (1678) had written that "his daily business must be daily Bread", later, in the dedication to The Souldiers Fortune (1680), wrote about the placing of a dedication: "To a person of higher Rank and Order, it looks like an Obligation for Praises, which he knows he does not deserve and therefore is very unwilling to part with ready Money for".

The publication of the play could provide another possibility of income. In some ways, the dedication and the publication were inter-dependent, as Settle explains in the dedication of The Empress of Morocco:

Sir, Your Play has had misfortune, and all that . . . but if you'd but write a Dedication, or Preface . . . the Poet takes the hint, picks out a person of Honour, tells him he has a great deal of Wit, gives us an account who writ Sence in the last Age, supposing we cannot be Ignorant who writes it in This; Disputes the nature of Verse, Answers a Cavil or two, Quibbles

upon the Court, Huffs the Critiques, and the work's don. 'Tis not to be imagin'd how far a sheet of this goes to make a Bookseller rich, and a Poet famous.

This additional matter had the virtue of swelling the size of the volume and thus increasing the cost:

Read all the prefaces of Dryden,
For these our critics much confide in;
Though merely writ at first for filling,
To raise the volume's price a shilling.¹⁷

However, verbosity could provide its own drawbacks. In Farquhar's Love and a Bottle (1698), Lyrick offers the publisher, Pamphlet, 3000 lines of poetry:

Lyrick Here, take 'em for a couple of Guinea's.

Pamphlet No, Sir; Paper is so excessive dear
 that I dare not venture upon 'em. [33]

Lyrick, shortly before, attempts to stave off his landlady's demand for due rents by telling her "my Bookseller is to bring me some twenty Guinea's for a few Sheets of mine presently . . ." [31]. His valuation of the rewards appear to be about right. Milton, by 1669, had earned only £10 for Paradise Lost; Dryden is reported to have received £20 for Troilus and Cressida.¹⁸ And £20 to £25 seemingly was the most that could be expected for a play by a successful author.¹⁹ Farquhar, for instance, in 1706, received £16 2s. 0d. from Bernard Lintot for The Recruiting Officer.²⁰ It was not until the next century that writers began to earn large amounts from

publication such as Pope's more than £3000 for the Iliad (1715-20).²¹

Thus, unless the writer had independent means or ancillary offices, he could be expected to lead a precarious existence. Some indication has been given already of Wycherley's case; that of Otway is even more extreme. On first coming to the city, "he met with little encouragement . . . but what a small Allowance and Sallery from the Play-house afforded (for he was first a Player)".²² For a time he enjoyed the success of his plays and the patronage of Rochester, but he still remained in need and went to Flanders with a commission. When his troop was disbanded in 1679, he was granted his full pay of 227 17s. 6d. But four years later he had to borrow £11 of Jacob Tonson, the publisher. He was also reputed to have borrowed of Betterton, the actor. He died "in extreme indigence" in 1685 owing one Captain Symonds, a vintner, £400.²³ Farquhar was another writer who turned to the army for the means of existence. He received a commission as Lieutenant of Guards in the regiment of Charles Boyle, Earl of Orrery, in 1704 at an annual pay of £54. 15s.²⁴ Shadwell was one of eleven children and apparently had to rely on his own ability to earn money. From the dedications to his plays, his indebtedness to the Duke of Newcastle is evident, although, according to

Montague Summers, "The exceptional but richly-deserved success of his first play seems not only to have given Shadwell a secure position among the writers of the time, but also definitely to have turned his thoughts to the theatre as the means of his professional livelihood".²⁵ In spite of the success of his plays, Shadwell, according to Summers, would have been in straitened circumstances by 1676 had it not been for the assistance of friends. Summers mentions a regular pension from Dorset and financial rewards from Sedley.²⁶ In that year, Shadwell in the dedication to the Duke of Newcastle of The Virtuoso thanks him for his "continual bounty" and excuses the faults of the play thus:

But I, having no pension but from the theater, which is either unwilling or unable to reward a man sufficiently for so much pains as correct comedies require, cannot allot my whole time to the writing of plays, but am forced to mind some other business of advantage. Had I as much money and as much time for it, I might perhaps write as correct a comedy as any of my contemporaries.

The reference to pension was a jibe at Dryden who, as Poet Laureate and Historiographer Royal, was entitled to an annual £100 for each office. (But even this was an uncertain source of income as Dryden indicates as early as 1673 in the dedication to Rochester of Marriage a la Mode.²⁷) Etherege, who frankly admitted in the dedication to Lord Buckhurst of his first play, The Comical Revenge (1664), that "The Writing of it was a means to make me

known to your Lordship", was one of the few playwrights without independent means who apparently could live beyond the fringe of constant want; but he was fortunate enough to obtain for a time a government office.²⁸ Even the prolific, successful and indefatigable Aphra Behn is begging Jacob Tonson, the publisher, a few years before her death, for an extra £5 for her verses:

. . . but, good deare Mr. Tonson, let it be 5^{lb} more, for I may safly swere I have lost y^e getting of 50^{lb} by it, tho that's nothing to you, or my satisfaction and humour; but I have been wth out getting so long y^t I am just on ye poynt of breaking, especiall since a body has no creditt at y^e Playhouse for money as we used to have, fifty or 60 deepe, or more; I want extreemly or I wo'd not urge this.²⁹

The condition of some of the better-known poets is presented vividly in "A Consolatory Epistle to Captain Julian The Muses News-Monger in his Confinement":

Otway can hardly Guts from Gaol preserve,
And, tho he's very fat, he's like to starve;
And Sing-song Durfey (plac'd beneath abuses)
Lives by his impudence, and not the Muses;
Poor Crown too has his third days mix'd with Gall,
He lives so ill, he hardly lives at all.
Shadwell and Settle both with Rhimes are fraught,
But can't between them muster up a groat;
Nay, Lee in Beth'lem now sees better days,
Than when applauded for his bombast Plays;
He knows no Care, nor feels sharp want no more,
And that is what he ne'er could say before;
Thus while our Bards are famish'd by their Wit
Thou who hast none at all, yet thriv'st by it.³⁰

And if this was the case for the successful poets, what hardships must the lesser writers have endured.

In these financial circumstances, the temptation,

or undoubtedly for some writers, the necessity, to mirror the economic, social and religious opinions of the powerful was ever-present.

It is impossible to generalize upon the individual process of creation, for there will always be a Wycherley to disturb the pattern, but it is necessary to recognize as a pertinent aspect of the literary milieu the conditions under which many of the comedies of this period were written. One can accept the fact that a minor playwright, such as Sir Francis Fane, should tell the Earl of Rochester, in the dedication of Love in the Dark (1675), that all poems should return to him "none of them ever coming to your Lordship's hands, without receiving some of the rich Tinctures of your unerring Judgement; and running with much more clearness, having past so fine a strainer". What gives one pause is that Dryden, the Poet Laureate, to the same patron in the dedication of Marriage a la Mode, should say "I may yet go farther, with your permission, and say, that it received amendment from your noble hands ere it was fit to be presented".

Patronage, however, was not new. What was new was the context within which it operated: this context was the narrowed social composition of the Restoration audience. Samuel Johnson, in the "Prologue at the opening of the

Drury Lane Theatre" (1747), said:

The Stage but echoes back the public voice.
The Drama's Laws the Drama's Patrons give,
And we that live to please, must please to live.³¹

This observation has a special and emphatic pertinence for the Restoration period. The composition of the audience changed greatly during the seventeenth century. Perhaps as part of a wider social dichotomy, the theatre changed from a national to a court institution. After the Restoration, the theatre catered to and was dominated by the upper ranks of society. There are indications that the audience was not as homogeneous nor as exclusive as is sometimes assumed. Pepys, on 1 January 1667/8, records visiting a performance of Dryden's St. Martin Mar-all: "Here a mighty company of citizens, 'prentices, and others; and it makes me observe, that when I begun first to be able to bestow a play on myself, I do not remember that I saw so many by half of the ordinary 'prentices and mean people in the pit at 2s. 6d. a-piece as now". D'Urfey, in the prologue to Madam Fickle (1677), speaks with scorn of: "Country Squires and Cits,/ Who with their Eighteen-pence uphold the Stage". But the influence of the court or aristocratic coterie prevailed. Indications of this have been given by later writers. Defoe wrote: "Poetry seems to improve more at this Time than it has done in any preceding Reign, except that of King Charles II when there was a Rochester, a Sidley,

a Buckingham".³² Dennis emphasized the ruling influence of men such as Rochester, Buckingham, Dorset, Sir John Denham and Edmund Waller. In his nostalgic enthusiasm for the earlier period, he stated "that more good Comedies were writt from 1660 to 1700, During all which time The Theater was in the Hands of Gentlemen, than will be writt in a Thousand years if the Management lies in the Players".³³

A Defense of Dramatick Poetry (1698) is more specific about the social composition of the audience: "For as the greatest and best part of our Audience are Quality, if we would make our Comedies Instructive in the exposing of Vice, we must not lash the Vices at Wapping to mend the Faults at Westminster".³⁴ Upon this audience the playwright depended, as Oldham makes clear in "A Satire":

You've seen what fortune other poets share;
View next the factors of the theatre;
That constant mart, which all the year does hold,
Where staple wit is bartered, bought, and sold;
Here trading scribblers for their maintenance
And livelihood trust to a lottery-chance;
But who his parts would in the service spend,
Where all his hopes on vulgar breath depend?
Where every sot, for paying half-a-crown,
Has the prerogative to cry him down?
Sedley indeed may be content with fame,
Nor care should an ill-judging audience damn;
But Settle, and the rest, that write for pence,
Whose whole estate's an ounce or two of brains,
Should a thin house on the third day appear,
Must starve, or live in tatters all the year.
And what can we expect that's brave and great,
From a poor needy wretch, that writes to eat?
Who the success of the next play must wait
For lodging, food, and clothes, and whose chief care
Is how to sponge for the next meal, and where?³⁵

A frequent member of the audience was the king himself. Pepys records Charles's presence at one of the theatres at least six times in 1661,³⁶ and indicates at least one visit for each of the years to 1668. Not merely the possibility of royal favour was involved here. The king's presence was enough to attract a large audience and thus produce the certainty of profitable returns for that day.³⁷ The king, however, was not always a passive spectator. He "adopted" players, assisted with provision of costumes or money for costumes, proffered advice on plots, attended rehearsals, settled disputes, and made mistresses of at least three actresses.³⁸ The king's influence, not only as monarch but also as patron and interested participant, was great; but even greater was the influence of the group of "Court Wits" close to the king. This group included at one time or another George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham; Charles Sackville, Lord Buckhurst; John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave; John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester; Sir Charles Sedley; Sir George Etherege; and William Wycherley. The members of this group wrote plays themselves, acted as critics, and were important as patrons. Their influence and drawing-power appear to have been immense. At the production of Etherege's She wou'd if she cou'd (1668) "there was 1000 people put back that could not have room in the pit"; the king, the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Buckhurst, and Sedley were there.³⁹ Dennis, writing a half-century

later, emphasized the importance of some of these "several extraordinary men at Court who wanted neither Zeal nor Capacity, nor Authority" to guide the audience, for when "these or the Majority of them Declared themselves upon any new Dramatick performance, the Town fell Immediately in with them".⁴⁰ In this context, Dryden's tribute to Rochester, which I quoted earlier, has a significance beyond the traditional compliment to a patron; indeed, the continuation of the statement is quite explicit: "You may please likewise to remember, with how much favour to the author, and indulgence to the play, you commanded it to the view of his Majesty, then at Windsor, and, by his approbation of it in writing, made way for its kind reception on the theatre . . .". Shadwell's dedication of The True Widow to Sedley similarly suggests the wider, subtler range of patronage: "This Comedy . . . had the benefit of your Correction and Alteration, and the Honour of your Approbation".

Because of the extraordinary power of these Court Wits, it is useful to examine the dominating, public attitudes of this group. In 1661 Ormonde told Clarendon that "The king spent most of his time with confident young men who abhorred all discourse that was serious, and, in the liberty they assumed in drollery and raillery, preserved no reverence towards God or man, but laughed

at all sober men, and even at religion itself".⁴¹ This "merry gang"⁴² flourished from 1665 until 1680. In that time, the members became notorious. They gained a reputation for complete and unadulterated profligacy, although there are numerous indications that they were not as irresponsible nor as wild as they appeared. However, it seems that they themselves cultivated the popular image. Rochester said the "three buisnissess of the age" were "Woemen, Polliticks and Drinking".⁴³ The wits did play their parts in "polliticks", but any serious vocation had little prominence in their visions of how life should be spent. Their public approach to life, to judge from their numerous statements, may be summed up in "The Baller's Life", a poem by John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham:

They have too many hours that employ 'em
 About Business, Ambition, or News,
 While we that know how to enjoy 'em,
 Wish in vain for the time which such blockheads
 misuse;

They that toyl in impertinent care,
 May strive to be often at leasure;
 They cannot be worse than they are;
 But we whose business is pleasure
 Have never a moment to spare.
 With dangerous Damsels we dally
 Till we come to a closer dispute;
 And when we no more Forces can rally,
 Our kind foe gives us leave to retire and recruit;
 Then dropping to Bacchus we fly,
 Who nobly regarding our merits,
 With Succours alwayes is nigh;
 And thus reviving our Spirits,
 We love, and we drink till we dye.⁴⁴

Dryden, reminiscing years later, called the period:

A very Merry, Dancing, Drinking,
Laughing, Quaffing and Unthinking Time.⁴⁵

The Memoirs of Count Grammont confirms this description.

Shadwell, although he was not averse at times to following the mode in his own plays, in the preface to The Sullen Lovers (1668) complained about the effects of these fashionable attitudes on the drama:

. . . but in the Playes which have been wrote of late, there is no such thing as perfect Character, but the two chief persons are most commonly a Swearing, Drinking, Whoring Ruffian for a Lover, and an impudent, ill-bred Tomrig for a Mistress, and these are the fine People of the Play; and there is that Latitude in this, that almost any thing is proper for them to say; but their chief Subject is bawdy and profaneness, which they call brisk writing, when the most dissolute of Men, that relish those things well enough in private, are chok'd at 'em in publick. An methinks, if there were nothing but the ill Manners of it, it should make Poets avoid that Indecent way of writing.

Wycherley's Hippolita, in The Gentleman Dancing-Master (1672), might almost be giving the response to Shadwell when, in retort to her aunt's "O the fatal Liberty of this masquerading Age, when I was a young Woman", she says:

Come, come do not blaspheme this masquerading Age, like an ill-bred City Dame, whose Husband is half broke by living in Coven-Garden, or who has been turn'd out of the Temple or Lincoln-Inn upon a masquerading Night; by what I've heard 'tis a pleasant-well-bred-complacent-free-frolick-good-natur'd-pretty-Age; and if you do not like it, leave it to us that do. [139]

The nature of the audience influenced the dramatists in other specific ways. Dryden, in "Defence of

the Epilogue", is quite clear that:

Gentlemen will now be entertained with the follies of each other; and, though they allow Cobb and Tib to speak properly, yet they are not much pleased with their tankards or with their ways. And surely their conversation can be no jest to them in the theatre, when they would avoid it in the street.⁴⁶

He regards this development as a refinement, an advance from the "meanness" of Jonson's characters. He attributes the change to the influence of the king and the court. Samuel Pordage, in the dedication for The Siege of Babylon (1678), voices a similar sentiment.

The concern with genteel characters is evident from the early years of the period. In the commendatory verses to Thomas Southland's Love a la Mode (1663), R. Colbrand wrote:

Now Fletcher's gone, I feare there are but few,
For neat expressions that can vie with you;
And though you imitate his wanton strain,
Love well express'd as much applause may gain
As dull Mechanick humors, since your pen
Can hit the humor of wilde Gentlemen.

That "dull Mechanick humors" were out of fashion is evident from the apologetic and defensive note in Cowley's epilogue at court for the Cutter of Coleman Street (1663):

If any blame the Lowness of our Scene,
We humbly think some Persons there have been
On the Worlds Theatre not long ago,
Much more too High, than here they are too low.
And well we know that Comedy of old,
Did her Plebeian rank with so much Honour hold,
That it appear'd not then too Base or Light,
For the Great Scipio's Conquering hand to Write.
How e're, if such mean persons seem too rude,
When into Royal presence they intrude,

Yet we shall hope a parden to receive
 From you, a Prince so practis'd to forgive;
 A Prince, who with th'applause of Earth and Heaven,
 The rudeness of the Vulgar has Forgiven.

When a comedy concerned with low life is presented, the writer shows his awareness of his procedure. The anonymous The Counterfeit Bridegroom (1677), a re-writing of Middleton's No Wit, No Help, like a Woman's, warns off the "Sparks". Joseph Harris, who in The City Bride (1696) adapted Webster and Rowley's A Cure for a Cuckold, stresses the novelty of his undertaking.

The characteristic feature of Restoration comedy is its concentration upon the beau monde. But Lady Squeamish, in Otway's Friendship in Fashion (1678), would require even more than this from the playwright: "I am asham'd any one should pretend to write a Comedy, that does not know the nicer rules of the Court, and all the Intrigues and Gallantries that pass, I vow" [349].

This social influence was matched increasingly by another force emanating from the audience, that of party politics. The influence of politics had already been exerted on the stage in the early Restoration period. Dennis, in the dedication to The Comical Gallant (1702), referred to the barbarous treatment on the first night of Cowley's Cutter of Coleman Street (1661).

Lanæbaine notes; "This Play met with some Opposition, at

its Representation under this new Name, from some who envyed the Authors unshaken Loyalty to the Prince, and the Royal Cause, in the worst of Times."⁴⁷ Politics, especially after Titus Oates's revelations in 1678, came to fill the gaps left by the retirement or death of the "extraordinary men at Court". The Country and the Court Parties, to become known later as the Whigs and the Tories, generated such a wave of emotion that the poet was faced with the choices of taking sides and risking arrest for libel (as happened to Aphra Behn in 1682)⁴⁸ or a cudgelling (as happened to Crowne in 1683),⁴⁹ or of avoiding any satiric treatment capable of misinterpretation or particular identification. The political situation could and did provide avenues of exploration to the writer, but it also could provide an exigent constraint on his creative processes and consequently on the economic attitudes depicted in his comedy. For instance, Shadwell's anti-Catholic, anti-Tory The Lancashire Witches (1681) suffered from censorship by the Master of the Revels,⁵⁰ and Crowne's anti-Whig City Politiques (1683) had its permission for production withdrawn for a time.⁵¹

The playwright's position was in some respects similar to that of the theatre itself. The company had

to attract a paying audience. So it was not a simple matter of the playwright deciding to please his audience; before his comedy could be produced, the company needed some assurance that it would be profitable. This was a crucial matter during this period. The Duke's Company appears to have been modestly successful,⁵² but the King's Company was not so fortunate. Because of poor management, confused financial dealings, and small audiences the receipts from which at times were insufficient to meet expenses, the King's Company joined with the Duke's Company in 1682. The United Companies operated for thirteen years but even with only one theatre in operation there were difficult periods: in 1692, daily takings were often smaller than £20. Dissension within the company led to the opening in 1695 of two theatres, the Theatre Royal and Lincoln's Inn Field. Unrest within each company and intense rivalry between the companies at last led Betterton to state that "it appears by the Receipts and constant Charges of the Theatres for some Years past, that the Town will not maintain two Playhouses".⁵³

Thus, however he wished to react to the audiences, the playwright's decision was not a matter of his concern only. Furthermore, the outlet for his work was limited. On 9 July 1660, Thomas Killigrew, Groom of His Majesty's

Bedchamber, secured an order from the king authorizing him "to erect one Company of players wch shall be our owne Company",⁵⁴ and on 19 July 1660, Sir William Davenant, seeking reconfirmation of his 1639 charter, drafted an order incorporating both his claim and that of Killigrew. This draft stated that "there shall be no more places of Representations or Companys of Actors or Representers of sceanes in the Cittys of London or Westminster or in the liberties of them then the Two to be now erected by virtue of this authoritie, but that all others shall be absolutely suppressed".⁵⁵ On 21 August 1660, Davenant's request was passed and thus began the monopoly, which existed until 1682, of the King's Company and the Duke's Company. Thus, the companies I have mentioned were the only legitimate public theatres in London.

The fact of the monopoly is important for its influence on what the writer produced. The conditions and needs of each of the two companies were necessarily factors of which he would be aware or of which he would be reminded by manager or cast. Indeed, there is evidence that several plays were written with a particular member of the company's cast in mind for one of the characters.⁵⁶ Dennis later was to criticize this approach: "Most of the Writers for the Stage in my time, have not only adapted their Characters to their Actors,

but those actors have as it were sate for them. For which reason the Lustre of the most Shining of their Characters must decay with the Actors."⁵⁷ There is one documented case, from later in the century, of the revision of Congreve's first play, The Old Batchelor, to meet the requirements of the United Company.⁵⁸ There existed also, of course, the question of whether or not the company was willing or even financially able, in those days of a small theatre-going public, to mount a production. For instance, the painting of the scenes for Dryden's Tyrannic Love (1669) was valued at £335 10s., but in this case the play ran fourteen consecutive days and reportedly returned about £100 per day.⁵⁹ In 1692, The Fairy Queen cost £3000 to mount, but it showed little profit.⁶⁰ For some plays the risk could not be taken. John Smith, in the address "To the Northern Gentry", prefaced to his play, Cytherea, or the Enamouring Girdle (published 1677), explained that it had not yet been presented publicly because of the players' unwillingness to accept it; "Besides they could not act it to the life without much expence in contriving Scenes and Machins to their great loss, if the Spectators should not prove charitable in their censures . . .".

This discussion is not intended to be exhaustive; its purpose is simply to draw attention to the milieu

in which the poet worked. So far I have examined those factors which would act to shape the playwright's work; his financial status, the influence of the audience, and the exigencies of the theatre itself. Two other aspects of the writer's situation deserve mention. The first of these is censorship; the second is opposition to the stage.

Censorship appears to have been strict in the early years of the Restoration. For example, Wilson's The Cheats was censored by Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels. His approach is quite clear from his treatment of the Worcester College "prompt-copy". Herbert not only deleted a number of single words but also marked for deletion a number of passages. He appeared to maintain the attitude to oaths he expressed in 1633/4: "Faith", "Troth", "pox on him", "odds niggs" are underlined for deletion as well as "on the arse" and "plaquett".⁶¹ In spite of this censorship, Charles II ordered the play off the stage a few weeks later. Following its revival on the stage, the comedy was subjected to Roger L'Estrange's censorship before publication in 1664. There is no evidence, however, as to how widespread was detailed censorship and suppression of this kind. Suppression was more common after 1679 when political and religious factions found outlets for their animosities in party plays.⁶²

Opposition to the theatre was of a minor nature during most of the period, perhaps because of the exclusive nature of the audience and perhaps because the Puritans were reluctant to protest. What protest there was came from the playwrights themselves; Shadwell's comment has been quoted earlier in this chapter; Dryden, in "To the Pious Memory of the Accomplish'd Young Lady, Mrs. Anne Killigrew", refers to "the steaming ordures of the stage" [I, 65]. Other criticism is incidental, as, for example, Burnet's and Evelyn's comments on women on the stage. Opposition begins with the movements for the reformation of manners, and with Collier's attack in the last decade of the century.⁶³

The question remains, given these conditions, of how far the playwright could transcend his milieu. Some general conclusions may be presented. During the Restoration period, especially up to James II's accession, the dominant influences were aristocratic or "genteel". The playwrights appeared to adopt wholly the viewpoint of the audience, for instance, in regard to the increasing power of moneyed men. Thus, the attitudes which are reflected in the comedies can be regarded as dramatizations of forces operating within this narrow portion of society. For instance, the denigration and rejection

of the citizen is conventional in the comedies, but the very pervasiveness of this convention makes the stereotyped presentation meaningful. The comedies are articulating underlying forces of conflict and change within society. When the citizen is an acquisitive merchant, the depiction, although again merely conventional, suggests the increasing movement towards a cash basis in society which threatens the privileges of land and status. The pervasiveness of the convention is meaningful because from the large number of comedies in this period a pattern of attitudes emerges. Whether or not inferior dramatists merely copied a successful formula is not really pertinent; the large number of comedies and the willingness of the audience to accept them bespeak the relevance of the material.

The adoption of this viewpoint does not imply that all the poets were docile. Their intention, or, at least, their expressed intention, in the comedies was to mend faults; and their satire was directed at the audience as well as the commercial classes. Collier, for instance, was disturbed that the poets attacked

"Quality":

. . . these Liberties are altogether new. They are unpractised by the Latin Comedians, and by the English too till very lately, as the Plain Dealer observes. And, as for Moliere in France, he pretends to fly his Satir no higher than a Marquis.

And has our Stage a particular Privilege? Is their Charter enlarg'd, and are they on the same Foot of Freedom with the Slaves in the Saturnalia? Must all Men be handled alike? Must their Roughness be needs play'd upon Titles? And can't they lash the Vice without pointing upon the Quality? If, as Mr. Dryden rightly defines it, a Play ought to be a just Image of Humane Nature, Why are not the Decencies of Life, and the Respects of Conversation observ'd? Why must the Customes of Countries be Cross'd upon, and the Regards of Honour overlook'd? What necessity is there to kick the Coronets about the Stage, and to make a Man a Lord, only in order to make him a Coxcomb? I hope the Poets don't intend to revive the old Project of Levelling, and Vote down the House of Peers.⁶⁴

Opposing this, Vanbrugh retorted: "The Stage is a Glass for the World to view itself in; People ought therefore to see themselves as they are; if it makes their Faces too Fair, they won't know they are Dirty, and by consequence will neglect to wash 'em";⁶⁵ and Dennis said that the follies of the ignorant deserve our compassion while the "Affected Follies" of the great, who are capricious and influential, can only be mended by the stage because "A Commoner may be corrected in Company, but such friendly Admonition to a Lord, may be interpreted Scandal".⁶⁶ But, for all this, what the comic dramatists usually satirized were eccentricities and excessive foppishness. Here the poets appear to be appealing to a clique and to be relying on this clique's support against other members of the genteel society. The approach had its dangers, especially when the poet ventured beyond mere aberrations. Dryden, for instance, apparently

miscalculated with The Kind Keeper (1677). The dedication reveals his intention and the result: "'Twas intended for an honest Satyre against our crying sin of Keeping; how it would have succeeded, I can but guess, for it was permitted to be acted only thrice". Later in the same dedication he presents his defence: "It has nothing of particular Satyre in it; for whatsoever may have been pretended by some Criticks in the Town, I may safely and solemnly affirm, that no one character has been drawn from any single man". This type of disclaimer became a necessity for the unprotected poet living in a small privileged society.

The poet's predicament is expressed in Sir Car Scroope's prologue to The Man of Mode, and its opening couplet aptly signifies the situation:

Like dancers on the rope poor poets fare,
Most perish young, the rest in danger are.

Many poets did flirt with danger. Wycherley was recognized at the time as the most courageous. Manly, for example, in The Plain-Dealer (1676), says: " . . . call a Rascal by no other title, though his Father had left him a Duke's" [390]. But without diminishing Wycherley's efforts, it must be recognized that he speaks as a member of the Court Wits. Increasingly, however, during the period, attacks were made on specific abuses, such as the selling of places. But, always, even to the end of

the century, the poets are aware of their limitations:

Who dares be witty now, and with just rage
Disturb the vice, and follies of the Age.

Lewis Maidwell, prologue to Loving Enemies (1680)

A Poet dares not whip this foolish Age,
You cannot bear the Physick of the Stage.

Thomas Shadwell, epilogue to The Lancashire Witches
(1682)

Since the Plain-Dealer's Scenes of Manly Rage,
Not one has dar'd to lash this Crying Age.

William Congreve, prologue to Love for Love (1695)

The reader, alerted by an awareness of the constraints on the poets, may reflect on the matter of versimilitude discussed in the introductory chapter. "Reality" is viewed from a specific social perspective and conveyed through comedy. The latter point needs to be stressed. First, comedies are not economic handbooks. Second, if the poet's intention is satiric, the comedy will deal with the deviations from the norm; thus the aberration is explicit, the standard implicit. Just as we cannot assume that when a character speaks, it is the playwright speaking, so we cannot regard that what is made manifest is the normal mode. To complicate matters further, before the eighteenth century most theories of comedy equated the risible and the satiric; in this situation the apologist might tend to stress the moral aim in order to make his comedy respectable. Thus, in approaching the comedies the reader must remember that the stated intention and the finished product are not necessarily

synonymous, especially when a writer is justifying or defending his work.

The considerations presented in this chapter are necessary preliminaries to an examination of the financial and economic attitudes presented in the comedies. We should be aware that the comedies present one view of society which is not a total view; that they operate on social and economic premises, for instance, the financial aspects of marriage, which differ from twentieth century beliefs; and that they struggle with certain fundamental changes, such as the influence of wealth on status, which were altering the accepted patterns of society.

This chapter has suggested the viewpoint of the comedies. The next two chapters deal with the setting, but in so doing they introduce those economic premises and problems which are associated with this viewpoint.

CHAPTER 2

" . . . THERE IS NO LIFE BUT IN LONDON":

LONDON AND THE COUNTRY

D'Avenant's The Rivals (1668) is set in Arcadia, Edward Howard's The Six days Adventure (1670) in Utopia, and Dryden's Amphitryon, or The Two Socia's (1690) in Thebes. Other Restoration comedies are set within easier reach of the indomitable English merchant ship. Over a score are set in Italy or Spain; at least three in France; and only the occasional comedy in Belgium or Holland. But most of the comedies are placed in England. Greenwich, Bury, Epsom, Lichfield, Gloucester, York, Shrewsbury, Canterbury, Tunbridge Wells, Hertfordshire, Lancashire and Cornwall are among the locales named. London, however, is the specified setting for over one hundred comedies.

These facts, however, can be misleading for the Naples of Crowne's City Politiques is after all really London, the Epsom of Shadwell's Epsom Wells is the setting for London society involved in London intrigues, and the Sicily of Dryden's Marriage a la Mode is merely a foreign overlay for a London comedy.

However one computes the figures, the important point remains that it is London which is by far pre-eminent as the setting for the comedies. Further, it is

usually a quite specific part of London. Alsatia, St. James's Park, Covent Garden, "Chelsey", Kensington, Lincoln's-Inn Field all appear; but settings can sometimes be localised even more precisely to Westminster Hall, the Exchange, Mulberry Gardens.

The dominant, even if unstated, milieu is London "at or near the court". Restoration comedy, then, is not set in Elysium. Only rarely is it set in the England of Gammer Gurton's Needle or in the London of Bartholomew Fair. It is the London of Massinger's The City Madam or Brome's The Sparagus Garden; it is especially the London of Shirley's The Lady of Pleasure. Thus, the tendency evident in comedy towards the end of the Caroline period becomes established after the Restoration. The Restoration comedies are designed for fashionable London society, and they reflect the viewpoint of that society.

In this chapter, I shall examine the development of this society for the economic and social factors which prompted its growth and for the economic and social changes which its growth occasioned. In addition, I shall consider some of the ancillary results of these changes, such as the attitude to the country, which find expression in the comedies. My main purpose, of course, is to examine London as the setting for fashionable society in order to gain an understanding of the viewpoint of this

society which is expressed in the comedies. If we also keep in mind my statement, in the introductory chapter, that capitalism requires an urban social base, we shall find here background information pertinent to the later discussion.

The formation of a London society began long before the Restoration. As early as 1616, James I spoke against "those swarms of gentry, who, through the instigation of their wives and to new-model and fashion their daughters (who, if they were unmarried, marred their reputations, and if married, lost them) did neglect their country hospitality, and cumber the city, a general nuisance to the kingdom".¹ This admonition probably marked the development of a London "season", the tendency of the fashionable to spend the winter in the city.

In 1682, Sir William Petty attempted to account for the growth of the city:

The Causes of its Growth from 1642 to 1682, may be said to have been as followeth, viz. From 1642 to 1650, That Men came out of the Countrey to London, to shelter themselves from the Outrages of the Civil Wars, during that time; from 1650 to 1660, The Royal Party came to London, for their more private and inexpensive Living; from 1660 to 1670, the King's Friends and Party came to receive his Favours after his Happy Restoration; from 1670 to 1680, the frequency of Plots and Parliaments might bring extraordinary Numbers to the City. . . I had rather quit even what I have above-said to be the Cause of London's Increase from 1642 to 1682, and put the whole upon some Natural and spontaneous

Benefits and Advantages that Men find by Living in great more than in small Societies . . .²

Here we get indications of the penury of the royalists during the Interregnum, of the rewards to be gained from royal favour after the Restoration and of later possibilities of employment or office. It is interesting to note, however, that Petty is willing to accept as a more fundamental factor the natural tendency of people to gravitate to a larger society with all its enticements, opportunities and rewards.

London offered "rich wives, spruce mistresses, pleasant houses, good dyet, rare wines, neat servants, fashionable furniture, pleasures and profits the best of all sorts".³ London offered Whitehall itself, the playhouses, the parks, bear-baiting, coffee-houses, and all the festivities, balls, masquerades and liaisons of society life. There were "the Lions at the Tower, New Bedlam, and the Tombs at Westminster" [Dilke's The Lover's Luck, 17], shopping with "Milliners Ware from the New-Exchange . . . , Silks . . . in Covent-Garden", and "all the famous [eating] Houses about Covent-Garden and Charing-Cross" [Mountfort's Greenwich-Park, 2, 4]. Fashion was dictated from London and the Court. And the gossip and intrigues and scandal of the town were spread by ballads and "intelligences" to all parts of England⁴, exciting horror, stimulating curiosity, and

generating excitement.

To young people, living in isolation and desolation in the country, where roads were often impassible (if they existed at all), travel difficult and company restricted, the news that the 1st Duke of Devonshire had spent £1000 on a supper and masked ball⁵ would make the conversation "of hawkes or houndes, fishinge or fowlinge, sowinge or grassinge"⁶ doubly irksome.

Although it might be true that "For the great majority of squires and country gentlemen the pleasures of London and Bath were rarely if ever tasted and to most of them seemed remote and irrelevant" or that "Even the great landlords felt a real love of country life and were seldom loath to quit the diversions and scandals of the capital for their estates",⁷ it is evident from the great influx of people into London during this period that a significant number of people felt differently. And from the "evidence" of the comedies, it appears that increasingly people were following the advice laid down much earlier by Ben Jonson:

First, to be an accomplished gentleman - that is a gentleman of the time - you must give over house-keeping in the country and live together in the city, amongst gallants where, at your first appearance, 'twere good you turned four or five acres of your best land into two or three trunks of apparell.⁸

Many of these people might come temporarily, to rented lodgings; others, like the Duke of Bedford who

maintained 40 servants at an annual wage of £860 in his London establishment,⁹ might consider themselves permanent residents. However long they came for, the sojourn proved expensive; Sir Thomas Hanmer, a Welsh gentleman, incurred a charge of £636 for a six weeks' visit in 1700-1,¹⁰ but even twenty years earlier the Earl of Devonshire had been paying 500 guineas a year in rental alone for Montague House in Great Russell Street.¹¹

To participate in the life of London, money was necessary. The comedies provide incidental information on some of the necessary charges. Loveby, in Dryden's The Wild Gallant, owes "seventeen pound and a Noble" [9] for his lodgings, although we do not know what period this covered; Goody Fells, in Revet's The Town-Shifts, charges for a miserable garret "seven shillings, for seven weeks lodging, and as much for dyet, and washing the little linen" [8]; Lyrick, in Farquhar's Love and a Bottle, however, for apparently acceptable lodgings, has promised eighteen-pence a week [31]. Mockmode, in the last-named play, lists additional payments: "Six-pence for Washing; - Two pence to the Maid - Six-pence for Snush - one shilling for Butter'd Ale - " [21]. Leftwell, in Revet's The Town-Shifts, rents houses and receives apparently two hundred guineas a year for four of them [37]; to him a shilling for a dinner seems reasonable [31]. Bias, in D'Urfey's The Marriage Hater Match'd, is

proud of his clothes: "the Cloth cost twenty shillings a yard; my Gloves cost a Guinea, and my Hat three pounds" [19]. But none of these characters are living at a high rate. Lady Thrivewell's bill at the milliner's is £100. 2s., in Behn's The Debauchee [12]. Lady Dorimen, in Lansdowne's The She-Gallants, pays her hairdresser ten guineas [III, 11]. Only the last two examples, perhaps, give any real indication of the high cost of participating in the society of London. The status symbol of a coach, for example, could prove expensive. The Earl of Bedford, in 1682, paid £53 10s. for a new coach, £14 10s. for fringes and horse clothes, £24 for the velvet, £10 14s. for the glass windows, and £25 for its painting. In 1671, he paid £237 18s. for horses. "Grassing" the horses at Hyde Park cost five shillings each a week. The "necessaries for the page" cost just over £8 in 1669.¹²

The quest for the good life was not necessarily the sole motivation for a move to London. Paradoxically, as gentry families who were becoming increasingly affluent ventured to London, others who were experiencing financial difficulties also made the transition because: "Seeinge the charges of household so much as by no provision they can make can be holpen, they give over their households and get them chambers in London or aboute the courte, and there spend there time, some with a servante

or 2, wheare he was wounte to kepe 30 or 40 persons daily in his house".¹³

It was inevitable that for the latter group London could be regarded as a marriage mart in which, by a judicious choice, one could restore or augment one's fortune quickly and easily. For the rising gentry, a family fortune could be consolidated or increased. For this group, marriage required caution, consideration and balancing; caution because of the existence of fortune-hunters; consideration because of the wider choice available in London; and balancing because in those uncertain times money might be preferred to land, or a smaller estate of money and land might be sought instead of a larger landed estate in an ineligible part of England.¹⁴ Marriage, as I shall show later, was not something which could be embarked upon lightly. It was a matter of business, and business of the greatest priority.

Petty indicates the possibility of reward from royal favours. Thus, besides the pleasure and excitement of court life, there was the possibility of recognition or advancement. Members of the aristocracy were there to fulfil the obligations of social convention or to protect their interests; but they were also there to seek the rewards of office, or title, or gifts, or power. While

the richest pickings fell to the higher ranks of the aristocracy, there were substantial benefits to be gained by even the lowest ranks of gentry. Even one as lowly as was Samuel Pepys at the beginning of his career could benefit. While a limited number of satellites circled the sun, a host of people could be maintained on the rich earth of each. Recognition and favour, not only from the royal family but also from any of the circles of rank, could mean advancement and security. Railmore, in Motteux's Love's a Jest, describes the bustle for favour at the court:

Why, there they are plagu'd with impertinent suitors,
but plague 'em worse with disappointments. Lords
sell-off, and Stewards purchase; just as officers
set up their coaches, and you Country Gentlemen lay
'em down: Preferments are plenty, but Money scarce;
Acquaintances elbow one another out without con-
science, smile without joy, embrace without
Friendship, flatter without Moderation, promise
without Reflexion, and break their words without
consequence. Beggars grow Courtiers, and Courtiers
Beggars. [6]

Immediately after the Restoration, acceptance by court circles had an added importance. As I shall show later, the civil wars had resulted in confiscations of royalist property or in impositions of heavy fines on those royalists not dispossessed. Those who had been loyal to the king now came seeking their reward. In effect, "most royalists regained their lands except, of course, those who had already made voluntary agreements

with the new owners".¹⁵ However, there would be those who were recanting their "voluntary" agreements and those who were seeking relief from the burdensome mortgages which they had undertaken in order to pay the fines. In Devonshire, for example, royalist gentry paid fines equivalent to between two and eight years' value of their property and as a result many were for long in reduced circumstances.¹⁶ And many, below the ranks of great landowners, who had supported the crown "looked in vain for recompense at the Restoration and the lesser gentry whose estates had suffered much from fines and taxation were too insignificant and too deficient in influence to gain--especially those landlords who held to Roman Catholicism".¹⁷

The court's power to restore or maintain or create rank and power and wealth resulted in increased recourse to it at the Restoration. In such a situation, how fortunate it was to be a Villiers, Sedley, Etherege, Sackville, Sheffield or Wilmot, the friends of the king; or Thomas Clifford, Sir William Coventry, Anthony Ashley Cooper or Sir Henry Bennet, the king's chosen advisors. And for lesser folk, how important it was to secure the friendship or avoid the hostility of such men.

The sinecures available in the court of Charles II make the whole system appear highly corrupt. The

situation, however, was not unique to this reign. If it is compared with that of the courts of the earlier Stuarts (and even of Elizabeth),¹⁸ it appears merely to be a continuation of their accepted practices. Indeed, William III, under the pressure of nine years of revolutionary war, costing almost £5 million per annum, continued the practices, and they persisted into Anne's reign and beyond. In 1726 a quarter of the peerage held government or court office and most other places were in the hands of their relatives and dependents. As usual, outstanding wealth provided a means to even greater wealth; and position as great landlords gave the wealthy political pre-eminence.¹⁹

Stafford, over half a century earlier, had complained about "such trains as will always infallibly be there laid there for men of great fortune by a company of flesh flies that ever buzze up and down the palaces of princes".²⁰ The same trains, greatly expanded, exist in Wycherley's world:

Freeman Observe but any morning what people do
when they get together on the Exchange, in
Westminster-hall, or the Galleries in Whitehall.

Manly I must confess, there they seem to
rehearse Bay's grand Dance; here you see a
Bishop bowing low to a gaudy Atheist; a Judge, to
a Doorkeeper; a great Lord, to a Fishmonger, or a
Scrivener with a Jack-chain about his neck; a
Lawyer, to a Serjeant at Arms; a velvet Physician,
to a threadbare Chymist; and a supple Gentleman

Usher, to a surly Beef-eater; and so tread round in a preposterous huddle of Ceremony to each other, whilst they can hardly their solemn false countenances.

Freeman Well, they understand the World.
[Wycherley, The Plain-Dealer, 398]

For the dance of courtship, the aspirant needed wealth or the appurtenances of wealth merely to gain entrée. Clothes of the latest fashion, money for entertaining and gambling, and an address in an acceptable part of town were necessary. The increasing consciousness of social decorum explains in part the continued popularity of Henry Peacham's The Compleat Gentleman (1622) and Richard Brathwaite's English Gentleman (1630), and the appearance of numerous imitations and extensions such as Youth's behaviour or decencie in conversation (1661) and even The compleat servant maid or the young maiden's tutor (1685). (An interesting sidelight on this society is the inclusion of a chapter, chapter 33, containing cautions on lineage in New additions to youth's behaviour).

It is only with a knowledge of this background of increasing decorum and sophistication that one can appreciate the full mirth of the scene in Vanbrugh's A Journey to London where Sir Francis Headpiece, a rough country squire newly arrived in London, explains why he has high hopes of advancement:

Sir Francis . . . so I went to one great man, whom
I had never seen before . . .

I have, says I, my lord, a good estate, but it's a little out at elbows, and as I desire to serve my king, as well as my country, I shall be very willing to accept of a place at court.

Uncle Richard This was bold indeed.

Sir Francis I'cod, I shot him flying uncle; another man would have been a month before he durst have open'd his mouth about a place. But you shall hear. Sir Francis, says my Lord, what sort of a place may you have turn'd your thoughts upon? My Lord, says I, beggars must not be choosers; but some place about a thousand a year, I believe, might do pretty weel to begin with. Sir Francis, says he, I shall be glad to serve you in any thing I can; and in saying these words he gave me a squeeze by the hand, as much as to say, I'll do your business. And so he turn'd to a Lord that was there, who lookt as if he came for a place too.

Uncle Richard And so your fortune's made.

Sir Francis Don't you think so, uncle? [III, 1]

The irony of this comic exchange is accentuated by its position in the scene. It comes immediately after Sir Francis's complaint to Mrs. Motherly about the inconvenience of parliamentary dining hours and the following exhortation to Mrs. Motherly and to his son, Squire Humphry:

Sir Frances But then when we consider that what we undergo, is in being busy for the good of our country, - O, the good of our country is above all things; what a noble and glorious thing it is, Mrs. Motherly, that England can boast of five hundred zealous gentlemen, all in one room, all of one mind, upon a fair occasion, to go all together by the ears for the good of their country; - Humphry, perhaps you'll be a senator in time, as your father is now; when you are, remember your country; spare nothing for the good of your country; and when you come home,

at the end of the sessions, you will find your self so ador'd, that your country will come and dine with you every day of the week.

Sir Francis, we learn in the opening speech of the play, has found "children and interest-money make such a bawling about his ears, that he has taken the friendly advice of his neighbour the good Lord Courtlove, to run his estate two thousand pounds more in debt, that he may retrieve his affairs by being a parliament-man, and bringing his wife to London to play off a hundred pounds at dice with ladies of quality, before breakfast".

Parliament, then, offered one of the financial opportunities in London; but Sir Francis Headpiece's case indicates the need for money to get in and the need for favour to get on. There were, however, other opportunities. Some of these will be examined in greater detail when I discuss attitudes to the professions, but it is useful at this point to have some general information on the vocational alternatives available in London.

The Inns of Court offered one of the few opportunities of the time for advancement through professional training. Edward Waterhouse, in The Gentleman's Monitor (1665), offered the advice that "To study and be versed in the laws concerns noblemen and gentlemen above others, as they have great estates, and great trusts in government; in which ignorance of the lawes will not well set them

off" [353]. This advice, however, was hindsight as far as the aristocracy was concerned, for at this time their numbers had decreased; but this decrease was matched by a swelling of numbers from the squirearchy. The number of "Gentlemen" admitted to Gray's Inn, for example, was 1375 during the period 1600 - 1614, 1580 during 1626 - 1640, and only 1036 during 1660 - 1674.²¹

In this age of furious litigation, with the substantial growth in the work of Chancery, with the development of London as the centre for the land market, with the importance of marriage contracts (and newer developments such as the strict settlement), and with the expansion of trade,²² a volume of business was generated which could have provided a profitable livelihood for younger sons and members of the lesser gentry.

The lower offices of the government might offer a doorway for a Pepys but could not offer a satisfactory recompense quickly enough for a gentleman; the higher offices were purchased or bestowed. Teaching in one of the great schools, such as Merchant Taylors or Westminster, or establishing a school such as the young ladies' boarding school at Hackney, offered only small rewards; the practice of medicine, as we shall see, although it held possibilities of great reward, was not really suitable for a gentleman; and a vocation in the church, a possible

recourse for younger sons, was becoming more difficult to secure and less rewarding unless one could hold a plurality of benefices.

Business or trade offered the greatest opportunity; but, to offset this, while it might be acceptable as an occupation for one who had status and rank already, it was regarded apparently with unmitigated contempt by members of London society.

For the young gentleman in search of the good life as it is exemplified in Restoration comedy, these opportunities were below consideration. For the good life, leisure, status and money were necessary. These employments offered none of the three basic requirements. And other vocations touching on the world of the beau monde, occupations such as dancing-master or singing-master which possibly, on the evidence of the comedies, might provide advancement ("What: you do not steal her, according to the laudable Custom of some of your Brother-Dancing Masters?" Wycherley, The Gentleman Dancing-Master, 179), were unacceptable and demeaning.

Of all the opportunities, marriage, as we shall see later, could provide the easiest and quickest route to the good life, for both men and women. And, of course, London "at or near the court", with its congregation of aristocratic and gentry families and its propinquity to wealthy merchant families, offered the greatest scope.

Indeed, one could enjoy the good life while seeking a suitable spouse, and, hopefully, a spouse whose wealth could make permanent one's participation in the good life. The marriage quest could provide opportunities for gallantry, courtship and sexual intrigue.

London, then, was the golden city. The "pride, pomp, luxury, and treason of the damned place",²³ the court and its power and its society, the romanticizing by poets, the horrified condemnation by pamphlet-writers, the glitter of the comedies, the success stories of Restoration Dick Whittingtons, the awesome tales of the ballad writers, the luxury goods, the fashions, the dances, all these attested to the fact that "there is no life but in London". London's attraction persisted in spite of or, possibly, because of cautions such as those expressed by Sir Charles Sedley:

What Business, or what Hope brings thee to Town,
 Who can'st not Pimp, nor Cheat, nor Swear nor Lye?
 This Place will nourish no such idle Drone;
 Hence, in remoter Parts thy Fortune try.
 But thou hast Courage, Honesty, and Wit,
 And one, or all these three, will give thee Bread;
 The Malice of this Town thou know'st not yet;
 Wit is a good Diversion, but base Trade;
 Cowards will, for thy Courage, call thee Bully,
 Till all, like Thraso's, thy Acquaintance shun;
 Rogues call thee for thy Honesty a Cully;
 Yet this is all thou has to live upon;
 Friend, three such Vertues, Audley* had undone;
 Be wise, and e're th'art in a Jayl, be gone,

*Hugh Audley, a famous usurer who died 15 November 1662 worth £400,000.

Of all that starving Crew we saw to Day
None but has kill'd his Man, or writ his play.²⁴

The attraction to London denotes a social change, but, as has been suggested, there were economic motivations. Even subtler and more pervasive motivations may have been operating. One is readily apparent, from even a superficial survey of the comedies, in the denigration of the country.

The country bumpkin, of course, is a stock figure in comedy.²⁵ Richard Brome's The Sparagus Garden (1635) gives us in the Hoyden brothers two types from pre-Restoration days. And we have Sir Timorous in one of the first new Restoration comedies, Dryden's The Wild Gallant (1663). The type is continued in Jerry Blackacre in Wycherley's The Plain-Dealer (1676), Sir Mannerly Shallow and his servant in Crowne's The Countrey Wit (1676), Toby in D'Urfey's Madam Fickle (1676), Young Hartford in Shadwell's The Lancashire Witches (1681), Johnny in Cibber's Woman's Wit (1696) and Humphry Gubbins in Steele's The Tender Husband (1705). There is, however, a great variety of portraiture. There are the primitives, such as Sir Tunbelly Clumsey in Vanbrugh's The Relapse; the uninitiated who do not realize or accept that there is any mode of life beyond their own, such as the Headpiece family in Vanbrugh's A Journey to London; and the would-be gallants, such as Belfond Senior in Shadwell's

The Squire of Alsatia. They are figures of fun because they present a crudity of appearance, of language, of behaviour, of pleasure which jars with the sophisticated norm. They use direct and plain language and behaviour in a world where inversion and subtlety are employed. They are unwary, simple and ignorant in a deceitful world. They believe that they can join the gay, fashionable society of London by aping the manners, never realizing that they lack the spirit. Occasionally, however, but only very occasionally, they serve as comment on the behaviour and values of fashionable society. Sir Wilfull Witwoud, in Congreve's The Way of the World, although he removes his boots in the reception room and drinks to excess, provides some of this comment:

Servant Sir, my Lady's dressing . . .

Sir Wilfull Dressing: What, 'tis but Morning here
I warrant, with you in London; we should count it
towards Afternoon in our Parts, down in
Shropshire . . . [III, xiv]

Sir Wilfull . . . What Tony, i'faith: - what, do'st
thou not know me? By'r Lady, nor'd I thee, thou
art so Becravated, and so Beperiwigged; - 'Sheart,
why dost not speak? art thou overjoyed?

Witwoud Odso Brother, is it you? Your Servant,
Brother.

Sir Wilfull Your Servant: Why yours, Sir. Your
Servant again - 'Sheart, and your Friend and
Servant to that - And a (puff) - and a - Flap-
Dragon for your Service, Sir; and a Hare's Foot

and a Hare's Scut for your Service, Sir; and you be so cold and so courtly!

Witwoud No Offence, I hope, Brother.

Sir Wilfull 'Sheart, Sir, but there is and much Offence! - A Pox, is this your Inns o' Court Breeding, not to know your Friends and your Relations, your Elders, and your Betters?

Witwoud Why, Brother Wilfull of Salop, you may be as short as a Shrewsbury cake, if you please. But I tell you 'tis not modish to know Relations in Town. You think you're in the Country, where great lubberly Brothers slobber and kiss one another when they meet, like a Call of Serjeants - 'Tis not the fashion here; 'tis not indeed, dear Brother.

Sir Wilfull The Fashion's a Fool; and you're a Fop, dear Brother. 'Sheart, I've suspected this - By'r Lady, I conjectured you were a Fop since you began to change the Stile of your Letters, and write in a scrap of Paper gilt round the Edges, no bigger than a Subpoena. I might expect this when you left off Honour'd Brother; and hoping you are in good Health, and so forth - To begin with a Rat me, Knight, I'm so sick of a last Night's Debauch - O'ds Heart, and then tell a familiar Tale of a Cock and a Bull, and a Whore and a Bottle, and so conclude . . . [III, xv]

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Sir Wilfull [to Millamant]. Well, well, I shall understand your Lingo one of these Days, Cousin, in the mean while I must answer in plain English. [IV, iv]

The country bumpkin may be a stock figure, but in the comedies there is an associated theme which undoubtedly helped to perpetuate the conventional depiction. This is a persistent anta~~xi~~onism to the country. When Sir Wilfull asks Millamant to go for a walk, she replies: "I nauseate

Walking; 'tis a Country Diversion, I loath the Country and everything that relates to it" [IV, iv]. And Dorimant, in Etherege's The Man of Mode, is accused of thinking "all beyond High-Park's a desart" [279].

Some of this antagonism is evident in the characters' preference for London. However, a preference for one does not necessarily involve a detestation of the other. Detestation is the usual attitude presented in the comedies; there is an almost complete rejection of the country and the mode of life it supports.

The unusual feature of this attitude is that it co-exists with an increasing interest in the meditative and rural life. Izaak Walton's Compleat Angler (1653) is a notable articulation of the retirement theme which is evident in the verse and letters of the times. Not only Dryden, in his translations, but also Wycherley and Aphra Behn in their verse, reveal a preoccupation with the philosophic idea of retirement. Thus, in reading the comedies, we seem to be hearing one side of a debate, the side propounding the merits of London against what the country has to offer. As I shall show below, the argument is, indeed, at times presented as a debate.

Lucia, in Shadwell's Epsom Wells, speaking of London, says, ". . . why people do really live no where else; they breath, and move, and have a kind of insipid

dull being; but there is no life but in London" [121]. This is the typical attitude of the characters in the comedies of the Restoration. London is the place where the good life is to be found.

The country is anywhere outside London; it is a wilderness, a place to be banished to, a place to be desolate in, a place to be separated from the good life. Mrs. Sullen, in Farquhar's The Beaux' Stratagem says, ". . . 'tis a standing maxim in conjugal discipline, that when a man would enslave his wife, he hurries her into the country . . ." [II, 1], and Teresia in Shadwell's The Volunteers comments, "The Life of Nature? that's for Beasts". Teresia, indeed, sums up the prevailing attitude when she says:

Poor thing; the Country Life's a pretty Life for a Dairy Maid; but for a fine Lady, there's nothing like this delicious Town; And I'll say 't, Hockley in the Hole here is sweeter than a Grove of Jessamin in the Country; Oh there is nothing in this World like London. [164]

And Dorinda, in The Beaux' Stratagem, lists some of the pleasures of London:

Why, my ten thousand pounds may lie brooding here in the country this seven years, and hatch nothing at last but some ill-matched clown like yours; Whereas, if I marry my Lord Aimwell, there will be title, place, and precedence, the Park, the play, and the drawing-room, splendor, equipage, noise, and flambeaux. - Hey, my Lady Aimwell's servants there! - Lights, lights to the stairs! My Lady Aimwell's coach put forward! - Stand by, make room for her ladyship! - Are not these things moving? [IV, 1]

The feeling that the good life is to be found in London echoes throughout the comedies of the period. Sometimes it is quite explicit; sometimes it is implicit, as in the condemnation of the country; but most often it is merely to be assumed by the dismissal of the possibility of there being any life outside London. Towards the end of the period there are isolated but increasing signs of a change in this attitude. Major General Blunt and Eugenia, in Shadwell's The Volunteers, will stand forth for the country against London, but they will be opposed by Teresia. Thus, in a number of plays there appears a debate on country versus town. This indicates not a reversal of the attitude but a tentative balancing, a reconsideration which is presented for the audience's verdict. Shadwell's Bury Fair offers such a debate between Lord Bellamy, who has retired to the country, and Wildish, a London wit:

Wild. . . . but your true Country Squire lives in Boots all the Winter, never talks or thinks of anything but Sports, as he calls 'em; and if an ill Day comes, saunters about his House, lolls upon Couches; sighs and groans, as if he were a Prisoner in the Fleet; and the best thing he can find to do, is to Smoke, and Drink, and play at Back-gammon, with the Parson.

Bell. These are of the strictest Order of Hunters, such as keep Journals of every Day's hunting, and write long Letters of Foxchases from one end of England to the other. Tho these are Fops, Ned, a Reasonable man may enjoy himself very well in the Country.

Wild. How so?

Bell. I have a noble House, an Air pure and uncorrupted.

Wild. Which are to be had in St. James's Square and Hyde Park.

Bell. I view my stately Fields and Meads, laden with Corn and Grass; my Herds of Kine and Flocks of Sheep; my Breed of Horses; my Delicate Gardens full of all sorts of Fruits and Herbs; my River full of Fish, with ponds, and a Decoy for Water Fowl, and plenty of Game of all kinds in my Fields and Woods; my Parks for Venison; my Cellar well furnish'd with all variety of excellent Drinks; and all my own, Ned.

Wild. All these things have we at London. The product of the best Cornfields at Queen-hithe; Hay, Straw, and Cattle at Smithfield; with Horses too. Where is such a Garden in Europe, as the Stocks-Market: Where such a river as the Thames? Such Ponds and Decoys, as in Leadenhall-Market, for your Fish and Fowl? Such Game as at the Poulterers? And instead of Parks, every Cook's Shop for Venison, without Hunting, and venturing Neck or Arms for it. And for Cellars, from Temple-Bar to Aldgate; and all that I have use of, my own too, since I have Money.

Bell. But I have pleasure in reading the Georgics, and contemplating the Works of Nature.

Wild. I contemplate the chief Works of Nature; fine Women; and the Juice of the Grape well concocted by the Sun.

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Wild. Who would not be sick ten Days for one good Night, with Men of Wit and Sense?

Bell. There's no true pleasure but in Health.

Wild. What should a Man do with Health in damn'd Country Company, which a man ought either to be a very good Philosopher, or none at all, to endure?

Bell. What good does Wit and Sense do you?
Do what you can, the Fops will be at the top of
Pleasures; and the Knaves will be at the head of
all Business in spite of you; and will bear down
the World, that a man, who has Wit, can be good
for nothing.

Wild. That makes the business of the World
so foolishly done. [336]

This exchange has been quoted at length because it differs in several important ways from the usual country versus town debate. Wildish offers the typical picture of the "true country 'Squire"; the ever-reasonable Shadwell allows Lord Bellamy to correct this picture. However, the "correction" is interesting in that Bellamy does not say: Yes, this type exists, but there are other types. He does say: "Though these are fops, Ned . . ." --and here we wait for the complete picture, the anti-thesis, only to be provided with the completion--
" . . . a reasonable man may enjoy himself very well in the country."

Country society thus stands condemned in the exchange, as it is, indeed, in the whole play. Wildish, in the opening scene of the play, says:

. . . I never knew a Town yet wherein the Fops do not carry all before 'em. They are a numerous, Impudent, and Noisy Party, while the Wise and Ingenious are Few, Modest, and reserv'd - There are Men of Wit, Honor, and Breeding; and Women of great Wit, Beauty, and Ingenuity, and Well-bred, too in this Town, which is really a sweet Town; but these pretend to nothing. Your pretenders never have anything in 'em. [300]

But this apparently common-sense opinion is, on the evidence of the play, of little validity. Indeed, the controlling attitude is more adequately revealed in the following excerpt by Wildish's comment on his valet's statement:

Val. You may say what you please of me, Sir, but there are so many fine Gentlemen and Ladies, so Gallant and so well bred, we call it little London; and it out-does St. James Square, and all the Squares, in dressing and Breeding; nay, even the Court itself under the Rose.

Wild. I doubt not but they are given to out-do as Imitators are. [299]

That St. Edmund's Bury should be called "little London" is, of course, in itself revealing in examining attitudes to London.

There are important economic matters indicated in these conversations. The growth of commerce is indicated by the mention of Queen-hithe, Smithfield, Stocks-Market and Leadenhall-Market. They were all established markets at the time, but to add to their bustle were the newer markets. In 1671, the Earl of Bedford acquired market rights for Covent Garden in a charter from Charles II; Hungerford Market was erected in 1680; Spitalfields Market received a charter in 1682. These markets offered a ready vending-place for the produce of estates; their existence also called into question the necessity of making an estate self-sufficient. The question for the gentleman who lived in London was should he really regard

his estate as a source of food when a greater variety of food could be obtained without trouble or care in the large variety of public markets. All that was needed was money, as Wildish indicates. Money is also required for "dressing and Breeding" in the small towns which attempt to ape St. James Square. The expanding foreign trade has brought to England new luxuries, these new luxuries are required to maintain the mode, and thus the luxuries quickly become necessities.

Bellamy's description of his fields and gardens and rivers is reminiscent of some of the strains of reflective poetry of the age. Charles Cotton's The Retirement, published in the same year as Shadwell's Bury Fair, is typical of this reflective poetry:

Farewell thou busy world, and may we
never meet again;
Here can I eat and sleep and pray,
And do more good in one short day
Than he who his whole age outwears
Upon thy most conspicuous theatres,
Where nought but vice and vanity do reign.

Good God; how sweet are all things here;
How beautiful the fields appear;
How cleanly do we feed and lie;
Lord; what good hours do we keep;
How quietly we sleep;
What peace; What unanimity;
How innocent from the lewd fashion,
Is all our bus'ness, all our conversation.

And Nahum Tate's "Grant me, indulgent Heav'n, a rural seat" had appeared twelve years earlier.²⁶

Obviously, just as the heroic play complemented the comedy of the period, this reflective poetry counterpointed the attitude to London and society presented in the comedies. Wildish's hard-headed practicality demolishes the pleasant Horatian and Virgilian dreams of the verse. The poetic fancy is likewise attacked in The Beaux' Stratagem:

Dorinda . . . I could wish, indeed, that our entertainments were a little more polite, or your taste a little less refined. But, pray, madam, how came the poets and philosophers, that laboured so much in hunting after pleasure, to place it at last in a country life?

Mrs. Sullen Because they wanted money, child, to find out the pleasures of the town. Did you ever see a poet or philosopher with ten thousand pound? If you can show me such a man, I'll lay you fifty pounds you'll find him somewhere within the weekly bills.* [II, 1]

Both these examples of "practicality" show the comedies' concern with things as they are. There is a clear recognition of the importance of money in both passages, but the cynicism is part of a more general attitude, made obvious, for example, when Bellamy counter-attacks and asks Wildish, "What good does wit and sense do you?" Wildish's answer is a shrug of acceptance: "That makes the business of the world so foolishly done".

This praise for London and depreciation of the country does not, of course, originate in the comedies

*The Bills of Mortality for London.

of the Restoration. It can be traced much earlier, even to medieval times, but it becomes marked in the Jacobean and Caroline dramatists. There is even a debate in James Shirley's The Lady of Pleasure (1637):

Steward. Be patient, madam; you may have your pleasure.

Lady Bornwell. 'Tis that I came to town for.
I could not
Endure again the country conversation,
To be the lady of six shires;

The pleasure, the good life, that Lady Bornwell came seeking in London is revealed in her husband's criticism in the same scene. His criticism presents an interesting list of products and ceremonies which money and commerce have made available or introduced and which, in turn, require money. His reaction to the wares and fashions indicates their novelty and his doubts about their effect on people such as his wife:

Bornwell . . . my heart is honest,
And must take liberty to think you have
Obeyed no modest counsel, to affect,
Nay, study ways of pride and costly ceremony;
Your change of gaudy furniture, and pictures
Of this Italian master, and that Dutchman;
Your mighty looking glasses, like artillery,
Brought home on engines; the superfluous plate,
Antique and novel; vanities of tires;
Fourscore-pound suppers for my lord, your kinsman,
Banquets for t'other lady aunt, and cousins,
And perfumes that exceed all; train of servants,
To stifle us at home, and show abroad
More motley than the French or the Venetian,
About your coach, whose rude postillion
Must pester every narrow lane, till passengers
And tradesmen curse your choking up their stalls ...
.

I could accuse the gaiety of your wardrobe,
 And prodigal embroideries, under which
 Rich satins, plushes, cloth of silver, dare
 Not show their own complexions; your jewels,
 Able to burn out the spectators' eyes,
 And show like bonfires on you by the tapers:
 Something might here be spared, with safety of
 Your birth and honour, since the truest wealth
 Shines from the soul, and draws up just
 admirers . . . [I, 1]

This attitude receives little expression in the comedies after 1660. With the Restoration, the preference for the good life of London becomes sharper, more emphatic and more prevalent. Mary Frugal, in Massinger's City Madam (1624), can contemplate, although on her own terms, a life in the country. Lucia, in Epsom Wells (1672), however, echoes, although more emphatically, Lady Bornwell: "I'd rather be a Dutchess of Puddlehook than Queen of Sussex" [164]. And even Mrs. Jilt, in the same play, prefers a life in London to the security of marriage to Squire Clodpate and life in the country.

However, the praise of London and the disparagement of the country did not necessarily mean an abandonment of the country estate. Even with the great opportunities in business and trade in London, it appears, at least from the evidence of joint-stock investment, that the appeal of such economic opportunities "was still mainly to those who wished to enlarge their fortunes rather than to those who wished merely to keep their

estates intact". In other words, the main investors continued to be the "merchants, bankers and traders".²⁷ The implications are that there was not a wholesale disposal of land for money and a consequent displacement of the upper reaches of society to London to seek other opportunities.

It is noteworthy that both comedies and verse have in common one aversion: business. Tate's "Stephen's Complaint on quitting his Retirement" (1677)²⁸ is an explicit rejection of business which is echoed time and time again in the verse. An anonymous poem entitled "Business" in Tate's miscellany of 1685 contains some interesting lines:

. . . Joyn'd with Wits, proclaiming Open War
'Gainst Bus'ness and distracting Care²⁹

Both comedies and verse have also in common the search for the good life, the happy life. It seems then that in the great introspective and philosophical movement occurring in this period, with the disillusionment of the war, the testing of convention, and the sense of a new beginning, the quest for the good life followed at least two avenues: involvement in the gay city life or retirement to bucolic bliss. The merits of these two avenues are debated incidentally in the comedies as we have seen, but only in Aphra Behn's The Amorous Prince is rural innocence contrasted with court and city corruption, a

debate which is paralleled in Tate's "The Gratefull Shepherd".³⁰ However, that there is a testing of both ways is evident in the interest of Wycherley, Behn, Otway, Dryden and Rochester in the retirement theme.³¹

The interest of the retirement theme is lightly touched upon in the comedies generally, for example, in Stanford in Shadwell's The Sullen Lovers and in Manly in Wycherley's The Plain-Dealer. It was to receive its greatest expression in Mrs. Behn's Oronooko, or The Royal Slave and in Thomas Southerne's re-writing of the novel as a tragedy, Orinooko, both versions of which were great popular successes.

It is possible to regard the retirement theme as something merely self-protective in a disillusioned age, something "essentially alien to the English temperament, which found a welcome on English soil only during that moment when the exasperated aristocrat was likely to include all piety and idealism in his hatred of the pious and idealistic bourgeoisie". It may be considered a reaction to the Puritan's active approach to life where "Only the wicked are at peace; the elect are always at grips with the fiend in their bowels".³² However, its continuing prevalence and acceptance, especially when related to the ubiquitous statements on what the good life is in the comedies, argues that, no matter what gave

it its stimulus, we are encountering something positive, the eternal quest for the happy life.

The good life, however, according to the comedies, was only to be found in London. And in real life enough people seemed to accept this to inspire a building boom in the city. The magnitude of the activity, accelerated by the devastation left in the wake of the Great Fire, is indicated by Petty:

It is to be noted that since the Fire of London, there was earned in four years by Tradesmen, (relating to Building only) the summ of four Millions; viz. one Million per annum, without lessening any other sort of Work, Labour, or Manufacture . . .³³

Dr. Barbon, known as a sharp speculator, reportedly expended £200,000 in building. But it was not solely a plebeian occupation: Lord Southampton started granting building leases on his Bloomsbury manor in 1661, and Lord St. Albans, after the Great Fire, let and sold lots in the newly-developing St. James's Square to Lord Arlington and Lord Halifax.³⁴ Some of the reactions to this building were reflected in a tract of 1685:

The citizens are afraid that the building of new houses will lessen the rent and trade of the old ones. The country gentleman is troubled at the new buildings for fear they should depopulate the country and they want tenants for their land. And both agree that the increase of building is prejudicial to the Government and use for argument a simile from those who have the rickets, fancying the City to be the head of the nation and that it will grow too big for the body.³⁵

The comments of Lord Bornwell, Wildish and Dorinda quoted earlier provide a few hints on the economic factors involved in this social change, but the change itself had important economic consequences. More money was demanded from their estates by those who came to the capital, money not merely to live, but to live the life of genteel society. And the procurement of this money entailed an increase in borrowing and mortgaging.

More money, too, would have been needed with the growth of a luxury trade. In the elegant society luxuries quickly became necessities. Expenditure was required for ordinaries, chocolate-houses, gambling, perriwig makers, link-boys or coaches. Symptomatic of this change is the development of the shop, from the stalls in the Exchange and Westminster Hall to the expensively fitted-out establishments against which Defoe rails in 1713 and 1723.³⁶

The change re-invigorated the persisting fear at the growth of London. This fear in itself was in many aspects an economic one, arising from the possibility of a depopulation of the countryside. When one examines the statistics compiled by Mrs. George, it is easy to understand why the contemporary onlooker had such concerns.³⁷ The statistics are interesting as indications not only of the magnitude of the building but also of the location of the development.

During the period 1656-77, new developments were apparently beginning outside the walls, for example, in St. Andrew's Holborn. By 1708, all the areas outside the walls, except Bridewell precinct, were heavily populated. The Middlesex area, excluding the divisions mentioned below, appears to have been slower in development, beginning to increase rapidly only after the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The City without the Walls and Southwark continued to show sizeable development in 1656-77, as they had done in 1620-56. The big increases or starts in new houses occurred, during 1656-77, in St. Dunstan's, Stepney (2137), in the Tower Division of Middlesex; in St. Martin-in-the-Fields (1780), Westminster; in St. Giles-in-the-Fields (889), in the Holborn Division of Middlesex; and in St. Andrew's Holborn (550), in the City without the Walls. The location of the development provides suggestions as to the nature of the new population. The City without the Walls and Southwark would have tended to attract artisans and the poorer immigrants because here the restrictions of authority could be ignored. The Tower Division would probably have attracted "weavers and other manufacturers and . . . seamen and such who relate to shipping and are generally very factious and poore".³⁸ The St. Martin-in-the-Fields development would have housed those who came to reside "at or near the

Court".³⁹ And the Holborn expansion represented a filling-in of gaps as Petty indicated in 1662:

. . . the dwellings of the West end are so much the more free from the fumes, steams, and stinks of the whole Easterly Pyle; which where seacoal is burnt is a great matter. Now if it follow from hence, that the Pallace of the greatest men will remove westward, it will also naturally follow, that the dwellings of others who depend upon them will creep after them. This we see in London, where the Noblemens ancient houses are now become Halls for Companies, or turned into Tenements, and all the Pallaces are gotten Westward . . .⁴⁰

It is all this development in building which causes Railmore, in Motteux's Love's a Jest, to exclaim "the suburbs are like to overtake you in Hertfordshire" [5].

The Great Fire made possible the creation of a new and larger London. Now people could cluster in choice areas; Bloomsbury and Leicester Square came into being, and before the end of the century St. James's, with the town houses of the nobility, was created.⁴¹ As the quotation from Petty indicates, fashion was moving westward in what was to become in appearance one city. This westward movement of the more affluent was corroborated by a description early in the next century:

At the time of the dreadful Fire in the Year 1666, there were but few Houses scattered up and down between Temple-Bar and St. James's, which was then but a Field or Pasture-Ground; but all that vast Tract of Land has been since filled up with fine Streets, Churches, and Squares. But what we call the new Buildings, is that additional Part built within these Twenty years, towards the Fields in the Liberty of Westminster, consisting of many thousand Houses, large and beautiful Streets,

Squares, &c. where most of the Nobility and Gentry now live, for the Benefit of the Good Air, and where there are many fine Houses.⁴²

Up to this point, I have been using the name London as if it indicated one city. There were, however, finer distinctions accepted by the Restoration audience. The City was still officially bounded by its ancient gates: on the west, Ludgate and Newgate; on the north, Aldersgate, Cripplegate, Moorgate, Bishopsgate; on the east, Aldgate. Its twenty-six wards were governed by a Lord Mayor and his officers, who were elected, not appointed. Over the years, the City had accumulated a great number of privileges and "rights" and these rights encouraged and acerbated hostility between society and citis during the reigns of Charles II and James II. For instance, neither the king nor his armed forces could enter the City without the Lord Mayor's consent. To the west of the City, outside the liberties (the growing suburbs beyond the gates), stood the Palace of Whitehall. Around the palace had grown the town of Westminster, accommodating a court-oriented society. Thus, there were three distinct social areas in London: the City, the Court, and the Town. There is an acute awareness of these three divisions, although increasingly there was in reality no such clear separation. Prologues and epilogues to the plays of the period abound with references to these distinctions:

Since, therefore, court and town will take no pity
I humbly cast myself upon the city.

Dryden, Marriage a la Mode, epilogue.

The itch of writing Plays, the more's the pity,
At once has seized the town, the Court, the City.

Shadwell, The Sullen Lovers, epilogue.

Frequently, discrimination was made simpler by reference to the City and to the Court end of the town: Wycherley, in The Gentleman Dancing-Master, addresses the Prologue "To the City" and begins:

Our Author (like us) finding 'twould scarce do,
At t'other end o' th' Town, is come to you.

Awareness of these distinctions is necessary because when the characters in the comedies express their yearning for or appreciation of London they mean the London of society. They do not mean the London of business, of trading, nor, especially, of factories. The ill-effects of "sea-cole" are among the many accusations against London contained in the diatribes against the city by Justice Clodpate, in Shadwell's Epsom Wells. Lady Galliard, in Behn's The City-Heiress, suggests some exercise to her maid: ". . . prithee let's take a turn in this Balcony, this City-Garden, where we walk to take the fresh air of the sea-coal smoak" [231]. The town, "at or near the court", was the resort of the good life.

In this chapter I have explored the immediate milieu of both audience and comedies. This milieu offered the middle ground on which citizens and gentlemen met.

There was daily contact so that differences of codes, attitudes, modes of life and levels of prosperity were sharpened and highlighted. Radical alterations, such as the increasing political power of businessmen and the elevation in status of merchant families through marriage with higher ranks, were apparent there in concentrated, advanced and extreme form. In London, these facts of change were made manifest, for example, in ostentatious equipage, and change was represented not by one merchant but by an increasing gathering of individual merchants, freeing themselves from political regulation, gaining political power and amassing wealth. In the narrower area of fashionable society, the town setting provided a vantage-point from which the less cultured countryside could be viewed. By the standards of the beau monde, the country could become merely a source of income. Ned Estridge, in Sedley's The Mulberry-Garden (1668), for example, says of Sir John Everyoung: ". . . he swears hee'l n'er stir/ Beyond Hide-Park or Colebys at farthest,/ As long as he has an Acre left, they shall/ All come to him . . ." [5].

The importance of money in fashionable society, the scrambling for places and favour, the search for a lucrative marriage all tended to develop an atmosphere wherein everyone's motive was subject to doubt. Always,

too, there were those who had prospered by knavery or obsequiousness. In this atmosphere, self-interest might seem to be the guiding precept. Money was god and king, and money was the great provocative for any action.

Gaymood, in Motteux's Love's a Jest, comments cynically on the passing scene:

Hark you, Prethee what woudst thou be honest for?
 hah! Don't hundreds of batter'd Town Wenches get
 rich Husbands at last? Don't notorious Rascals
 jump into good Places, and detected Knaves keep
 their old ones, or get better? Don't we see
 cheating Collectors, squinting Bribe-mongers,
 embezzling Pursers, long-winded Pay-masters,
 faggoting Officers, Brokers and Retailers of
 Offices and Benefices, Pimps, Stallions, Catamites,
 and the Devil and all of Rogues look big, ride in
 Coaches, respected and waited on by the Croud of
 honest scoundrel Fools, that trudge it on the hoof?
 honest! ha, ha, hah! [60]

CHAPTER 3

" . . . NOW MADE THE TAIL WHO WERE ONCE THE HEAD":

THE HISTORICAL ETHOS

The hostility of the gentleman towards the merchant may arise directly from the gentleman's waning prestige and decreased purchasing power in the face of the merchant's increasing political influence and wealth. There may, however, be other factors that create, sustain or exacerbate the hostility. These exist as a context to the immediate statement, attitude or action. This chapter explores certain aspects of the historical and social background which have relevance to the economic attitudes displayed in the comedies.

To account for some of the stereotyped attitudes presented in the comedies, I must deal first with the events which preceded the actual return of Charles II.

The socio-political breakdown of 1640-2 was caused in part by a diminution in the power of the aristocracy. Because of the decline, the aristocracy "was obliged to share more and more of the commanding heights of administrative and political authority with a confident and well-educated gentry".¹ This political and social change was paralleled by the fall of the absolute monarchy. These events had enormous economic consequences: they constituted

the turning point in the evolution of capitalism. According to Mr. Lipson, the struggle "between the monarch as the champion of the established economic order, and the rising middle class as its assailant . . . resulted in . . . freeing the capitalist class from control by the crown".² The relaxation of control was maintained in the reigns that followed. Charles II returned to the throne on very changed terms;³ this his followers were unable to accept, or unable to see. It is this inability which is embodied in the Restoration comedies. The protagonists are demanding the maintenance of a system, social, political and economic, which already is all but gone.

Two decades of the most radical political experiment in England's history left other intangible legacies. The first Winston Churchill, reminiscing fifteen years after the Restoration, said of the Interregnum that "An universal darkness overspread the state, which lasted not for twelve hours only, but for twelve years".⁴ Although he speaks as a royalist, it appears that the strife engendered continuing feelings of distrust, cynicism, hostility and disillusionment in the population at large. John Heydon, in 1658, wrote that "It is manifest that we are fallen into the dregs of time . . . What is become of truth, sincerity, charity, humility, those antiqui mores?"⁵ The words, the stance, are conventional. What gives them pertinency here is the recurrence of similar attitudes in most of the

courtesy books, in letters and "characters", and even in the comedies. Out of this ethos comes the Hobbesian doctrine:

To this war of every man, against every man, this also is consequent; that nothing can be unjust. The notions of right and wrong, justice and injustice have there no place. Where there is no common power, there is no law; where no law, no injustice. Force and fraud, are in war the two cardinal virtues. Justice, and injustice are none of the faculties neither of the body nor the mind . . . It is consequent also to the same condition, that there are no propriety, no dominion, no mine and thine distinct; but only that to be every man's, that he can get; and for so long, as he can keep it.⁶

This philosophic position has many economic correlatives, in attitude and belief, as we shall see in our examination of the comedies. When men are subjected to sudden elevations and just as sudden falls, when wealth and property may disappear or be diminished in one stroke, when friends may become enemies, self-protection is a necessary posture. Lockwhite, in Tatham's The Rump says:

"My Lord, take it from me, He that will live in this world, must be endowed with these three rare Qualities; Dissimulation, Equivocation, and Mental Reservation" [9].

The normal criteria for living appear invalid: self-interest takes their place. The only sure approach is that of Sir Hudibras:

For what is worth in any thing,
But so much money as 'twill bring? [II, 1, 405-6]

These two predicatives, a changing system and burgeoning self-interest, exist as general background to the comedies. However, the civil strife produced more than an emotional tone; there were specific grievances arising from the Interregnum. One of these is dealt with below.

When Charles entered London on 29 May 1660, John Evelyn "stood in the Strand . . . and blessed God!" To him, at least, it must have seemed that king, church and aristocracy were back in control, that order and the divinely-planned establishment of the state were again proclaimed.

On the day of the coronation, Evelyn presented A Panegyric to Charles the Second to the king. It reveals some of the economic sufferings of the royalists and lists some of the new improvements since the Restoration:

For how many are since your returne, return'd to
their own Homes, to their Wives, Children, Offices,
and Patrimonies? [9]

You have taken away the affluence to the Committees,
Sequestrators, Conventicles, and unjust Slaughter-
houses, and converted their Zeal to the Temples,
the Courts, and the just Tribunals: Magnanimity is
return'd again to the Nobility, Modesty to the
People, Obedience to Subjects . . . [9, 10]

Your Majestie has abolished the Court of Wards . . .

The Compositions You have likewise eased us of . . .

. . . witness your industry in erecting a Counsel of Trade, by which alone you have sufficiently verified that expression of your Majesties in your Declaration

from Breda, That you would propose some useful things for the publick emolument of the Nation, which should render it opulent, splendid and flourishing . . . [11]

Evelyn's choice of important topics reveals what a Restoration gentleman considered important economic matters. Each of them is worthy of examination.

The matter of sequestration has been mentioned in an earlier chapter. The loss of revenue or land drove many royalists to London; the hope for redress took many of them to the court. The condition of these gentlemen may be understood better within the context of the general situation.

During the preceding decades, crown land and church lands were sold, and the estates of royalists sequestered. Over £1 1/4 million was collected from the disposal of the lands of over 700 royalists. While it is impossible to make any discount for exaggeration, the claims of the Earl of Newcastle and the Earl of Worcester that they each lost about £1 million give some indication of the financial hardship endured. Sequestration, however, created no social revolution in landholding, because under the system of compounding the owner might buy back his land on payment of a fine. According to Christopher Hill, "Nearly £1 1/2 million was raised from over 3,000 Royalists by the Committee for Compounding, as well as £350,000 in rents and

profits from their estates".⁷

The Committee of Compounding began life in 1643 as the Committee for Scottish Affairs. Its purpose was to raise money for the Scottish army. At first, it was concerned with the borrowing of money from citizens of London and Westminster. On 10 July 1644, its purpose changed:

Order of the House of Commons, that the Committee at Goldsmiths' Hall consider as to raising a month's pay for the Scottish army out of delinquents' estates; either by sale or otherwise, and bring in a list of delinquents' estates fit to be sold, and at how many years' purchase, with all the circumstances conducive to raising moneys by their sale.⁸

On 12 July, the committee was required to raise the specific sum of £31,000; on 6 August, compositions began to be effected with prisoners or with those who wished to compromise with the new authority; on 3 March, the committee asked for the authority (which was granted) to proceed with compounding on their own without specific orders from Parliament. The records of this committee reveal a little of the economic deprivation involved. On 27 July, in addition to the fines levied on thirteen delinquents, it was ordered "That all their goods, chattels, cattle, and timber, not yet sold or preserved to stock their lands, be sold to the use of Parliament, and all their rents taken till they have paid their fines";⁹ on 20 August, "that 10,000 l should be raised out of

Wm. Waller's estate towards payment of the debts due to the Scot's army, leaving his further punishment to the House";¹⁰ on 27 August, "That this sub-committee reconsider and report on the delinquents in prison speedily, especially considering the most able and wealthy persons, and the fines that should be set on them".¹¹ As the record progresses, there is a noticeable hardening of tone:

That unless some speedy course be taken for removing obstructions and remedying abuses amongst the sequestration commissioners and officers, that great revenue, which could well bear the whole charge of the war will soon come to nothing. . . Instance, "Lord Capel's estate, which is let to his uncle Wm. Capel, that he may preserve the houses, wood, &c.," so tender are we to preserve the estates of the most desperate delinquents; but he has paid no rent for 2 quarters, and says he knows not how the tenants have disposed of the rents, "by which it is easily conceived which way the rents are gone, and how converted."¹²
[February, 1644-5]

The suggestion here of abuses, deception and fraud becomes overt as the records continue. In July, for instance, the Sub-committee of Accounts for County Worcester report:

Being ordered on 26 June 1645, to enquire into the fraudulent discharging, under-selling, and under-letting of sequestrations, we report that most of the estates of Papists and delinquents in this county are levied by the county commissioners here to their agents or the owners, at extreme under-values, and few of the commissioners have taken the required oath. The State is greatly prejudiced, because those who hold their estates on such low terms do not care to

compound. Many delinquents are unsequestered, and some sequestered estates are unleased . . .¹³
[? July 1645]

There are complaints of county committees which will not discharge sequestrations but continue to take for themselves the rents and goods; of those who have "their hopes of accord with the King, and settlement of a peace, when they would have better conditions" [23]; of over-indulgence [74] or of oppression [75] on the sub-committee's part; of falsification or carelessness in accounts [25, 84, 128, 129].

It was inevitable that these proceedings, hitting directly at the royalists' main or only source of income, should leave a legacy of ill-feeling. The rents from sequestered estates went to the government. Royalists who wished to retain their property had to pay a fine, and to procure the money for this fine it was often necessary to sell a portion of the estate. This sale itself had to be authorized. That a proud lord should have to submit to the judgment of a committee, that the royalist "delinquent" should suffer the extortions or harshness of self-seeking members, served merely to exacerbate the situation. Richard Allestree, in the preface to The Gentleman's Calling (1660) cried:

. . . are not your Estates wasted, your Privileges violated, your Splendore eclipsed, your Persons restrained, your Families broken and Shattered, your Dignities trampled upon by the meanest of

the Vulgar, and finally your selves quite transposed in your Station, now made the Tail who were once the Head . . .¹⁴

By 1656, the work of the Committee of Compounding was almost over. But in 1659, it had a final surge of power to deal with those involved in Sir George Booth's uprising. After this, resentment, resistance, negligence and procrastination, on the part of both witnesses and commissioners, arising from the uncertainty of the times, paralyzed proceedings.¹⁵ The restoration of the monarch ended them.

But the problems created by the proceedings remained for Charles II to solve. It was inevitable that the supporters of Charles would expect a full restoration of their lands with the return of the King. But any land settlement posed enormous difficulties. Could Charles afford to offend all those who had bought crown or church or delinquents' property? They were even greater in number than those who had been forced to sell, for in many cases the land had been broken up for sale in smaller parcels. Could Charles confirm the purchases and antagonize his loyal supporters? And how might compensation, recovery of rents and profits, resales of property, repurchase of property by the original owners at inflated prices, be undertaken?¹⁶ Charles absolved himself from responsibility in the Declaration of Breda

by referring the whole matter to Parliament and agreeing to defer to its decision. This decision when it came was to appoint a commission to collect information on the disposal of crown and church land, but not delinquents' lands. The return of church lands gains mention in Aphra Behn's Sir Patient Fancy:

Sir Patient . . . he and I have seen better days and wish we cou'd have foreseen these that are arriv'd.

Wittmore . . . That he might have turn'd honest in time, he means, before he had purchas'd Bishops Lands. [30]

Influential royalists were able to proceed by private acts, but, according to Thirsk, of "fifty royalists owning land in the southeastern counties, only the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Colepeper, and Lord Arundel obtained private acts", and only eleven acts altogether were passed. This, of course, did not prevent the House of Lords from restoring land just as effectively by a series of orders to sheriffs to put delinquents in possession of their lands. There is evidence to suggest that a number of deposed owners had succeeded in buying back their property before 1660, and some reached private agreements with the purchasers. The remainder of the royalists had to take their chances in the courts, a procedure both expensive and uncertain. Yet seventy per cent of the properties sold in southeastern England had been regained by their

original owners by 1660.¹⁷

Perhaps this is the reason so little direct use is made of the topic of sequestration in the comedies of the Restoration. Abraham Cowley's Cutter of Coleman Street, set in the London of 1658, presents Colonel Jolly, "A Gentleman whose Estate was confiscated in the late troubles" [Dram. Pers.]. The colonel reveals that his "Estate was sold for being with the king at Oxford" [5] and that his "good Neighbour . . . Collonel Fear-the-Lord Barebottle, a Saint and a Sope-Boyley, bought it" [6]. At the beginning of the play, Jolly reveals his design on Barebottle's widow:

If his desirable wife now would marry me, it would return again, as I hope all things will at last . . . but hang her, she'll ha' none o' me, unless I were True Rich and Counterfeit Godly . . . Now when my Nieces Portion too goes out o' my hand, which I can keep but till a handsome Wench of eighteen pleases to marry (a pitiful slender Tenure that's the Truth on't) I ha' nothing to do but to live by Plots for the King . . . [6]

Widow Barebottle responds to the Colonel and offers him advice:

Widow Why seek for spiritual Incomes, Mr. Colonel; I'll tell you what my Husband Barebottle was wont to observe (and he was a Colonel too) he never sought for Incomes but he had some Blessing followed immediately; once he fought for 'em in Hertfordshire, and the next day he took as many horses and Arms in the Country as serv'd to raise three troops; another time he sought for them in Bucklersbury, and three days after a friend of his, that he owed five hundred pounds too, was hang'd for a Malignant,

and the Debt forgiven him by the Parliament . . .

Jolly He sought for 'em once out o' my
Estate too, I thank him . . .

Widow Why truly, Neighbour Colonel, he had
that but for his Penney, and would have had but
a hard Bargain of it, if he had not by a friends
means of the Council book'd in two thousand
pounds of his Arrears. [24, 25]

Truman Senior wants his son to woo the widow's
daughter, Tabitha, because her father "I'me sure h'as
rais'd a fine Estate out o' nothing by his Industry in
these Times . . ." [3]. Truman Junior, however, is torn
with the memory of his beloved Lucia:

Though I to save this Dung-hill an Estate
Have done a Crime like theirs,
Who had abjur'd their King for the same cause,
I will not yet, like them, persue the guilt,
And in thy place, Lucia my lawful Soverain,
Set up a low and scandalous Usurper. [3]

As these quotations suggest, the emphasis in the
comedy is not so much on the fact of the sequestration as
on the self-seeking motives, double-dealing and apostasy
of the other side:

Jolly I wonder how the new Saints can endure
it, to be always at the work, Day and Night
Acting; But great Gain makes everything seem
easie; And they have, I suppose, good Lusty
Recreations in private. [33]

Jolly himself, however, is no model of rectitude.
His friends and confederates are also self-seeking rascals.
And together they attempt to cheat Lucia of her portion.
Money has become all important to the Colonel, as he reveals

when his daughter, Aurelia, who is similarly motivated, tells that she has managed to catch the rich Puny in marriage; "Nay, Wench, there's no hurt done, fifteen hundred pounds a year is no ill match for the daughter of a Sequestered Cavalier . . . [6].

The play is interesting in that it provides the easiest presentation of the topic; it has been quoted from at length to show that while the economic facts of sequestration gradually disappear in the comedies the attitudes engendered retain prominence.

As the author tells us in the preface, this play which is a rewriting of his earlier play, The Guardian, did not get a favourable reception, although according to Downes "it was perform'd a whole Week with a full Audience".¹⁸ Lambaine's report that the play met with opposition from those who envied the author's loyalty was quoted in the first chapter.¹⁹ Pepys thought it was a "very good play" [16 December 1661] when he first saw it, but when he saw it again seven years later, he rated it "a silly play" [5 August 1668]. The play seems to have been revived six times during the rest of the century; one of these performances, in 1669, was at court.

Sir Robert Howard's The Committee (1662), as its title suggests, deals more directly with the topic. About this play, Pepys reversed his opinion also: "a merry but

indifferent play" [12 June 1663]; "not liking it before, but I do now find it a very good play" [13 August 1667]; "a play I like well" [28 October 1667]. Thus, Pepy's changed opinion about Cutter of Coleman Street cannot be attributed to a change in the temper of the times. The Committee, too, was revived as late as 1699.

The latter play exposes the pretension, avarice, and duplicity of the "new Gentry" [102]. Mrs. Day, the wife of the chairman of the committee, was Colonel Careless's "Father's Kitchenmaid, and in Time of Yore called Gillian" [130]; now, however, she is in a position to complain that "if his Honour, Mr. Day, Chair-man of the honourable Committee of Sequestrations, shou'd know that his Wife rode in a Stage-Coach, he wou'd make the House too hot for some" [103]. The others comment on the committee:

Colonel Blunt 'Tis pretty, that such as I have been, must compound for their having been Rascals. Well, I must go look for a Lodging, and a Sollicitor; I'll find the arrantest Rogue I can too; For, according to the old Saying, Set a Thief to catch a Thief. [105]

Colonel Blunt [about Arbella]. This Gentlewoman I told thee I kept civil, by desiring her to say nothing, is a rich Heiress of one that died in the King's Service, and left his state and Sequestration. This young Chicken has this Kite snatch'd up, and designs her for this her eldest Rascal. [106]

Ruth [about Mr. Day] When my Father, Sir Basil Thoroughgood, died, I was very young, ~~not above~~ two Years old; 'tis too long to tell you how this

Rascal, being a Trustee, catch'd me and my Estate,
 being the sole Heiress unto my Father, into his
 Gripes; and now for some Years has confirm'd his
 unjust Power by the unlawful Power of the Times:
 I fear they have Design as bad as this on you . . .
 [114]

But the committee members expose themselves as they dole
 out estates to each other:

Obadiah The order is, that the Composition
 arising out of Mr. Lashley's Estate be and hereby
 is invested and allowed to the honourable Mr.
Nathaniel Catch, for and in respect of his
 Sufferings, and good Service.

Mr. Day It is meet, very meet; we are bound in
 duty to strengthen our selves against the day of
 Trouble, when the common Enemy shall endeavour to
 raise Commotions in the Land, and disturb our
 new-found Zion. [122]

And not only do they cheat the royalists, but they also
 attempt to trick each other [110]. The actual conditions
 of compounding agree with those laid down on 12 August
 1645:

Mr. Day Well, Gentlemen, the Rule is two years
 Purchase, the first Payment down, the other at
 Six Months End, and the Estate to secure it.

Colonel Careless Can you afford it no cheaper?

2 Committee 'Tis our Rule.

Colonel Careless Very well; 'tis but selling the
 rest to pay this, and our new lawful Debts. [126]

Against this background, the royalist women and
 men are shown to be upright, loyal and trustworthy. The
 same depiction runs throughout Sedley's The Mulberry-Garden,
 produced six years later. The Roundheads are motivated

solely by cupidity, although Sir Samuel Forecast's objections to Eugenio as a suitor to his daughter Althea seem reasonable enough:

He [Eugene's father] is not the man he was; he had an Estate, 'Tis now sequester'd, he dare not show his Head; and besides, I would not have a Son-in-Law of his principles, for six times his fortune; I shou'd be sorry to see any Child of mine Solliciting her Husband's Composition at A Committee. [18]

This is really the only mention of sequestration in the play. There are, however, numerous references to the harassment and penury of loyal subjects of the king, but everything ends happily when it is announced that the general has declared for the king and that all Cavaliers are to have their liberty [68].

The Duke of Newcastle's The Triumphant Widow (1674) offers Colonel Bruce, one of three suitors to Lady Haughty. Isabella, Lady Haughty's kinswoman, is pleased by his roughness and directness. He explains his reason for wishing marriage:

Look ye, Madam, the case is this, I'le go upon the square with my Lady, I have a thousand pounds a year, but 'tis mortgaged very deep, for I was hatter'd and sequestred, as many brave Fellows were for serving the King . . . thus was my Estate engaged, and I hearing of this Widow, faith was content to mortgage my body to her to redeem my hand . . . [41, 42]

The topic, however, is only incidental to the play.

Thus far, only The Committee had dealt directly with the workings of sequestration and compounding,

although Cutter of Coleman Street presented the situation of one who had been sequestered. The only other references to the topic, excluding metaphoric use of the terms, as in St. Serfe's Tarugo's Wiles [51] and Dryden's The Wild Gallant [18], have been mentioned above. And then, within the space of a few months, in 1682, two comedies appeared, each mentioning sequestration. Both plays were honoured by the king's presence, and the intention of the authors is strikingly similar. Thomas D'Urfey in the preface to The Royalist makes his attitude plain:

In the Corrupted Age where Loyalty and Honesty are as frozen as Charity, and where timorous and unsettled Hearts are so irresolute and wavering, that they had rather side with Rebellion and Faction for the sake of Interest . . . who can expect this Play . . . should meet a favourable Reception . . .

D'Urfey makes it quite explicit that he is anti-Whig and Anti-Catholic, against the mob and against tradesmen; he wishes only for the approbation of the royalists. Aphra Behn's dedication to The City Heiress is just as direct:

. . . to observe in these troublesome times, this Age of Lying, Preaching, and Swearing with what noble Prudence, what steadiness of Mind, what Loyalty and Conduct you have evaded the Snare, that 'twas to be fear'd was laid for all the Good, the Brave, the Loyal, for all that truly lov'd our best of Kings and this distracted Country . . .

She makes it plain that her play is "in every part true Tory".

These two comedies were the result of the hysteria and political animosity created by the Popish Plot, the

Exclusionist Movement, and the Whig elections in the City.

D'Urfey's comedy is an extremely clever propaganda piece. He deals with the period immediately preceding the Restoration and shows the economic tribulations of the many for the benefit of the few. Sir Charles Kinglove's estate is sequestered, and his house and goods seized, by order of Sir Oliver Oldcut, Chairman of the Committee of Sequestrations [8]. Sir Charles addresses Oldcut, whose mother sold turnips, with contempt:

As to thy self, by clandestine Rapine, Plebeian
Tallymans Extortion, and Cheating the Subject, thou
art called Rich and Eminent in the Divils name; Yet
is thy Soul so poor, that thy Bounty wou'd starve a
mouse, did not Bribe-pies now and then contribute
to its maintenance. I remember when thou wer't
elected Sheriff of Worcester, thou ne'r would'st
Dine beyond a Ninepenny Ordinary . . . [9, 10]

Sir Charles refuses to compound for his estate, but this decision pleases Oldcut:

The stubborn fellow would not compound, not he;
6000 l a year Estate and would not take half; An
unreasonable Dog! But the Committee for my sake
have nick'd him 1' faith; for they have order'd me
2000 l a year of it, and have conscientiously
divided the rest amongst themselves. [13]

But not only the greater landlords are beset.
Captain March and Lieutenant Hazard are reduced to the
state of shame-faced beggars [5], and even the tenants are
shown in difficulties. The tenants come to town to renew
their leases but they cannot discover to whom they are to
pay rent: ". . . one knows not now who's the Tenant; which

is the King, and which the Cobler" [26]. All are in jeopardy because of impositions and a lack of regard for law;

Slouch Why neighbour, our Parliament told us, all Soldiers should be Disbanded when the Law was settled; and so we need no more Taxes nor free quarter, now we have a Law to depend upon.

Copyholder How like an Oafe dost thee Prate! Why, had not the King Law and Right to depend upon, and yet it would not do against 40,000 men. [26]

Captain Jonas, regarded as a depiction of the "Salamanca Doctor", states the economic philosophy of the new regime:

The Weed Loyalty is (thanks to Providence) rooted out, and Interest planted in its place; instead of Honesty we have Cunning, instead of Conscience a Commonwealth, and instead of Religion, Money. [14]

One of the tenants puts the matter more simply:

Stealing, why that's the business of the nation. The Roundhead party make a trade on't; the other side I confess have some conscience in their dealings. [1]

This comedy, which is almost a lesson in history, directed to the discontented, is really the last major presentation of the economic problems or sequestration. Aphra Behn's The City Heiress; or Sir Timothy Treat-all is really an attack on Shaftesbury. She uses sequestration, by imagery in the prologue and by reference in the play only to discredit him further:

. . . we shall cry quits with you, Rascals, ere long;
and if we do come to our old Trade of Plunder and
Sequestration, we shall so handle ye - we'll spare
neither Prince, Peer, nor Prelate . . . [281-2]

And Sir Timothy shows how he has benefitted by the confiscation of church lands:

My Integrity has been known ever since Forty one; I
bought three Thousand a year in Bishops Lands, as
'tis well known and lost it at the King's return;
for which I'm honor'd in the City . . . [207]

D'Urfey's play is the better depiction of the economic troubles of the Interregnum, but Mrs. Behn's play is the better comedy.

The Committee and The Royalist were effective recreations of the hardships which the royalists experienced and of the knavery which they believed occurred in the confiscation of their estates. Apparently the matter of sequestration had been dealt with sufficiently by these two plays; the comedy-writers to follow preferred to deal with the knavery, self-interest and economic conditions which prevailed around them. Perhaps Pepys had been expressing more than a personal reaction when, on 4 September 1668, he commented on Jonson's Bartholomew Fair: ". . . the more I see it, the more I love the wit of it; only the business of abusing the Puritans begins to grow stale, and of no use, they being the people that at last, will be found the wisest".

The second economic grievance, according to Evelyn, which Charles II abolished was the Court of Wards.

This was not a matter for which the Puritans could be held accountable. Indeed, the process for the removal of this abuse had begun twice, in 1646 and again in 1656, but the legislation was not confirmed until 1660. That it should be one of the first actions of the new reign indicates its significance. The Court of Wards does not appear to receive specific attention in the comedies, if one excepts vestigial comments such as that of Sir Oliver Santlow about a bastard reputed to have a vast estate, in Behn's The Counterfeit Bridegroom (1677): "I should be loath to loose such an Estate, and see a begging Courtier go away with what might have been mine" [5]. Yet the Court of Wards and the procedures upon which it was based have a pervasive influence in the attitudes depicted and in economic practice so that any change in the system merits examination. Two aspects, marriage and land ownership, are of especial concern for the comedies.

First, the theory and the implementation of wardship can present some insight into attitudes, especially those of parents, to marriage and to the importance of economic factors in marriage. By feudal law the king enjoyed rights over the lands and over the disposal in marriage of any of his tenants in chief who inherited estates while still a minor. The child could be bought from the court, either to be married to one of the

purchaser's own children or to be auctioned to the mother or to another. Wardships were granted, often for a fat gratuity, to courtiers, noblemen, and officials, regardless of the interest of the child and its relatives, or even of the crown. Thus, the death of a father, leaving a young unmarried heir or heiress, would inspire a flurry of intrigue for possession of a wardship. By the early seventeenth century, the system was under attack.²⁰ By the middle of the century, the Marquis of Newcastle advised reform of the court so that "wardes maye notte bee boughte and sold like horses in Smithfielde".²¹ But it was only in the reign of Charles II that the practice was abandoned officially.²²

If we start with the simplistic position, indicated by the procedure of the Court of Wards, that men and women were "boughte and solde like horses" in marriage, we may gain a clearer perspective on the economic morality of the period. The "marketing" of daughters was still practised during the Restoration period, according to the comedies, although the practice was opposed by the young heroes and heroines. The older attitude is very clear in the way Sir Joslin Jolly, in Etherege's She wou'd if she cou'd (1667/8), introduced his kinswomen to the two young gentlemen:

So, Boys, and how do you like the flesh and blood of
the Jollies - Heuk, Sly-Girl - And Mad-cap, Hey - come,

come, you have heard them exercise their tongues a while; now you shall see then ply their feet a little; this is a clean Limb'd wench, and has neither spavin, splinter, nor Wind-gall; tune her a Jig, and play't roundly, you shall see her bounce it away like a nimble Frigot before a fresh gale - Hey, methinks I see her under Sail already. [I, 11]

But even as late as 1692, in Shadwell's The Volunteers, there is the good-hearted father telling his daughters why he had brought them to London: "I am come up to this Smithfield, like a Horse-Courser, to put off a Brace of Fillies, in this Market of Matrimony" [164]. Such treatment provided a source of conflict between the old and the young, as we shall see in a later chapter on marriage.

Second, the abolition of the Court of Wards was to have profound effects upon the seventeenth-century economic situation. As Christopher Hill sums them up, the results were "to deprive the crown of a vital means of maintaining its leading subjects in a proper subordination; to relieve the landed class of the irritating and erratic death duties which wardship had imposed; and to give landowners, whose rights in their estates had hitherto been limited, an absolute power to do what they would with their own, including the right to settle the inheritance of all their lands by will". These immediate effects were of great importance in themselves, but the general and final impact was of the utmost economic

significance for "Unconditional ownership and transmission of landed property was one essential for planned long-term capital investment in agricultural improvements".²³ This absolute ownership coupled with the failure of copyholders or smaller tenants to gain similar rights was to result in consolidation and enclosure of lands; these, in turn, led to an increase in social mobility and urbanization as the less fortunate left the land. Some of the effects of urbanization were apparent in our study of London's growth. Social mobility, so far as the lowest classes are concerned, is indicated only rarely and always indirectly. In Crowne's The Countrey Wit (1675/6), the problems imposed on the parish by a "lusty rogue" are touched upon incidentally; in the same playwright's City Politiques (1682/3), the subject is used for imagery, "a beadle to whip out of the parish impudent beggars" [15], and to provide new characters, the "rabble" and beggars. Unconditional ownership had other possible consequences. Land could be sold or mortgaged more easily; thus, children of the gentry might be left without estates, and younger sons might be given a sum of money, instead of land, as patrimony. Either of these results enforced one type of mobility, the movement of young gentlemen in search of their fortune. Another type of mobility, social mobility from citizen to landowner, resulted when the land was

purchased by a prosperous merchant. Variations on both types, as we shall see, exist as hypothetical frames for the comedies.

Evelyn revealed some of the changes which had taken place with the restoration of the king. Obviously, to him they were significant enough to mention; it is unlikely that he realized the great and subtle ramifications of these changes. The topics already dealt with were to have far-reaching implications for example, in land-ownership, economic production, and trade. Evelyn does mention the establishment of "a Counsel of Trade"; it would have been even more difficult for him to realize completely the major upheavals that this decision and the processes of which it was a symptom were to stimulate. This topic, however, will receive examination in the next chapter. At this point, I shall confine my explorations to some of the crucial changes arising from the events already suggested by Evelyn.

I noted earlier that the Duke of Newcastle secured a private act to restore his land. Even so, his wife revealed that he failed to regain lands worth £2,015 annually. The capital value of this land at £40,000 was one-eleventh of Newcastle's total assets.²⁴ So even if we accept the conclusion presented earlier that most royalists recovered their land, it does not negate the possibility

that their incomes were diminished. If the great experienced difficulty, the less than great were perhaps in severer straits. The recourse to the courts could prove expensive; instead some royalists might attempt to buy back their lands through private negotiation. Because of these current difficulties, and because of the past financial depredations of the wars and of compounding, a varying degree of impoverishment would result. As a consequence, certain social and economic tendencies are noticeable. One was, according to Professor Habakkuk, that "For some Royalists the real cost of the Civil War was poor marriages for their daughters".²⁵ This, in turn, could lead, as we shall see, to the daughters of rich merchants marrying into noble families, and bringing with them an injection of capital, which could be used for land acquisition or land development. Another was that land might be viewed in different terms, that it might be conceived of not as a social or political appurtenance, but rather as an economic unit which could be cultivated, leased, mortgaged. Houghton remarked on "the great improvement made of lands since our inhuman civil wars, when our gentry, who before hardly knew what it was to think, . . . fell to such an industry and caused such an improvement, as England never knew before".²⁶ These occurrences in an atmosphere where, to judge from

the comedies, money, the accumulation of money and the use of money for productive purposes were regarded by a large section of the population as evidences of piety as well as profitability, were to stimulate the idea of fluid capital as a factor of production.

Land and capital are only two of the major factors of production; the third, contractual labour, was being created already by, for example, the spread of the enclosure system, the waning power of the monopolistic practices of companies and guilds, the increasing mobility of population, especially in the wake of events such as the civil wars and the consequent discharge of the military, and increasing urbanization.

Add to land, capital, and contractual labour, an environment in which they can interact, and there are at hand the necessary conditions for the rise of capitalism. The political system is of fundamental importance in the environment; when authority accrues only to nobility, the regulation of society may be restricted. But Charles II came to the throne under very changed terms, and it is evident that from his time on "privilege" is under assault. The emphasis in government comes from a different force, or at least from a different perspective, as is revealed by the legislation devoted to, for example, stimulation of cultivation, payment of bounties on exports, protectionist

policies.

With the encouragement of scientific inquiry with a stress on application, improvements in legal procedures, the development of foreign trade and colonial expansion, and the institutions of banking, a modern economic society began to emerge in England during the second half of the seventeenth century.

Restoration comedy reflects a society that is passing. The comedy embodies a major social struggle. Social mobility, accelerated by sequestration, abolition of the Court of Wards and the consequent move to establishment of private property, and the accumulation of wealth by lower ranks, provides a basic condition for satire. Social mobility is a threat to the privileged. It is a threat turned back, as we shall see, by ridicule.

of government regulation; protection was granted to home industries; import duties were imposed, initially against the Dutch, and later, the French; the Navigation Act was introduced; the legal rate of interest was fixed at six per cent; and commercial monopolies were retained although they gradually lost their privileged position. By the end of the century, however, free trade had become established. In general, the economic scene showed rapid growth and wide expansion. Ralph Davis estimates that "imports increased by just a third, and exports by rather more than half, in the period 1663 - 1701, the faster growth of exports being due to the growth of the re-export trade from the negligible proportions of the 1630's". To handle this increase, heavy investment was necessary; from the profits accumulations of capital could be made. Many English merchants grew rich.²

From this trade, Charles II received his money, through excise and customs. At first, these taxes, and special taxes such as the Hearth Tax, were farmed, but by 1683 this system had been abandoned and what had been a profitable source of income for the favoured was discontinued. As taxation was controlled by Parliament, Charles had to meet his extraordinary and immediate needs by borrowing. Problems arose in 1672 when Charles repudiated his debts in the Stop of the Exchequer: the

Crown's credit was impaired, interest rates rose above the legal limit, and many goldsmiths and lenders were bankrupted. With William, confidence was restored; the Bank of England was established with a government guarantee, and interest rates declined. A more equitable system of taxation was introduced, with a heavier tax on land.³

The developments in trade had ancillary effects. For instance, with the development of shipping, insurance was introduced; the possibilities of accumulation of capital led to the development of a stock-market.

The tendencies arising from all these developments were for the gentleman to put his money into trade and for the merchant to buy land for prestige or political purposes.⁴

This very general summary offers a frame of reference, but it omits many important and urgent economic aspects involving living in the Restoration period. Some key elements need to be taken into cognizance.

The period appears to be divisible into two quite different eras, marked by the reigns of Charles II and of William III. Why is there such an apparent demarcation between the reigns of Charles II and William rather than continuous development? That there was change in economic development is evident even in the preceding brief summary.

That there was social change is indicated by Dennis's comparison of William's reign, "The Reign of Politicks and of Business", with Charles's reign, "a Reign of Poetry and of Pleasure":

The discourse, which now every where turns upon Interest, rolled then upon the Manners and Humours of Men . . . [For] they were overjoy'd to find themselves delivered from the apprehensions of another Civil War, and not only in quiet, but as they thought, in profound security. They were at the same time free from Fears and Taxes . . . But in the present reign, a great part of the Gentlemen have not leisure, because want throws them upon employments, and there are ten times more Gentlemen now in business, than there were in King Charles his Reign. Nor have they serenity, by Reason of a War, in which all are concerned, by reason of the Taxes which make them uneasie. By reason that they are attentive to the events of affairs, and too full of great and real events, to receive due impressions from the imaginary ones of the Theatre.⁵

Part of the explanation for the vast difference between the two periods lies in the nature of the intervening reign.

When James II came to the throne in 1685, he was in a strong position. With the expansion of trade, customs and excise alone brought in an amount equal to the total allotted by Parliament to Charles II.⁶ Thus, his government was relatively independent of Parliament. Politically, too, James appeared to be in a much stronger position than Charles. Monmouth's revolt split the nascent Whig party. By not opposing James, the Whig

aristocracy seemed to be aligning themselves with the traditional royal supporters, the Tories. James, however, alienated both groups with his Catholic policy. Such a policy could have succeeded only if the Tory-Anglicans had been balanced by a Catholic-Nonconformist alliance. James was not able to secure this type of alliance. In addition, he effectively lost the favour of the Tory supporters with his attempted repeal of the Test Act, with the appointment of Catholic officers in the army, and with the transfer to dissenters and Catholics of borough and county administrative posts when the holders failed to pledge support for repeal of the Test Act. The headlong nature of James's approach managed to alienate even some of his propertied Catholic supporters, and the birth of his son caused a reappraisal for those dissenters who had been able to accept a fifty-five year old Catholic king, knowing that there was a Protestant heir to the throne.⁷

By his wooing of the nonconformists, James managed to revive the animosities and the fears of property loss of the civil wars. His policy touched not only religion but also traditional sinecures. Significantly, the letter of invitation to William of Orange contained as its first point the dissatisfaction with the present government's policy in "religion, liberties, and

property".⁸ These fears do not receive explicit expression in the comedies of the late Eighties, perhaps because they already had become habitual topics as a result of the civil wars, or because they had been handled with enough intensity during the party strife in the earlier part of the decade. There was always, of course, the very real danger of offending the powerful. D'Urfey's The Royalist and Aphra Behn's The City Heiress were mentioned in the previous chapter; they serve to link the old terminology and attitudes to the new situation. In many ways, the stage here was operating as the stock-market is reputed to do: anticipating and absorbing change before it actually happened. For example, Crowne's City Politiques (1682/3) in many ways might just as well have coincided with James's reign as preceded it.

Before James fled, he destroyed the writs summoning Parliament and threw the Great Seal into the Thames. These were actions designed to have the practical effect of stopping any recall of Parliament; their greatest importance lay in their symbolic nature. On that day an era ended, the divinely appointed monarch lost his divinity, and the reigns of "Politicks and of Business" were to begin.

Flourishing trade gave James the opportunity to dismiss Parliament and to pursue his policies unchecked.

His preoccupation with these policies meant that there were few effective attempts to impose any authoritarian control of trade or industry. When James departed, anarchy threatened so that even the loyal Sir James Bramston felt that some authority was necessary to prevent "the rabble from spoiling and robbing the nobility and wealthy".⁹

William restored order, but his powers were limited, so that the freedoms gained were consolidated and the capitalist system was free to develop. The sceptical, libertine, privileged, and hostile viewpoints linger in the comedies into the next century in the face of an increasingly audible opposition, which was to gain wide attention through Jeremy Collier's attack on the stage.

This brief description of events provides the backdrop for the glimpses of contemporary economic affairs provided by the comedies.

The importance of shipping in the development of overseas trade is reflected in the pressing of sailors, in Higden's The Wary Widdow [38]; in Careless's statement in Ravenscroft's The Canterbury Guests that he "went a Volontier to Sea" until his mortgaged estate was "disincumber'd" [8]; and the frequent mention, in discussion of estates, that the woods have not been cut. The economic importance of timber, for instance, prompts Careless, in

Ravenscroft's The Careless Lover, in 1672, to say "I have yet not sold one Foot of Land, or cut down one Stick of Wood" [37], and, ten years later, compels Sir Anthony Merriwell, in Behn's The City Heiress, to explain he did not "fell his Woods, and grant leases" [211]. The importance and dangers of foreign commerce are evident in Harris's The City Bride, where Justice Merry-man has a ship for the East Indies [17] which is attacked by French pirates ("Dunkirk Privateers") [26]. The Indies again receive mention in Pix's The Innocent Mistress: Mrs. Flywife, left without money, had ventured to Jamaica and there had married a rich old merchant [8, 5]. And in Higden's The Wary Widdow, Sir Worldly, because "The Auctions in the East-India Company run very high at present" [6], decides to sell his stock in it. Other areas for trade receive incidental mention. Lucy, in Powell's Imposture Defeated, will escape with the money she has stolen "to a new Plantation" [36]; Isabella, in D'Urfey's The Virtuous Wife, has a brother who is "a Rushia Merchant" [40]; Theodore, in Ravenscroft's The English Lawyer, is an English factor in Bordeaux; and even the search for the North-East and North-West passages is referred to in Powell's A Very Good Wife [1]. The monopolies that were re-established to deal with foreign trade receive indirect mention by the owner of the

coffee-house, in St. Serfe's Tarugo's Wiles:

Well, I'll try it yet a month longer, and if I part then, I am resolv'd to take a House near a Pump, and with a stock of rotten Raisons and Salsa-parilla, set up a brewing of Dyet-drink, and Stipone, which I am confident will prove a good Commodity, if I be not interferr'd by a Monopoly. [28]

The Exchange receives frequent mention in the comedies.

The opportunities it offered are touched upon in the following conversation in Behn's Sir Patient Fancy:

Wittmore Has he quite left off going to the
Change?

Leander Oh, he's grown cautiously rich, and
will venture none of his substantial Stock in
transitory Traffick. [27]

The merchant usually is depicted as a person of great wealth. But that this wealth was sometimes transitory is indicated in Wright's The Female Vertuoso's when Sir Maurice loses £20,000 [47]. The general attitude, however, appears to be that stories of loss or bankruptcy were financial tricks: "Women get good fortunes now-a-daies, by losing their Credit, as a cunning Citizen does by Breaking", says Woodall, in Dryden's The Kind Keeper [29]. Duffett, in the prologue to The Amorous Old-woman, appeals for kindness to a new poet:

For if your Charity don't help him out,
He does protest he then must turn Bankrupt:
Not with design as knavish Bankers do
For he'll not break and then compound with you;
But fairly to you, his whole interest quit,
And give you up the forfeit of his Wit.

Knavery, of course, is often imputed to be at the roots of the merchants' wealth. Whitebroth's revelations in Wilson's The Cheats offer one of the most direct statements:

Taken up on Bottomary, upon the good Ship call'd the Mary, to be paid with interest, after the rate of 30 l. per Cent within ten dayes after her coming to Anchor in the River of Thames - 1700 l. - So, so, That's paid, All got; - She's sunk at New-found-land: - Besides, I have ensur'd a 1000 l. upon her, my self - How wealth trowles in, upon an honest man! - The Master deserved a 100 l. extraordinary for this, and shall have it; This is the fifth Ship, he has sunk for me. [35]

This speech is interesting because it points to the existence of another element of trade, the Newfoundland fishing industry, to the practice of group investment, to the exorbitant rate of interest charged on these ventures, and to the development of insurance.

The bustle of the whole economic scene, the havoc that is being created with older ideas of decorum, and the practices that have become current, are all evoked by Railmore, in Motteux's Love's a Jest, when he rails at citizens:

Why, they cheat, to build Alms-houses; break, to get Estates; rail at Courtiers, yet truss 'em, load Ships, for the Privateers; rake Prentices, to learn 'em nothing; Get Money by venturing to lose that of other Folks; take Wines for other Folks, and have Children that are other Folks's. They wear Swords, but never draw 'em; The Court End of the Town Extravagance is getting into the City, and the City Trade to the Court-end of the Town; They play at the Game of Stockjobbing at the old Exchange, and play away their Money, and their health near the New; Pray for Wealth, but

damn themselves to get it; spend little, to leave much; turn Insurers when they've nothing to lose; and Gentlemen when there's nothing to get; lower the price of Goods to make it rise; have store of Bankbills, and the Banks, store of empty Chests.
[5 - 6]

With all the possibilities apparently available for quick wealth, stock-jobbing and projects became popular. Often in the comedies, they are identified with each other and are handled by the one person, as is shown in D'Urfey's The Richmond Heiress: "Stocks rise to a Miracle; And I've invented two such rare Projects for the improvement of Tabby Cats Skins for Ladies Muffs, and Spirit of Acorns to cure Agues, that the whole Exchange rings of it" [16]. Hackwell, in Shadwell's The Volunteers, which is sub-titled The Stock Jobbers, presents the combined concern with both stocks and projects, and Wilson's The Projectors gives an extended picture of some of the more fantastic projects. The projects gave rise to patents, likewise satirized for their whimsicality, as in Powell's A Very Good Wife, "a Patent, for a Cut-purse Hall, or Office, to help all Men to their own agen, allowing but the Tythes of their Losses, and freeing the offending parties" [9].

The ready capital amassed was put to use, as Avaritio's money is "at use" in Porter's The French Conjuror [33], and lent out at interest: to the government,

in Dilke's The City Lady [2]; upon security, in Powell's A Very Good Wife [3-4]; for mortgages, in Ravenscroft's The Citizen Turn'd Gentleman [54]. The demand for capital was such that Whitebroth, in Wilson's The Cheats, can say with contempt, "Does he think I can be content with 6 per Cent?" [34], and Gripe, in Powell's The Cornish Comedy, can complain, "Twenty per Cent for 3 Months; A Man can't live by it" [20]. Even for the transfer of money the rates were high: Young Rakish, in Cibber's Womans Wit, paid 15 per cent "for Expedition" [9]. "Ready-money" is one of the new popular phrases of this period. Mrs. Beauclair, in Pix's The Innocent Mistress, is a catch for she has "twelve thousand pounds in ready Money" [3]; and Summerfield, in Harris's The City Bride, says "ready-money is the Prize I look for" [11].

The imports resulting from all this trading activity brought an influx of new and luxury products into London. Davenant remarked on this "richness of our apparel and household furniture" and on the "vast stores . . . of foreign commodities".¹⁰ Modish clothes, of course, essential in the fashionable society, were items of special pride. The emphasis on fashion, especially French fashion, for men is satirized in the steady procession of fops mincing their way through the comedies with Sir Fopling Flutter, from Etherege's The Man of Mode,

in the vanguard to Monsieur de Paris and Don Diego, from Wycherley's The Gentleman-Dancing-Master, struggling along behind. And the multiplication of cosmetics and perfumes is indicated by Sir Samuel in Shadwell's The Virtuoso [79]. As the two fops in Shadwell's The Volunteers show, the cosmetics were not for female use alone. The trade figures for London also reveal that finished clothing material, except for silks and threads, increased substantially from the 1660's to the 1700's. Foodstuffs imported also increased by about twenty per cent; the innkeepers, in Ravenscroft's The Canterbury Guests, claim to have calf from Flanders, "Gaunt" veal and Bruges capons. The continuing popularity of coffee is attested to by the disquisition on it in St. Serfe's Tarugo's Wiles [18], the 1675 ban on coffee-houses (which were introduced in the 1650's) as possible centres of sedition, and the £35,000 worth of imports of coffee from the West Indies and tea from India in 1700.¹¹

The import of wine and brandy tripled, to reach a value of almost £500,000. This element of the import trade produced large revenue through customs, for both were heavily taxed, wine at about 100 per cent of first cost.¹² This taxation encouraged smuggling which continued and apparently increased after French wine was prohibited in 1678. Dashit, in Betterton's The Revenge,

buys a punch-bowl, " a most fashionable thing, now French Wines are prohibited" [30]; Hob, in Dogget's The Country Wake, tells his friend, "Claret Sir, we've no Claret, we must not sell Claret; 'tis against the Law, now you may have some of your Port . . ." [43]; and Amorous, in D'Urfey's Love for Money, says, "The French King, a pox, we shall starve him in one six months longer, the loss of his Wine Trade has almost broke his heart already, that one Law has undone him" [6]. D'Urfey's Sir Barnaby Whigg reveals the vintners' readiness to supply substitutes and to evade the prohibition when Sir Walter offers the Captain "Champaign, Burgundy, Obrion, Puntack and Cohorse":

Captain Cohorse! a Pox o' these barbarous notions, why 'tis but Claret still, and only the Vintners cheat to extort a shilling in the Pottle [sic] upon account of the Prohibition.

Sir Walter . . . Wines come Incognito; my friend breaks the Law, cheats the King, steals Custom, sells me a lumping penniworth; and, prithee, what signifies the Prohibition. [3]

The smuggling of wine, however, was nothing new. Wilson's The Cheats in 1662 mentions Canary wine having been smuggled into the country [34] and the practice is still continuing in the 1690's, according to Higden's The Wary Widdow, only at this date it is Burgundy which is "Just stolen in from France" [4]. In spite of duties and prohibitions, wine remained popular: "Brave Canary; Intelligent Canary . . . Ale? hang Ale", cries Silliman in

Cary's tragedy, The Mariage Night [12]. And Canary it most frequently is, as in Harris's The City Bride [29] and Ravenscroft's The Canterbury Guests [2], although the gallants in Wycherley's Love in a Wood drink "honest Burgundy" [18], and Stockjobb in D'Urfey's The Richmond Heiress is concerned with "Filthy Brandy; Twelve Shillings a Gallon, by this Hand, and will certainly be the best Commodity in the whole Kingdom shortly . . ." [33]. However, a cobbler's wife might expect to be content with ale and an apple for six pence, as in Jevon's The Devil of a Wife [3], for, according to the inn-keeper, in Powell's The Cornish Comedy, ale is only six pence a quart for "ordinary fellows" [25]. This last play indicates some of the other taxes levied and the complaints and evasions they arouse [11]. Sir Wealthy Plainer, in Dilke's The Pretenders, goes to extreme measures to avoid all these taxes: "Edad I'm old Sir Wealthy still, tho I've sold my Estate, plead poverty to the world, and have swore my self not worth a groat, on purpose to avoid the Kings Taxes" [17]. The Hearth Tax and the custom of farming are mentioned in Ravenscroft's Dame Dobson: "Here's the rich Country Gentleman come to town agen, he that told you how many Thousand Pounds he got by Farming the Chimney Money of his County" [47].

Farming of taxes, as I have mentioned, was a

profitable occupation for those who could purchase favour. Men like Sir Richard Temple, a Commissioner of the Customs, made fortunes from their offices.¹³ But even the smaller offices provided opportunity for gain. Customs, of course, was not the only office available, as Nicky-crack's ironic comment, in Dilke's The Pretenders, shows: "My Genius, indeed, will require some very honest employ. What think you of a Tax-Collector, a Military Pay Master, a Change-Broker, or a Sollicitor in Parliament?" [37].

In the plays there is occasional reference to rising prices and to money problems. The shoemaker, in Cary's The Mariage Night, in 1663, complains:

And yet the Times were never harder, nor Leather dearer . . . I have been at the Trade this forty years, off and on; and those Childrens shooes I have sold for six pence, or a groat, upon some occasion, we now sell for twelve pence, as they say . . . They say we must all be fain to shut up shop, and mortgage our Wives to the Souldiers. [15]

Towards the end of the century, there is an increase in such references. Willmot, in Scott's The Mock Marriage, explains that he went to pay some money "but upon the fall of Guineas the Party was in an ill humour, and would not receive it" [29]. The prologue to Dogget's The Country Wake states "New Plays as well as Guineas fall of late"; and the epilogue to Pix's The Innocent Mistress deals with the audience, ". . . tho' Money's scarce this Age,/ We need not fear t'have a Beau-crowded Stage". The latter

play makes the same point in the dialogue. Sir Francis Wildlove says: "Why faith there's no alteration, the Money is indeed very much scarcer, yet what perhaps you'l think a wonder, dressing and debauchery increases . . ." [1]. In 1705, Mrs. Cloggitt, in Vanbrugh's The Confederacy, is bemoaning the hard times.

These apparently casual remarks are easily passed over, but they are random indications of an urgent and privative financial situation. The fall of the guinea provides an index to the problem.

The guinea was first coined in 1663, replacing the angel and the crown. As gold, it was supplementary currency to the normal medium of exchange. These "pieces" (Bellon's Mock Duellist, 37), or "yellow Boyes" (Dryden's The Wild Gallant, 9), at first were fixed at the value of twenty shillings in silver. But, in spite of the 10 June 1661 proclamation against the export of gold or silver, a scarcity of money became evident. What was happening was that goldsmiths were buying the gold coins and exporting them, for instance, to France and Scotland where they fetched higher prices. There were legitimate reasons for the export as Fop, even if he is speaking ironically, indicates in Rawlin's Tunbridge Wells: "... . our Merchants are taxed with th' exportation of broad Gold to that Clime, when in sincerity the greatest part is

exchanged with Sweden for Copper" [9]. Apparently many people were making profits by melting down plate and the new milled coins. The guinea fluctuated in actual value, settling at 21s. 6d. in 1690. However, the shortage of the supply of guineas and the deterioration of silver contributed to a sudden sharp rise in the coin's value to 30s. in 1695. Profiteering developed, economic uncertainty grew, and in 1696 legislation set the price first at 28s. and then at 22s. Later the value was reduced to 21s 6d., and in 1717 it was set at 21s. An insight into the situation is provided by Shuffe's statement that tenants were reluctant to part with guineas for less than 23s., in Powell's The Cornish Comedy (1696) [32].

The problem with the guinea was only one aspect of an even greater problem associated with the scarcity of money. Culling, clipping and counterfeiting were rampant during the period. Until 1663, when the milled coin was introduced, coins were hammered and only approximately of equal weight. The culler sorted out the heavier coins for export as bullion; the clipper trimmed the coins, also to acquire bullion. Theoretically, the milled coin restricted these activities to the bewildering variety of older coins: decus and Jacobus, nobles, angels, groats. When recoinage was commenced in 1696,

the old coinage called in was estimated at £4 million, on which the loss was about £2 million.¹⁴

These practices find reflection in the comedies: Lady Thrivewell, in Behn's The Debauchee, tells the shopkeeper that she has only gold "which you will weigh before you take" [12]; Whitebroth, in Wilson's The Cheats, exemplifies the practice when he receives £1000 in half-crowns, "Pray weigh 'um, one by one, and lay by such as are overweight, and see 'um melted down" [35]. Sir George Grumble's confession, in Dilke's The City Lady, shows this as just another sin of the avaricious citizen:

Cheated the King of his Customs, - Rookt Young Heirs of their Estates, - Extorted double Interest from the Poor, - Have made a Prey of People's Necessities, - was very Instrumental in Clipping the Old Coin, and have since taken Twenty per Cent. for the New; In short, the old Gentleman in black, is coming up to make up his Accounts with me. [41]

It was in the same year, 1696, as the production of this comedy that R.C.'s A Treatise concerning the Regulation of the Coyn of England accused scriveners, goldsmiths and Jews of clipping coin to push up the price of gold [34-5].

In 1695, the decision was made to undertake recoinage. This was necessary because, according to one modern authority, of the £13 1/2 million in circulation in 1694, £10 million was clipped money and £1 million counterfeit. Trickwell, in Harris's Love's a Lottery, gives an inkling of the situation which had prevailed when he says:

". . . since the last general Reformation of our Coin, we are as much plagu'd with clipt Credit, as we were before with Clipt Money" [32]. Immediately following the decision, difficulties ensued: a scarcity of money occurred, loans and debts were delayed, longer credit was required, and interest rates of 16 and 17 per cent were quoted.¹⁵

This situation probably stimulated increased development of banking practice. The story of the Earl of Bedford's financial procedures exemplifies a rather conservative development from the family money-chest, to limited use of bills of exchange, to private loans, to dealings with the goldsmith for deposits and loans.¹⁶ By this time bills of exchange and promissory notes ("bills") were negotiable instruments. Money transactions were handled by: scriveners (conveyancers and legal factors), who, through mortgage negotiations, became bankers; brokers who were the financial middlemen for commercial transactions; and goldsmiths, who borrowed for re-lending, and whose receipts or accountable notes developed into a primitive form of cheque. By 1670, there were 32 goldsmith-bankers who kept accounts against which cheques could be drawn, and by 1700 there were 42.¹⁷

The goldsmiths incorporated pawn-broking with their normal business. During the civil wars they provided secure depositing place for cash and valuables.

Gradually they became involved in the import and export of bullion, and expanded their activities by paying interest on deposits, discounting commercial bills of exchange at high interest rates, and lending money. Their banking activities expanded until they were lending to the government.¹⁸ The importance they assumed is indicated in Burnet's description of the result of the Stop of the Exchequer by Charles II in 1672: "The whole nation was panic-struck; the bankers stopped payment; few merchants were able to meet their [sic] bills they accepted; trade was paralyzed; and the very ships could not be cleared at the custom-house for want of money".¹⁹ The goldsmiths made immense profits by keeping low cash reserves, paying interest at six per cent at the most and requiring 20 per cent and more for loans.

From 1650 onward, many proposals for banks, primarily to provide working capital for commerce, were introduced. One of these projects, started in 1676, failed in 1683. The association of merchants offering joint security was also tried, and a major one of these failed in 1675. From situations such as these arose the references to and suspicions about banks breaking. Other ideas included the establishment of Offices of Credit and Land Banks. All these plans had at root the necessity for providing capitalization of future revenues;

the outcome was the establishment of the Bank of England in 1694.²⁰

Some of these developments are indicated in the comedies. The references generally fall into two categories: one, where these and ancillary developments in finance are presented cursorily as merely the current operations of everyday life; two, where the circumstances are satirized as additional activities of a class motivated by avarice. In Betterton's The Revenge, the goldsmith is merely a convenience, with whom a ring can be deposited for safe-keeping [38]; in Harris's Love's a Lottery, the banker is still merely a convenience, a person to whom a note can be sent which is payable upon demand [39]. There are frequent references to deposits with, notes on, and bills to the goldsmith, all as ordinary mechanical aspects of life. But the straightforward business procedure is sometimes associated with persisting attitudes toward usury, disgruntlement at the rise and wealth of this new class, and resentment against those who hold mortgages on others' lands. Thus, in the same play, the cursory mention of the goldsmith might be juxtaposed to a scathing indictment of usury, as happens in Harris's Love's a Lottery. The early picture of the grasping, avaricious lender of money articulated in Whitebroth, in Wilson's The Cheats, persists throughout

the period. And because of the diversification of the merchant's endeavours, with all the developing business opportunities, he can be attacked on a number of scores. In 1662, Rhodes's Flora's Vagaries offers Grim who "was first a Merchant, there he broke compounded for his debts and with forty Crowns set up for a pawn Broker, thriv'd upon that and grew into an Usurer, from thence into a Senator . . ." [31]. Almost thirty years later, the alderman, in Mountfort's Greenwich - Park, is described as "one that lends money upon Acts of Parliament, manages Juries in your Ward, and snacks with the Sheriff, give Courtiers credit in hopes of Getting Employments, Bribe Common-councilmen, Cheat Orphans, and sponge Dinners all the year round at my Lord-Mayors Table" [33]. The latter play presents what is, from the comedies' viewpoint, the typical merchant procedure: "Carry a good Face at Change, though within a day of Breaking; take up 3 or 4000 l. under pretence of unexpected Bills; whip over to the King's Bench; Bilk your Creditors, and die with the Curse of Orphans and Widows on ye" [2]. The portrayal of the merchant, however, will be dealt with in the next chapter.

The merchant with his ships set up a network of foreign communication. To match this, internal communication developed with the establishment of a general post

office in 1657. All letters at first passed through London, and it was not until close to the end of the century that cross-posts were established. Still, during this period, there was the nucleus of regular delivery of mail; by 1691, a working schedule was in operation:

On Monday and Thursday letters went to France, Italy, and Spain, on Monday and Friday to the Netherlands, Germany, Sweden, and Denmark. On Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, mails left for all parts of England, Scotland and Ireland, and there was a daily post to Kent and the Downs. Letters arrived in London from all parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, from Wales every Monday, and from Kent and the Downs every day.²¹

And so, for the first time, a new character is referred to in the comedies, the postman. In Dryden's Sir Martin Mar-all (1667), it is normal to expect a "carrier" who may have lost the letter but can remember the message; but in Behn's The Luckey Chance (1686), it is a "Post-man" who delivers mail [7]; and by the time of Dilke's The Lover's Luck (1695), it is commonplace to refer to the Post Office [27]. In Mary Pix's The Innocent Mistress (1697), a boy enters with a "Penny-post letter" [15].

There remain a few other details in the commercial and industrial picture of Restoration England which receive attention in the comedies. As may be gathered from the preceding examination, the articulation is limited to those things affecting fashionable society,

either as they arose from its needs or threatened its status. Industrial development, for example, receives little mention. The Cornish Comedy (1696) gives some indication of one industry, tin mining in Cornwall. This play is attributed to the actor George Powell, but Powell in the dedication says that it was "committed by the Author to my Hand to Dispose in the World". Gildon says it was written by a Cornish attorney,²² and the playwright is referred to in the prologue as "My Cornish Clyent". The author's preface states that "this Play was written for my own private Diversion in the Country where the Scene is laid". The matter of authorship is interesting because the comedy contains many details of country life and business which suggest intimate acquaintance. This is so, for example, in the talk of tin-mining: "Our Tinn-Work proves very poor, 'twill not pay Wages: if it does not alter within a week, I resolve to knock it off and discharge some of the Men, unless I have contrary Orders from you by the Bearer. In Mr. Manley's Bounds adjoyning, there's a rich load cut 6 Foot broad without Water, and perfect Pryan, each Sack of Work makes his Gallon of Black Tyan . . ." [14-15]. The quality of the tin mines is used as part of the plot: Gripe's daughter, Clarinda, has promised herself to Manley; Gripe, however, is forcing her to marry Squire Swash; a forged letter

(part of which is quoted above) is used to make the avaricious Gripe change his mind.

Tin-mining in Cornwall was nothing new at the time; even as early as the beginning of the century there were definite signs that some Cornish tin mines were under indirect control of London merchants.²³ But during the same period as this comedy the manufacture of tin-plate was introduced into Britain, and the industry, which produced about 1300 tons in the period 1695-1704, almost doubled by the middle of the following century.²⁴ One wonders if this resurgence of the tin industry made the background circumstances and details of the comedy relevant to the audience.

Other major aspects of change receive even scantier attention. Agricultural and stock-breeding developments are barely hinted at, as for example, in Wildish's comment on the London markets in Shadwell's Bury Fair [336], and in Merry's jibe at Townlove's business in Payne's The Morning Ramble [1]. The effect of foreign competition on home industries, creating, for example, over-crowding in framework knitting which resulted in a riot in 1663 during which 100 frames were broken,²⁵ is not reflected in the comedies, if we except the scene where the ribbon weavers riot outside Gimcrack's house, in Shadwell's The Virtuoso [114-119]. Only in rare and

very incidental comment, such as the comment about displaced parsons, "Let 'em learn to make woollen cloth and advance the manufacture of the nation, or learn to make nets and improve the fishing trade" [112], in the same play, do we get a glimpse of the revolutionary changes occurring.

The rare indications of the effect of economic change on common people point to parts of society which are ignored in the comedies. Those more or less permanently lacking money have little place in the plays. There are touches of the common world of common people, mainly in the servants and trades-people. These introduce a plane of comparison with high society but they are touches only, as in the opening scene of Vanbrugh's The Confederacy:

Mrs. Cloggitt (Neighbour to Mrs. Amlet) . . . how do you do, I pray?

Mrs. Amlet (A seller of all sorts of private affairs to the ladies). At the old rate, neighbour, poor and honest; these are hard time, good lack.

Mrs. Cloggitt If they are hard with you, what are they with us? You have a good trade going, all the great folks in town help you off with your merchandise.

Mrs. Amlet Yes, they do help us off with 'em indeed; they buy all.

Mrs. Cloggitt And pay -

Mrs. Amlet For some.

This lower world is not even considered in the comedies; it is something apart. From it come suppliers of necessary services, not people. In the world of the comedies, there are those who are people of quality and those who are not. An idea of the importance of this distinction, even on a higher level, is given by the discussion between Clarissa and her maid, Flippanta, in Vanbrugh's The Confederacy:

Flippanta . . . you ought to be in some measure content, since you live like a woman of quality, tho' you are none.

Clarissa O fy! the very quintessence of it is wanting.

Flippanta What's that!

Clarissa Why, I dare abuse no body; I'm afraid to affront people, tho' I don't like their faces; or to ruin their reputations, tho' they pique me to it, by taking ever so much pains to preserve 'em; I dare not raise a lye of a man, tho' he neglects to make love to me; nor report a woman to be a fool, tho' she's handsomer than I am. In short, I dare not so much as bid my footman kick the people out of doors, tho' they come to ask me for what I owe them.

Flippanta All this is very hard indeed.

Clarissa Ah, Flippanta, the perquisites of quality are of an unspeakable value. [I,111]

Hazlitt very perceptively indicates the superlative importance of this distinction in the following passage:

Again, the character of the fine gentleman is at present a little obscured on the stage, nor do we immediately recognise it elsewhere, for want of the formidable insignia of a bigwig and sword. Without these outward credentials, the public must not only be unable to distinguish this

character intuitively, but it must be "almost afraid to know itself" . . . The opinion of others affects our opinion of ourselves; and we can hardly expect from a modern man of fashion that air of dignity and superior gracefulness of carriage, which those must have assumed who were conscious that all eyes were upon them, and that their lofty pretensions continually exposed them either to public scorn or challenged public admiration. A lord who should take the wall of the plebeian passengers without a sword by his side, would hardly have his claim of precedence acknowledged; nor could he be supposed to have that obsolete air of self-importance about him, which should alone clear the pavement at his approach . . . A nobleman in full costume, and in broad day, would be a phenomenon like the lord mayor's coach.²⁶

Against all the revolutionary changes that were taking place in society, genteel society sought to maintain the status quo so far as station is concerned: a gentleman might be challenged to a duel, a commoner was kicked; a gentleman had honour, a commoner reputation; a gentle lady might be suitable for marriage, a commoner for "keeping". Thus, there was the propagation of a hierarchical society. That Quakers refused to remove their hats must have been a galling, omnipresent and obvious stimulant to the hatred against them. Quality was a matter of birth and breeding; destitution or poverty were crimes to be punished. We get a glimpse into the situation of the poor in Crowne's The Countrey Wit, when a beggar-woman steals the money Booby is keeping and leaves her baby in its place:

Booby

Is it my bastard? Is it not the

beggar-woman's bastard that was begging here,
and has run away with all my money?

Constable She was your whore, was she, sirrah?
Here's a fine plot of a rogue, neighbours, to
make a bustle in the streets, that his whore
might have an opportunity to lay a bastard to
the parish. Yes, sirrah! the parish shall
maintain such a lusty rogue as you in lechery? -
Come, sirrah, to the house of correction.

Watch Ay, Mr. Constable, whip him, whip
him! this way the parish money goes; I have
been sess'd above fifteen shillings this year,
for such rogues' unlawful lecheries. [I,1]

There are indications of an increasing independence
in common people. This independence is referred to with
pride in Shadwell's Bury Fair; here, though, they are
being compared to French peasants. Sir Humphry Noddy
knocks a peasant's staff so that the peasant falls; the
peasant strikes Noddy; the peasant's friends come to his
aid so that Noddy has to be rescued. This incident,
apparently, is designed to illustrate the rights of the
English peasant. Wycherley, in his dedication for The
Plain-Dealer, refers to the abuse from the watermen which
apparently people accept complacently. Crowne has "a bold,
saucy factious fellow" [Dram. Pers.] in Bricklayer, in
City Politiques. In Farquhar's The Recruiting Officer,
members of the mob refuse to take off their hats: "And
I'se scarcely doff mine for any captain in England. My
vether's a freeholder" [II, 111]. Robert Howard's The
Committee has commoners in the ascendancy, but this play

is set in the period before the Restoration and is designed to show the iniquity of the Act of Sequestration as part of its more general satire on the Puritans.

The more common attitude is evident in Wycherley. In The Gentleman-Dancing-Master, Hippolita says, "a Maid at most times with her Mistress is no body" [165]. The truth of her statement is revealed, in Act IV, when Prue, the maid, attempts unsuccessfully to seduce Monsieur. In The Country Wife, Lucy, the maid, complains, "Well to see what easie Husbands these Women of quality can meet with, a poor Chambermaid can never have such Lady-like luck . . ." [301]. Although there are portraits of faithful servants (Teg in Robert Howard's The Committee, Humphrey in Steele's The Conscious Lovers), independent and plain-speaking servants (Snap in Cibber's Love's Last Shift, Cornet in Vanbrugh's The Provok'd Wife), intriguing and deceitful servants (Foible in Congreve's The Way of the World, Rasor in Vanbrugh's The Provok'd Wife), one feels that they have their existence only at their masters' discretion. They, and the kept women and the predators and the gulls and others who lack quality, may be, for instance, married off to satisfy the honourable person's feeling of justice, as in Etherege's The Comical Revenge; to satisfy a whim, as in Congreve's The Old Batchelor; to provide a convenience, as in Congreve's The Way of the World.

But even these commoners do not represent the general mass.

Shadwell's Epsom Wells may tell us that a farmer lives upon £40 a year, but other men, as Farquhar's The Recruiting Officer reveals, have almost nothing: "They live upon wild fowl and venison, sith. The husband keeps a gun and kills all the hares and partridges within five miles around" [V, v]. When Lucy in Wycherley's Love in a Wood refers to "the little Gentlemens Wives, of Fifteen hundred, or Two thousand pounds a year" [53], we can assess in what low esteem these other commoners would be held.

Keith Feiling has suggested that the economic drift of the seventeenth century was "towards a sharper demarcation of classes and towards depriving the poor of such economic protection as the Tudor and early Stuart governments had managed to keep up for them".²⁷ The significance of this statement can too easily escape the casual reader. In 1709, Defoe attempted a demarcation of classes. He listed:

1. The great, who live profusely.
2. The rich, who live very plentifully.
3. The middle sort, who live well.
4. The working trades, who labour hard but feel no want.
5. The country people, farmers, &c., who fare indifferently.
6. The poor, that fare hard.
7. The miserable that really pinch and suffer want.²⁸

The classification by itself is not disturbing, but when Gregory King's estimate of 1696, calculated for the year

1686 [see chart on page 169], is applied to Defoe's listing, a devastating picture of the life of the poor and miserable emerges. Almost half the population included labouring people and out-servants, and cottagers and paupers, who had to spend more than they earned to exist. And freeholders (lesser sort) and farmers constituted another quarter of the population which had a small enough excess of income over expenses that rising prices, years of bad harvests or the progress of enclosure could reverse their situation. The apparent precariousness of these workers appears to be confirmed by modern research. In a time of increased and increasing prosperity, the poor-rate grew from £665,000 in 1685 to £900,000 in 1701.²⁹ But the tendency during this period was to strengthen the employers. If people were poor, it was because they did not work; if they did not work, it was because they were lazy; if they were lazy, they should not be fed. England was perpetuating a two-class system, of rulers and the masses.³⁰ Farquhar's The Recruiting Officer presents a family which lives on the animals the husband can shoot; yet Silvia, the heroine, is heiress to twelve hundred pound a year and five or six thousand pound in woods upon the estate [II, 11], and Melinda has inherited £20,000 from an aunt [I, 1]. The figures seem inflated when compared to Gregory King's estimate, but, as will be

GREGORY KING'S ESTIMATE, 1696, 'CALCULATED FOR THE YEAR 1688', BASED ON THE HEARTH TAX, &C.

No. of heads of families		Heads per family	No. of persons	Yearly income per family	Yearly income and expense per head	
					Inc.	Exp.
				£ s.	£ s.	£ s.
160	Temporal lords	40	6,400	2,800 0	70 0	60 0
26	Spiritual lords	20	520	1,300 0	65 0	55 0
800	Baronets	16	12,800	380 0	55 0	51 0
600	Knights	13	7,800	650 0	50 0	46 0
3,000	Esquires	10	30,000	450 0	45 0	42 0
12,000	Gentlemen	8	96,000	280 0	35 0	32 10
5,000	Persons in offices	8	40,000	240 0	30 0	27 0
5,000	"	6	30,000	120 0	20 0	18 0
2,000	Merchants and traders by sea	8	16,000	400 0	50 0	40 0
8,000	Merchants and traders by land	6	48,000	200 0	33 0	28 0
10,000	Persons in the Law	7	70,000	140 0	20 0	17 0
2,000	Clergymen	6	12,000	60 0	10 0	9 0
8,000	"	5	40,000	45 0	9 0	8 0
40,000	Freeholders (better sort)	7	280,000	84 0	12 0	11 0
120,000	" (lesser sort)	5½	660,000	50 0	10 0	9 2

150,000	Farmers	5	750,000	44 0	8 15	8 10
15,000	Persons in sciences and liberal arts	5	75,000	60 0	12 0	11 10
50,000	Shopkeepers and tradesmen	4½	225,000	45 0	10 0	9 10
60,000	Artisans and handicrafts	4	240,000	40 0	10 0	9 10
5,000	Naval officers	4	20,000	80 0	20 0	18 0
4,000	Military officers	4	16,000	60 0	15 0	14 0
Total persons increasing the wealth of the country			2,675,500			
50,000	Common seamen	3	150,000	20 0	7 0	7 10
364,000	Labouring people and out- servants	3½	1,275,000	15 0	4 10	4 12
400,000	Cottages and paupers	3½	1,300,000	6 10	2 0	2 5
35,000	Common soldiers	2	70,000	14 0	7 0	7 10
			2,795,000			
Vagrants (no families)			30,000	2 0	2 0	3 0
Total persons decreasing the wealth of the country			2,825,000			

[Reproduced from M. Dorothy George, England in Transition,
London, 1967, 150-151]

shown, they are quite commonly quoted as normal sums for the people of the comedies.

The only references to the enclosure movement are in the imagery of the comedies. But after the Restoration, the movement which had made spasmodic progress for a couple of centuries now went "forward in great waves, engulfing in its progress the open-field system, the self-governing village, and often the peasant proprietors, the 'ancient and godly yeomanry of England'".³¹ Controversy on the desirability of enclosure appears to have been stilled; the major spokesmen on the topic discussed the benefits rather than the right or wrong of the movement. John Houghton listed as two of the main benefits of "His Majesty's most happy Restoration" the disparking of parks and the enclosure of commons. The same writer justified rack renting because "the racking landlords put them [the tenants] upon new projects and industry". We can gain an idea of what rent increase is involved from Samuel Hartlib. In 1651, he stated that on enclosure rent would increase from six shillings to ten shillings or thirteen shillings and fourpence per acre.³²

We have no way of knowing how many tenants lost their land or how they attempted to live. As with the industrial unrest, our information, when it exists at all, comes from hostile sources.

The comedies do not deal with these portions of society. Some indications of the life of the poor are given, for example, in Dogget's The Country-Wake, Farquhar's The Recruiting Officer and Jevon's The Devil of a Wife, but usually the poor here exist on at least a subsistence level.

The territory of the comedies of the Restoration is at or near the court. From there, the inhabitants can look out and see the city advancing towards them. Only occasionally do they care to glimpse beyond, for all beyond Hyde Park "is a desert".

CHAPTER 5

1, , , THE INDUSTRIOUS SORT OF PEOPLE";

MERCHANTS AND CITIZENS

Restoration comedy is a glass through which one sees darkly the changing economic environment. Some elements, however, stand out brightly. One is the figure of the merchant, presager and embodiment of the change. In the comedies, the merchant is the victim, and he is a vulnerable victim. I have suggested earlier some possible reasons for the attention to the merchant; Whereas a "system", especially a system in embryonic form, may not be understood or even seen, the prospering merchant, a manifestation of that system, is clearly recognizable, and whereas changing social forms and economic processes provide only amorphous targets, the merchant is a palpable, and convenient, quarry. And, as I indicated in the last chapter, even when business changes are accepted in the comedies as routine facts of life, always in the background lurk connotations of chicanery because merchants are involved. An anonymous contributor to the Universal Journal, 4 July 1724, attempted to analyze the situation logically;

But of all the Characters generally drawn in our modern Comedies, we find none more falsly represented than that of the Citizens. People that know nothing more of 'em than what they see in Plays, think that

of Course an Alderman must be an old, lecherous, griping Usurer, or a doting Cuckold. Tell such as these of a generous and honest Citizen, they'll laugh at you, and look upon you as an ignorant Fellow, that knows nothing of the World; or be affronted with you, thinking you intend to impose upon them by giving 'em an Account of People who never had a Being.

I do believe that there have been and may be still, some few Citts of that Character; Perhaps some former Poet personally knew such a one, and had a Mind to expose him for differing so much from his Fellow Citizens; but how every Modern came to copy after him in this Particular, is somewhat strange. Even our two greatest Writers, Congreve and Farquhar, are fallen into the same customary Error. But throughout the whole Course of my Reading, I do not remember in any one of our Comedies to have seen a polite Citizen; and yet I am sure it is not for want of a sufficient Number of real Examples from which they might draw their Characters. I have before now known a Merchant fit to preside at the Board of Trade, and a Banker every way qualified for a Lord Treasurer.

View the Assemblies of our Citizens, when met on Business; attend a General Court, and you shall hear 'em debate with the same East [sic], and the same Eloquence as at the Bar, or in the Senate; In Company with the Ladies we find 'em complaisant Gallants; they can there lay aside all Thoughts of Business, and enter on a Tea Table Topick with as much Humour as the best Lady's Man about Town.¹

But one cannot readily reason away cherished attitudes grounded in emotion and fostered by habit.

The vulnerability of the merchant is indicated unconsciously by the writer of the quoted passage: either word, merchant or citizen, may stand as a substitute for the other. And as I stated in the introductory chapter, if the terms "citizen" and "merchant" are interchangeable, as they are in the comedies, there is an accumulation of

connotative and pejorative reflexes which may be applied to either one indiscriminately. This happens, for instance, in Sir Roger L'Estrange's political pamphlet, Citt and Bumpkin (1680). Citt represents a political agent plotting to overthrow the government and subvert the established church. He exposes himself in his conversation with Bumpkin, a convert and confederate:

Oh! th' art infinitely in the Right: for if it were not for this Christian Liberty, we could never have Justify'd our Selves in our Late Transactions: the Designe of Overturning the Government had been Treason; taking up Arms against the King, Rebellion; Dividing from the Communion of the Church had been Schism; appropriating the Church Plate, and Revenues to Private Uses, had been Sacriledge; Entring upon Sequester'd Livings had been Oppression; taking away mens Estates had been Robbery; Imprisoning of their Persons had been Tyranny; using the name of God to all This, would have been Hypocrisy, forcing of Contradictory Oaths had been Impiety, and Shedding the Blood both of the King, and his People, had been Murther; And all This would have appear'd so to be, if the Cause had come to be Try'd by the Known Laws either of God, or of Man. [14]

Notice in this passage the simplified patterns of social structure. The citizen is the denizen of the city, London; the bumpkin is the countryman. Although Citt is clearly the instigator, both are lumped together as villains guilty of almost every crime from treason to robbery. Notice also how Citt is identified automatically with the anti-royalist side in the civil wars. Although in this passage the word Puritan is not used, the religious element is clear, as in "Dividing from the Communion of the Church" and "using the

name of God to all this". Citty, then, is Citizen-Roundhead-Puritan. Citty is polymorphic. Alderman Gripe, in Wycherley's Love in a Wood, is flattered by Mrs. Joyner with the following speech:

He is a prying Common-Wealth-man, an implacable
Majestrate, a sturdy pillar of his cause and . . . I
know your virtue is proof against Vain glory . . .
You cannot backslide from your Principles; You cannot
be terrify'd by the laws; Nor bub'd to Alegiance by
Office or Preferment . . . You are the Bellows of
Zeal . . . You are . . . a Conventicle of Virtues.
[12-14]

Gripe represents a typical amalgam. He also adds the other essential dimensions: he is a scrivener and usurer. From these two occupations, it is but a short step on to merchant. It is the merchant who is under study here, but it is impossible to separate his strictly business activities and functions from the cluster of associations indicated above. This is true not only for the depiction in the comedies but also for contemporary statements, as we shall see as the chapter progresses.

The preceding recapitulation provides items which will be developed in this discussion. I shall explore some of the contemporary attitudes to business and to businessmen; the inevitable association of Puritan with merchant; and the political overtones of the merchant's religion. These topics can shed light on the general portrayal of the merchant in the comedies. Two of the aggressive tactics, cuckolding and railing, which are employed against

the merchant are considered before I attempt to analyze the different types of merchants who appear in the plays. Finally, I show some of the relevant outcomes of this continuing struggle between gentleman and merchant.

Business, according to Thomas Sprat, had given "mankind a higher degree than any title of nobility, even that of civility and humanity itself". He could see no reason for gentlemen to consider trade as below them.² Stillingfleet praised God for the increase in trade which made "the riches of the East and West Indies to meet in our streets".³ Their comments were typical of a widespread public acknowledgement that trade was important.⁴ However Sprat's statement was extreme. Other writers, especially the Anglican clergy, offered only qualified or limited acceptance of the importance of commerce. While admitting the benefits of trade, they feared its effect on religion. In 1671, Samuel Parker, in the preface to A Discourse of Ecclesiastical Politie, spoke out vehemently against the dangers of commerce: ". . . to erect and encourage trading combinations is only to build so many nests of faction and sedition, and to enable these giddy and humoursom people to create publick disturbances. For 'tis notorious that there is not any sort of people so inclinable to seditious practises as the trading part of a nation".

The word "trade" had a wide significance at the

time. Usually it included all types of business activities except for those which were solely agricultural. The word "tradesman" thus could be a facile synonym for "citizen". The pertinency of the term to a large range of economic activities created possibilities for simple categorization. In 1669, for instance, Edward Chamberlayne could make a convenient generalization: "Tradesmen in All Ages and Nations have been reputed ignoble".⁵ Although some of the best English families, for example, the Finch, Rerersby and North families, participated in trade, this did not prevent protests against the increasing ascendancy of those who were merely tradesmen. In 1670, Colonel Birch complained in the House of Commons that "All tradesmen seem to be turning bankers", and he described tradesmen as "the Commonwealth's men who destroy the nobility and gentry".⁶ William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, dramatist and patron of Jonson and Dryden, thought that tradesmen "were responsible for an economic grievance, since by engrossing money in their hands and letting it out at high rates of interest, they were damaging the interests of landowners"; thus "class distinctions must be kept clear and the privileges of the nobility maintained. The worst in the nobility is but to pull down one king and set up another, so that they are always for monarchy; but the commons pull down root and branch, and utterly destroy

monarchy".⁷ Dissenting ministers, however, maintained the worth of tradespeople. Samuel Shaw went further; he turned defence into attack: "Tradesmen are a very substantial and useful part of a nation, and their way of living seems preferable to the living of gentlemen and husbandmen, as requiring more industry than the former, and more ingenuity than the latter".⁸ Gentlemen who were incensed at the growing importance of tradesmen could not help but be antagonized even further by the comments on their own idleness. Perhaps it was in the face of such criticism that the comedies took what was pictured as a vice and turned it into a virtue; as, for instance, in the frequent stress on the pleasure - business dichotomy as a manifest indication of the social dichotomy. This strategy of proposing as a merit what critics propound as a failing provided an easy method of dealing with comments such as the following: "Freeholders and tradesmen are the strength of religion and civility in the land; and gentlemen and beggars, and servile tenants, are the strength of iniquity . . .".⁹

The preceding statement by Richard Baxter raises the matter of religion and leads us to the *mélange* of connotation which arises from the identification of merchant as Puritan. This identification was noted in the Introduction but it needs amplification here.

Christopher Hill examines the use of the word "Puritan" in the first half of the seventeenth century and concludes that for contemporaries the word "had wide and ill-defined meanings, which were at least as much political as religious".¹⁰ The word also carried social and economic meanings: Henry Leslie, Bishop of Down, pointed to the activities condoned by Puritanism, "usury, sacrilege, disobedience, rebellion".¹¹ Bishop Leslie's words are retained for pejorative use after the Restoration, as the passage from Citt and Bumpkin shows. Lucy Hutchinson indicated the strategy:

. . . all that crossed the views of the needy courtiers, the proud encroaching priests, the thievish projectors, the lewd nobility and gentry . . . were Puritans; and if Puritans, then enemies to the King and his government, seditious, factious hypocrites, ambitious disturbers of the public peace, and finally the pest of the kingdom.¹²

Of course, as I established in an earlier chapter and as Sir Roger L'Estrange's revealed in his pamphlet, the civil wars provided abundant sources of ready ammunition to be used against the Puritans. Dryden, however, in Absalom and Achitophel, might almost have taken the hint from the latter part of Lucy Hutchinson's statement in designing his portrait of Slingsby Bethel as Shimei. Thirty-one lines are used to tell that Shimei is a rebellious, miserly corrupter of the laws, and

If any leisure time he had from pow'r,
 (Because 't is sin to misimploy an hour,)
 His bus'ness was, by writing, to persuade
 That kings were useless, and a clog to trade.[II, 599-629]

Bethel also sat for the picture of the self-seeking Podesta of Naples, in Crowne's City Politiques. Bethel, dissenter and republican, was easy prey. In The World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell (1668), he had condemned Popery, but in terms which accentuated his own beliefs. The condemnation was in economic terms: monks and nuns are idle and they make no contribution to production; celibacy means a declining population; church adornments are wasteful and prevent accumulation of capital; holy days are productivity days lost; mendicants batten on the poor. His comments, of course, could be extended to apply more generally, especially as he praised the growth of English trade during the Interregnum when "the industrious sort of people" were not curtailed "by imposing upon their consciences". In 1671, he followed up these ideas and stressed again the importance of trade, in The Present Interest of England Stated. By 1680, Bethel, in the face of court opposition, was able to gain election as a sheriff of London. However, he was barred from office by the Corporation Act. He solved the problem by taking communion and joining the established church, and, in little over a month from his original election, he was

re-elected.

Bethel embodied all sorts of material for the comedy writers, but he was not alone. The economic aspects of the religious statements of "the industrious sort of people" provided abundant opportunities for mockery and satire: Gentlemen should not think that "a competent estate disoblises them from business, and by consequence gives them an unlimited freedom of pursuing their pleasures at random"; "Only industrious and laborious people are the riches of any nation, not such as are wholly unemployed, as gentry, clergy, serving-men and beggars"; every holy day is £50,000 lost to the nation.¹³

These statements, however, were but extensions from a mass of specific exhortations, many of which were easily manipulated by the comic dramatists for purposes of attack. The combination of religious and secular "calling" meant that the tradesman's "shop as well as his chappel is holy ground".¹⁴ The implications of this approach to religion and business were detailed by the Reverend Richard Steele in The Tradesman's Calling: the businessman must give up expensive vices and devote all his time and energy to his business as part of his religion; he must be alert to all opportunities for profit, exercising prudence in accounting and caution in venturing his money. Baxter, according to a modern writer, Richard B. Schlatter, ruled

that the best Christian chose the most gainful calling, pursued as a religious duty the course which was most profitable, and regarded imprudent business dealings as sins ranking with idleness and intemperance. The terminology of commerce was applied to religion. The intent was to bring religion into the business world. The result was that "The very language of preachers, intended to spiritualize commerce, tended to commercialize the spirit". If one trades with Heaven, Bartholomew Ashwood wrote, he deals with the best of customers, Jesus Christ.¹⁵

The interweaving of religion and business, no matter how laudable the motives, dismayed the Puritans' opponents, not only because they knew that Christ was a gentleman¹⁶ and not a merchant or customer, but also because the demands for freedom of trade could lead to freedom of religion: ". . . it is to be feared that the great outcry for liberty of trade is near of kin to that of liberty of conscience, which to our sorrows we have experienced was only a politick fetch of a party to lay all in common, till such time as they could get sufficient power and strength to inclose all for themselves . . .".¹⁷

The metaphoric burden of Puritan doctrine provided material for ridicule. The metaphoric language had other consequences. As the preceding quotation shows, the Puritans' motives in areas of business led to suspicion as

to their religious purposes, and the matter of religious liberty evoked memories of past grievances.

As we shall see below, there were other grounds for grievance against the merchant, but the basic pattern in which all other elements are incorporated is provided by the Puritan whose shop is holy ground. By now, the all-inclusive nature of the type-casting in the comedies is obvious. If the character is not a gentleman, he is a bumpkin or a citizen. If he is a citizen he must be a merchant, since as we indicated in the previous chapter, the poor do not exist. And inevitably he is a dissenter, and therefore a follower at heart of "the good old Cause". On any or all of these accounts, he is eminently assailable.

The easy polarity of the comedies obscures a multitude of factors. To the religious grievances against the merchant must be added the political complaints. The latter often were evident in attitudes towards townspeople because towns and cities were regarded as the nurseries of factions. London and citizens of London, of course, inspired most comment. In the case of London there was some reason for concern. After 1660, the great livery companies were becoming corporations of merchants and capitalists, conscious of the prerogatives attached to wealth and civic status. Wealth enabled entrepreneurs, such as Sir Robert Viner, William Penn the Younger, Thomas Papillon, Sir

Josiah Child, William Kiffen, to gain political influence, for the government depended upon them for money advanced on the security of taxes. "Probity, thrift and Protestantism were the qualities which serve to contrast them with the men whom the later Stuarts delighted to honour - a contrast which had some influence on the early history of party politics".¹⁸ However, the simple division of the comedies obscures the fact that the City magnates themselves had shown a great suspicion of radicalism among the City's lesser merchants. The latter were as suspicious of their own aldermen as of the crown, and they had participated in the purging of the City government in order to support first parliament, then the army, and finally Cromwell.¹⁹ The power of these lesser merchants had grown throughout the Commonwealth, and they retained this power after the Restoration, for it was based on democratic approval. Thus the City was not subject to direct control; it remained hostile to the Stuarts, and it swayed decisions through financial resources. The relationship between king and City was one of mutual suspicion.²⁰

An additional reason for royalist grievance was that the 1660 Act of Indemnity and Act for Confirmation of Judicial Proceedings gave immunity to bona-fide purchases of land during the Usurpation. These acts confirmed London

financiers in possession and, at the same time, left many royalists disgruntled.²¹ But, in addition, the imposition of taxes, old and new, to encumbered estates drove many estates on to the market after 1660, so that many opportunities arose for City entrepreneurs and financiers to purchase estates.²² These citizens bought land, especially the smaller improved gentry estates, for residential purposes. Thus, merchants, bankers, attorneys, doctors, and tradesmen became the new minor gentry, from whom in time might come important county families.²³ But even before William's reign, finance and investment increasingly were disturbing the old monopoly of land. The changing attitude is shown in a landowner's statement in 1674, "I choose to keep my estate in money rather than in land, for I can make twice as much of it that way, considering what taxes are on land".²⁴

A third reason for antagonism was that merchants used this wealth to gain alliances through marriage with the landed classes and thus improved their social status and political influence.

Thus, the established order of things was being threatened by usurpers of political power, predators on property, competitors in the marriage market, former antagonists in the civil wars. All these antagonisms were enveloped in the idea of city or merchant. And this new

found power was the result of the acquisition of money. Money and the making of money, business prosecuted as a religious duty of being diligent in one's vocation, zeal and earnestness in work, condemnation of idleness and moral laxness; all these made the citty something to be sneered at when evaluated by the code of the comedies. Sir Jasper Fidget's comment to Horner, at the end of the second act of Wycherley's The Country-Wife, reveals the opposing nature of the codes: ". . . go, go, to your business, I say, pleasure, whilst I go to my pleasure, business".

Sir Jasper's comment leads us to an examination of the general depiction of the merchant in the comedies. At the opening of Congreve's The Old Batchelor, Vainlove waves some letters (which are from women) to Bellmore and says, ". . . Business must be follow'd. or be lost". Bellmour takes the remark literally and answers: "Business! - And so must Time, my Friend, be close pursued, or lost. Business is the rub of Life, perverts our Aim, casts off the Bias, and leaves us wide and short of the intended Mark". Warming to his theme, he goes on: "Come, come, leave Business to Idlers, and Wisdom to Fools; they have need of 'em; Wit, be my Faculty, and Pleasure, my Occupation; and let Father Time shake his Glass. Let low and earthly Souls grovel 'till they have work'd themselves six

Foot deep into a Grave - Business is not my Element - I roll in a higher Orb . . .". The people who are occupied with business are dismissed by Bevil in Shadwell's Epsom Wells when, referring to Clodpate, he says: "'Tis fit such fools should govern and do the drudgery of the world, while reasonable men enjoy it" [112].

The Citty is usually a merchant, often an alderman, sometimes a justice; he is usually associated with, if not explicitly identified as belonging to, the Puritans. Sir Edward Belfond, whom "heaven had blest . . . with a great Estate by Merchandize", exists, in Shadwell's The Squire of Alsatia, as an exception to the gallery of avaricious, usurious, double-dealing blockheads who put money and business before everything else. The citts who are not corrupt are fools; those who are not motivated by sexual lust are impotent. In this last, as with the Puritan-citizen association, we meet a cluster of attitudes. Antagonism toward the old is joined to rejection of the citty when we have the rich old usurer, usually impotent, married to the beautiful young girl.

From that gullible trio, the usurer Suckdry, the Exchange-broker Squeeze, and Gotam, a citizen, in John Wilson's The Projectors (1665?), to the lecherous usurer Gripe in Wycherley's Love in a Wood (1671), to Lump and Maggot in Shadwell's A True Widow (1679), to the credulous

Paulo Carnillo and factious Bricklayer in Crowne's City Politiques (1683) to Fondlewife, in Congreve's The Old Batchelor (1693), to the crooked and lustful Smuggler in Farquhar's The Constant Couple (1699), to Gripe and Moneytrap in Vanbrugh's The Confederacy (1705), the convention hardly wavers from the view that the city is foolish or corrupt, or both.

The merchant's attitude to life and the business canon are both alien to the code of the comedies' genteel society and they are consistently rejected in the comedies. Farquhar, in The Constant Couple, presents an interesting sidelight on this repulsion:

Vizard . . . why, 'tis Clincher, who was
apprentice to my uncle Smuggler, the merchant
in the city.

Sir Harry What makes him so gay?

Vizard Why, he's in mourning for his father;
the kind old man, in Hertfordshire t'other day,
broke his neck a fox-hunting; the son, upon the
news, has broke his indentures, whipped from
behind the counter into the side-box, for-
swears merchandise, where he must live by
cheating, and usurps gentility, where he may die
by raking. He keeps his coach and liveries,
brace of geldings, leash of mistresses, talks
of nothing but wines, intrigues, plays, fashions,
and going to the Jubilee. [I, 1]

Here is the suggestion that all people at heart reject business and are ready to grab at any opportunity to reject it in actuality.

There is always the suggestion, too, as in Manly's

comment in Wycherley's The Plain-Dealer [463],²⁵ that combined with the gentleman's annoyance at someone who has risen from his place in society and prospered is the vexation at having the evidence or history of that success flouted publicly. This situation provides what is to be a spring to action, a source of motivation in what, for want of a better term, I shall call the desire for requital. To maintain and to show their superiority, the gallants do not passively defend themselves; they engage in an aggressive denigration of all those who stand in opposition to them. Thus, the comedies embody a revenge motif: the requital, in this instance, of these merchants who are threatening traditional superiority. This motif is also operative in other spheres, for example, in the ridicule of the old who have so long restrained the young. The citizen/merchant, however, is the most frequent target.

Requital is conducted on the genteel society's own terms. The elite does not seek to show that it can beat the citizen in the arena of business. Its members reject this very arena as beneath their dignity or notice. Lady Cheatley and Lump argue the case in Shadwell's A True Widow:

Lump . . . Have a care of Wits at this end of the Town; Wits are good for nothing, of no use in a Commonwealth; they understand not Business.

Lady Cheatley The better for my purpose. They value pleasure, and will bid high for't.

Lump I say they are good for nothing;
they are not men of Method and Business.

Lady Cheatley So Fools say, who seem to be excellent men of Business, because they always make a business of what is none, and seem to be always very industrious, because they take great pains for what a witty man does with ease.

Lump You are out, you are out; hang 'em! Wits! When did you see any of 'em Rise?

Lady Cheatley No, because the Fools are so numerous and strong, they keep 'em down; or rather, because men of Wit (that have Fortunes) know what a senseless thing the drudgery of Business and Authority is; and those that have none, want the Impudence, Flattery, and Impertunity of Blockheads.

Lump I fear you are tainted, vilely tainted with Wit; if you had fix'd in the City, you might have 'scaped the Infection, no body would have put you in the head of Wit there . . . [300]

So the genteel society's way of life is presented as the ideal to which all people aspire. If the citizen actually rails against it, his wife and children undermine his case. They want to partake of the gay life. Laetitia, the banker's wife, in Congreve's The Old Batchelor, will entertain gallants, even a substitute in place of the invited one; Hippolita, in Wycherley's The Gentleman-Dancing-Master, dangles her fortune in front of Gerrard; and young Maggot, in Shadwell's A True Widow, will try to live the life of a wit.

Even the citizen himself will be depicted at times as imitating the gentleman. Crowne, in the epilogue of

Sir Courtly Nice speaks of:

The City-Gallant, the Exchange being done
Takes Sword at Temple-Bar, which Nice stuck on,
Comes here and passes for a Beaugarzoon.

Ravenscroft's The Citizen turn'd Gentleman makes explicit
by its title the process indicated, for instance, in
Wycherley's The Gentleman-Dancing-Master. In the latter
play, Mr. James Formal, known as Don Diego, is standing on
the honour and antiquity of his family:

Don Diego My great, great, great Grandfather, I
say, was . . .

Monsieur Well, a Pin-maker in . . .

Don Diego But he was a Gentleman for all that
Fop, for he was a Serjeant to a Company of the
Trainbands, and my great, great, great Grand-
father was . . .

Monsieur Was his Son, what then? won't you
let me clear this Gentleman?

Don Diego He was, he was . . .

Monsieur He was a Felt-maker, his Son a Wine-
cooper, your Father a Vintner, and so you came
to be a Canary-Merchant.

Don Diego But we were still Gentlemen, for our
Coat was as the Heralds say - was . . .

Monsieur Was, your sign was the Three Tuns,
and the Field Canary; now let me tell you this
honest Gentleman . . .

Don Diego Now that you sho'd dare to dishonour
this Family; by the Graves of my Ancestors in
Great Saint Ellens Church . . .

Monsieur Yard.

Don Diego Thou shalt dye fort't ladron. [224]

Monsieur himself is lowly descended;

Gerrard . . . [You] come home so perfect a
French-man, that the Dreymen of your Fathers
 own Brew-house wou'd be ready to knock thee on
 the head.

Monsieur Vel, vel, my Father was a Merchant of
 his own Beer, as the Noblesse of France of their
 own Wine; but . . . [143]

The life of fashionable society, then, is presented as the only life, and membership in this society is the only thing that counts. Citizens are continually reminded that they cannot qualify for it because of lack of gentility, noble descent, manners, and because of their concern with a "mechanick" occupation. They are derided because, although they may have money or political power, they lack the very requisites of a gentleman. This in itself is requital, but the attitude is forced further: citizens' wives recognise the superlative merits of the gallants over their husbands and become not the prey but the willing conspirators of the gallants in the citizens' discomfiture. By eagerly promoting the cuckolding of their husbands, they show not only that the citizens lack desirable genteel qualities but also that for all their business acumen they are deficient in knowledge of life and, most important of all, that they are insufficient as men.

That the attack is on the citizen is palpable in the use of cuckolding for, by its very nature, the stigma

attaches to the husband rather than the adultress. And whether cuckolding is achieved or not, the intention is always explicit. Ravenscroft's The London Cuckolds gives extended treatment to the cuckolding of three citizens. Arabella, the wife of Doodle, expresses the typical sentiment: ". . . I have a months mind to greater dainties, to feast in his absence upon lustier fare, than a dull City husband, as insipid, as ill relisht as a Guild-hall dish on a Lord Mayor's day" [I, 1]. And Jane, the wife of Dashwell, "nauseting her Husband's bed, rises every morning by five or six, with a pretence to hear her Lectures and Sermons . . ." [I, 11]. The insecurity and fear of the citizens are explicit: their choice of wives and many of their actions are dominated by the fear of cuckolding. And by this very fear, they reveal their unalterable inferiority. Wiseacres' choice of a foolish, young country girl as a bride serves as the stimulus to a debate on which type of wife offers the greater security. In his marriage, however, we get an example of the mixed nature of the cuckolding attack for, at 50, he has married a 14 year old. He thus serves as a double target, a citizen and an old person married to a young bride.

Cuckolding is used against the citizen, for example, in Shadwell's Epsom Wells and Betterton's The

Amorous Widow, but it is also used more explicitly as a diminishing technique against the citizen or commoner who has managed to raise his position, as in Behn's Sir Patient Fancy and Leanerd's The Rambling Justice. Sir Davy Duncce in Otway's The Souldiers Fortune joins Sir Frollick Whimsey of D'Urfey's The Virtuous Wife as typical self-deluding citizens or upstarts whose worldly elevation is put into its proper perspective by the effortless ease with which their wives are won.

The cuckold is a traditional comic butt. As such, however, he represents all the qualities that the gay society rejects. From the pervasiveness of the type and the multiplicity of examples in the comedies, patterns of what is rejected emerge. The citizen and the upstart knight, involved in business and socially unaware, jealous and gullible, are the most frequent butts. On to these two types is grafted the antagonism to age. But age by itself is mocked for its foolishness, jealously, inadequacy, and attempt to compete with the gallants.

Requital through cuckolding is most obvious thematically. Stylistically, railing is the predominant method of requital.

"Well, but Railing now is so common, that 'tis no more Malice, but the fashion", says Eliza, in Wycherley's The Plain-Dealer, "and the absent think they are no more

the worse for being rail'd at, than the present think they are the better for being flatter'd . . ." [410]. Most of the act provides illustration of this comment with Olivia and Novel indulging and attempting to outdo each other in railing and detraction, all of which is counter-pointed by the too-easy complaisance of Lord Plausible. This abuse is applauded as shrewdness and wit. Obviously, it is a mode which is easy to assume, and an indication of its popularity may be seen in the publication of Raillerie a la Mode Consider'd - or the Super-cillious Detractor (1673), and in comments such as the following in the courtesy books:

[Railing and flattery] are now become such essential indispensable part of good breeding, that the want of either inevitably betrays a man to the title of a silly Rustick; Flatteries and Despisings being the two contrary elements, whereof he whom they call a Fine Gentleman, is to be compounded.²⁶

But that there is railing and railing is very evident in the comedies. Manly, the plain-dealer of Wycherley's play, rails at the world. Other than the unremitting intensity of his attitude, there is little, in examining what he says, that is very different from the habitual comments of dozens of would-be wits. Yet there is a difference, a difference sometimes indicated by the very vehemence and maintenance of the attitude which shows that real emotion or belief underlies the expression:

Manly . . . those you have oblig'd most, most certainly avoid you, when you can oblige 'em no longer; and they take your Visits like so many Duns: Friends, like Mistresses, are avoided, for Obligations past.

Freeman Pshaw! but most of 'em are your Relations; Men of great Fortune, and Honour.

Manly Yes; but Relations have so much Honour, as to think Poverty taints the blood; and disown their wanting Kindred; believing, I suppose, that as Riches at first makes a Gentleman, the want of 'em degrades him. But, damn 'em, now I'm poor, I'll anticipate their contempt and disown them. [495]

In this context, the railing is not merely a modish conversational exercise. And the emotional tone is carried into what would be otherwise quite conventional disparagement;

Freeman Why, then let's go to your Aldermans [to dine].

Manly Hang him, Rogue! that were not to dine; for he makes you drunk with Lees of Sack before dinner, to take away your stomach; and there you must call Usury and Extortion, Gods blessings, or the honest turning of the Penny; hear him brag of the leather Breeches in which he trotted first to Town; and make a greater noise with his Money in his Parlor, than his Casheers do in his Counting house, without hopes of borrowing a shilling. [462-3]

The ubiquity of the railing mode serves as an indication of the prevalent attitude of asserting superiority. There is no hint of an equal contest of wits. The gallants score easy victories which are reflections of their complete and easy superiority.

The most consistent targets of the wits' railing

are, of course, the citizens and the pretenders. Each of these classes is constantly rebuked for attempting to infringe upon the status or liberty of the members of society. Beaugard and Courtine in Otway's The Souldiers Fortune present an extended example of railing at the citizen and upstart commoner as they comment on passers-by:

Courtine The Rascal was a Retailer of Ale but yesterday, and now he is an Officer and be hang'd; 'tis a dainty sight in a morning to see him with his Toes turn'd in, drawing his Leggs after him, at the head of a hundred lusty Fellows; some honest Gentleman or other stays now, because that Dog had money to bribe some corrupt Collonel withal.

Beaugard There, there's another of my acquaintance, he was my Fathers Footman not long since, and has pimpt for me oftner than he pray'd for himself; that good quality recommended him to a noble mans service, which together with flattering, fawning, lying, spying and informing, has rais'd him to an imployment of trust and reputation, though the Rogue can't write his Name, nor read his neck Verse, if he had occasion.

Courtine 'Tis as unreasonable to expect a man of Sense should be prefer'd, as 'tis to think a Hector can be stout, a Priest religious, a fair Woman chaste, or a pardon'd Rebel loyal.

They go on to rail at an ex-rebel, a "Committee man, Sequestrator and persecutor General of a whole County, by which he got enough at the Kings Return to secure himself in the general Pardon". Courtine's reaction to this description is revealing: "Nauseous Vermin! That such a Swine with the mark of rebellion in his Forehead, should wallow in his luxury whilst honest men are forgotten!" [120-122].

These obvious targets often, however, merely serve as taking-off points for a more general railing at the world. Sparkish, in Wycherley's The Country Wife, is, according to Harcourt, "a Rogue that is fond of me, only I think for abusing him". He gives the wits an opportunity to rail against him, his type, and the world as they see it.

Horner A Pox on 'em, and all that force
Nature, and wou'd be still what she forbids
'em; Affectation is her greatest Monster.

Harcourt Most Men are the contraries to that
they wou'd seem; your bully you see, is a
Coward with a long Sword; the little humbly
fawning Physician with his Ebony cane, is he
that destroys Men.

Dorilant The Usurer, a poor Rogue, possess'd
of moldy Bonds, and Mortgages; and we they
call Spend-thrifts, are only wealthy, who lay
out his money upon daily new purchases of
pleasure.

Horner Ay, your errantest cheat, is your
Trustee, or Executor; your jealous Man, the
greatest Cuckold; your Church-man, the
greatest Atheist; and your noisy pert Rogue
of a wit, the greatest Fop, dullest Ass, and
worst Company . . . [265-6]

From the constant railing and deprecation, it appears that the gallants consider themselves the only honest men. Their railing serves to expose the hypocrisy and the false criteria of social standing surrounding them.

It is a world in which prudence and self-protection are necessary postures. "The Art of Secrecy is the Secret

of the World. 'Tis the Rudder, that silently governs the whole Bulk of Human affairs. A secret well, like Powder close ramm'd, does certain execution, when ever you give Fire with a just aime", Sir Salomon tells the servant in Caryl's Sir Salomon. He goes on to say that "The World's an Ass, and so is doubly he/ Who commodes himself to humour fools" and that "Who Courts Opinion, is a Slave to Slaves;/ And gives up Liberty and Happiness/ To be controll'd by every idle Breath" [3]. The gallants attempt to demolish the protective screen of self-interest engendered by this attitude. The attitude, according to the comedies, is explicit in every merchant. But it is rampant in every level of society, as the opening scene of Wycherley's The Plain-Dealer shows:

Manly Tell not me (my good Lord Plausible)
of your Decorums, supercilious Forms, and slavish
Ceremonies; your little Tricks, which you the
Spaniels of the World, do daily over and over,
for, and to one another; not out of love or duty,
but your servile fear.

Plausible Nay, i' faith, i' faith, you are too
passionate, and I must humbly beg your pardon and
leave to tell you, they are the Arts, and Rules,
the prudent of the World walk by.

Ironically, the first act ends with Manly saying: "Not but I know, that generally, no Man can be a great Enemy, but under the name of Friend; and if you are a Cuckold, it is your Friend only that makes you so; for your Enemy is not admitted to your house; if you are cheated in your Fortune,

'tis your Friend that does it; for your Enemy is not made your Trustee: if your Honour, or Good Name be injur'd, 'tis your Friend that does it still, because your Enemy is not believ'd against you".

The tenor of these comments finds expression in Osborne's Advice to a Son:

Profit . . . doth commonly cancell the Bonds of Friendship, Religion, and the memory of anything that can produce no other register, than what is Verbal. [14]

'Tis a natural guard, and within the management of the most ordinary capacities, to keep an Enemy out at the Staves end; But sutable only to a superlative prudence, so wisely to govern your words and actions towards a Friend, as may preserve your self from Danger; Not to be done but by communicating to him no more than Discretion or Necessity shall warrant you to reveal.[13]

The gallants' response is to distrust all, to view everything as inverted, and to secure themselves by railing at large. Rochester, in his biting "A Satyr Against Mankind" (1680), puts the gallants' case against mankind:

The good he acts, the ill he does endure,
'Tis all from fear, to make himself secure.
Merely for safety, after fame we thirst,
For all men would be cowards if they durst.
And honesty's against all common sense;
Men must be knaves, 'tis in their own defense.
Mankind's dishonest; if you think it fair
Amongst known cheats to play upon the square,
You'll be undone. [II, 155-163]

All this with indignation have I hurled
At the pretending part of the proud world,
Who, swollen with selfish vanity, devise
False freedoms, holy cheats, and formal lies
Over their fellow slaves to tyrannize. [II. 174-178]

This generalized railing can obscure the distinctions existing among those attacked. The term *citt*, for instance, covers a range of status and occupations. The orange-woman and the shoemaker, in Etherege's The Man of Mode [192-8], are merely properties to be abused with what passes for good humour in the gallant world. The constable is someone who is paid, as in Behn's The Younger Brother [366], or bribed, as in Shadwell's The Woman-Captains [45-9], to perform services. The cheating vintner, in D'Urfey's Sir Barnaby Whigg [3], is someone to be dismissed with a curse. These people are the poor, not the real poor as they actually were in Restoration England for the comedies' poor have, like Hob, in Dogget's The Country Wake, possessions to leave: "I have forty Shillings in a leather-purse, under my Beds-head, which I do bequeath unto Mary; And the ball'd fac'd Heifer that I bought at Tewkesbury Fair . . ." [57]. These people are beaten or made the butt of a casual joke or paid off. Keepwell, in Sedley's Bellamira, is being unusually generous when he says, "The Wench he Ravish'd is but a Servant Maid, or at most one that has no friends, I'll give 'em a Farm of twenty pounds a year, and make up all that way" [43]. These people do not count; they are not subjected to constant, unified satire or vituperation.

The *citt* is someone more solid. He is occasionally a shopkeeper, as in Rawlins's Tom Essence, in Behn's

The Debauchee, or Mountfort's Greenwich Park. On a few occasions when the ridicule is directed elsewhere, this shopkeeper is even defended, as in Pix's The Innocent Mistress: "'Tis monstrous to cheat honest Tradesmen in dressing up a Fop . . ." [28]. But the citizen who is most constantly held in the dramatists' sights is the substantial person, usually the entrepreneur who has become wealthy on a scale equalling or exceeding that of those of noble birth. The citty, then, serves for a general description of those rejected, but the target focussed on is the wealthy merchant. This is the man who bought and sold, speculated and insured, and controlled money and credit. For all that he performed valuable services, "Public opinion was long opposed to him; his foreign wares competed with home wares; he exported bullion; he practised usury; his profits were condemned as unjustifiable and as the wages of iniquity".²⁷ Defoe, in the next century, might state that the "true-bred merchant is the most intelligent man in the world, and consequently the most capable . . .",²⁸ but rarely is there other than the flimsiest evidence of this attitude in the comedies. Lorenzo, in Porter's The Carnival, who

For some years past, when I was not so
 Much taken up with business, I did employ
 My time in Poesie . . . [31]

is a figure of fun but not of scorn; and Bondevelt, in

D'Urfey's The Campaigners, asserts: ". . . oh vile notion, a Gentlemans business pleasures, why it should be quite contrary, a right Gentlemans pleasure should be business . . . you let your Souls rust with idleness" [22]. But these viewpoints are often only presented in order to show how much in error they are, or perhaps to echo mockingly some current statement.

The merchant in the comedies has acquired great wealth: "Nay Sir," says the Alderman, in Lacy's S^r Hercules Buffoon, "I have got a hundred thousand pounds by my wit, that's the substantial part. Your little flashy Wits, their Pockets are always as empty as their Heads. Money is wit, Purchasing is wit, Planting is wit" [6]. This concentration on the acquisition of money is sufficiently damning according to the gallants' code. But that the money was gained iniquitously aggravates the injury:

Hercules I was a Prentice my self, and I do
not find I am like to be saved, for I learnt
all my Lying there; the first thing my Master
taught me was, never to speak truth to a
Customer, and is that the way to be saved?

Alderman That is not Lying, Nephew, 'tis but
the mystery of our profession, and for advan-
tage of trade we all hold fraud to be a little
lawful. [6-7]

The enormous sums supposedly acquired by merchants are suggested by the Alderman's account. The same play presents additional gossip on this matter:

Bowman All the discourse of th' Town is,
of the two great Heiresses of the City; three
hundred thousand pound betwixt two sisters.

Aimwell 'Tis almost incredible, that a
Merchant in his life time should save so vast
an estate.

Bowman 'Tis no wonder; several Aldermen have
left greater sums, Whose sons to this hour wallow
in wealth, and honour too. [2]

That these amounts may not be so exaggerated as they first appear is suggested by the acquisitions of some of the notable merchants. Josiah Child, son of a London merchant, when he died in 1699. left estates valued at about £150,000, cash bequests of £20,000, and East India stock of an unknown amount. (However, in 1691, he owned £1,150 of this stock). He was also reported to have given very large amounts as portions for his daughters.²⁹ Edward Colston (1636-1721) contributed many sums to charity including £20,000 in 1709 to help the "starving poor" and yet was able to leave £100,000 to relatives in his will. Thomas Guy (1644-1724), the son of a Thames lighterman, and left an orphan at 8, had acquired sufficient wealth to be able to spend £45,500 in South Sea Stock at £120 in 1720. This he later sold at £600. At his death, he was able to endow Guy's hospital with £220,000. John Barnard (1685-1764), the son of a London wine-merchant, offered in 1746 to deposit £300,000 as his contribution to a lottery, but, he stated that, if need be,

with two days' notice he could produce four times this amount.³⁰ Even the amounts of the individual holdings of East India stock are suggestive of some citizens' wealth; in 1691, Sir Thomas Cooke had £40,850 and Sir John Moore over £25,000.³¹

D'Urfey's Sir Barnaby Whigg offers the judgment that for the citizens "Money is both their God and King" [10]. Indeed, Sir Oliver Santlow, in Behn's The Counterfeit Bridegroom, admits, "I love wealth so, that in my conscience had I bin a Maid, I had turn'd Strumpet nearly for mony sake" [4]. In another of Aphra Behn's comedies, The False Count, Isabella gives us two descriptions of the merchant:

- Merchant, a prety Character, a Woman of my Beauty, and 5. Thousand pound, marry a Merchant - a little, pety, dirty-heeld Merchant . . . [12]
- . . . you understand your Pen and Ink how to count your dirty money, trudg to and fro chaffering of base commodities, and cuzening those you deal with, till you sweat and stink again . . . [14]

Ironically, Isabella is the daughter of a merchant who has used his wealth to elevate his family:

Why, her Father, old Francisco, was in his youth an English cordwinder, that is to say, a Shoo-maker, Which he improv'd in time to be a Merchant, and, the Devil and his Knavery helping him to a considerable Estate, he set up for Gentleman; and being naturally a stingey, hide bound Rascall, and the Humour of jealousy even out-doing the most rigid of us Spaniards, he came over into Spain . . . and now this Daughter of his having wholly forgot her originall Dunghill, setts up for a Viscountess at least. [3]

This elevation is mocked throughout the comedies: money has purchased what belongs to merit. And the money element is made obvious, as, for example, in Newcastle's The Triumphant Widow: ". . . if I make you not merry, I'll lose my Knighthood, that cost me five hundred pound" [50]. Indeed, the open purchase of titles has become such that Sir Topewel Clownish, in Motteux's Love's a Jest, can ask: ". . . prithee what's a Title? why, you can no more know some young Lords now from Citizens Heirs . . ." [24].

The merchant's gains often are made in dubious ways. Whitebroth, in Wilson's The Cheats; Gripe, in Shadwell's The Woman-Captain; Stockjobb, in D'Urfey's The Richmond Heiress; and Sir Arthur, in Leanerd's The Rambling Justice exhibit the cheating, the avariciousness, the lack of conscience and the duplicity of the citizen. Sir George Grumble, in Dilke's The City Lady, has "vast Funds . . . in the Exchequer, in the Banks, upon Mortgages, upon Reversions, [and] this last Adventure that's now arriv'd in the River, is of that inestimable Value, that it's alone sufficient to enrich a Kingdom" [6]. When he is frightened by "the devil", he admits that he secured all by his "barbarous Actions" [41], and he determines to make amends in typical citizen fashion:

I will in the first place erect an Hospital, and endow it richly; and then, for a Sea mark to others, I will publish my Life, with all my trading Cheats; I will

send forthwith to have my son Bellardin return, settle my Estate upon him, reserving to my self only a moderate competency. [46]

But, to match all the merchants' efforts to acquire gentlemen's estates, hinder their natural right to money, practise usury, obtain wealth and buy titles, the gallants have an answer. Old Winelove, in D'Urfey's The Fool Turn'd Critick, explains how the gallants will triumph in the end: "He! alas poor Dotard, only understood the way to purchase wealth, and make his Daughter a Fortune fit to embrace thee, that's his Masterpiece" [14]. Thus the gallants requite the merchants, as we shall see in the later examination of marriage.

But the increasing association of title, that of baronetcy, with the merchant in the comedies indicates that the real battle was not one-sided. In the comedies, Sir Merchant has become such a ubiquitous figure that it is easy to forget that out of 417 baronets created between 1611 and 1649 only nine were themselves merchants and thirty-four married merchants' daughters. But the previous delay of a generation or more before the merchant's wealth justified him to a title appears to have been disappearing after the Restoration.³² Josiah Child, for instance, was knighted in 1678, and Dudley North in 1682, although their cases are perhaps exceptional in that they performed additional services for the crown and government. The changing

ownership of land, another sign of the merchants' upward progress, is suggested by Sir Josiah Child himself:

. . . there being to every man knowledge that understands the Exthange [sic] of London, divers English Merchants of large Estates, which have not much past their middle-age, and yet have wholly left off their Trades, having found the sweetness of Interest, which if that should abate, must again set their hands to the Plough (which they are as able to hold and govern now as ever) and also will engage them to train up their Sons in the same way, because it will not be so easie to make them Country Gentlemen as now it is, when Lands sell at thirty or fourty years purchase.³³

Merchants made great fortunes in real life as the cases quoted above show, but, in addition, many of the merchants, including those named, gained political power and influence. Westerfield, commenting on the social position of the merchants, states: "Probably the greatest result, therefore, of the shift in social prestige was to erect an aristocracy of wealth and set it in antagonism to the ancient aristocracy of birth".³⁴ It is this antagonism which is articulated in the comedies. The citits, aldermen, Puritans or merchants, throughout the seventeenth and into the eighteenth century, were becoming a force to be reckoned with. On February 20, 1766, George Colman and David Garrick's The Clandestine Marriage, based on Hogarth's "Marriage-a-la-mode", was presented in Drury Lane. The prologue of this successful play is interesting:

Their one great object, Marriage-a-la-Mode!

Where titles design with cits to have and hold,
 And change such blood for more substantial gold!
 And honored trade from interest turns aside,
 To hazard happiness for titled pride.

Apart from the qualifying "honored" in front of "trade", these thoughts might as easily have been expressed by a Restoration, or even a Jacobean, playwright. Are Colman and Garrick merely perpetuating a literary stereotype, or are their statements still valid? The attitudes to wealth and rank expressed in this prologue are made more explicit in the play itself. But here an important difference is evident. Sterling, the successful merchant-father, tells Lovewell, who has indicated his interest in Sterling's daughter:

Why then, have done with your nonsense of love and matrimony. You're not rich enough to think of a wife yet . . . Get an Estate, and a wife will follow of course. Ah, Lovewell! an English merchant is the most respectable character in the universe.

Even if we accept the possibility of irony being used by the playwright, here is an emphatic statement which Steele, forty-four years before, in The Conscious Lovers, could not make. What Steele gives us is the equivalent of a debate on the relative merits of the gentleman and the merchant:

Sir John Oh, sir, your servant! You are laughing at my laying any stress upon descent; but I must tell you, sir, I never knew anyone but he that wanted that advantage turn it into ridicule.

Mr. Sealand And I never knew anyone who had many better advantages put that into his account. But, Sir John, value yourself as you please upon your ancient house; I am to talk freely of everything you are pleased to put into your bill of rates on this occasion. Yet, sir, I have made no objections to your son's family. 'Tis his morals that I doubt.

Sir John Sir, I can't help saying that what might injure a citizen's credit may be no strain to a gentleman's honor . . .

Mr. Sealand Sir, as much a cit as you take me for, I know the town and the world; and give me leave to say that we merchants are a species of gentry that have grown into the world this last century and are as honourable and almost as useful as you landed folks that have always thought yourselves so much above us, for your trading, forsooth, is extended no farther than a load of hay or a fat ox. You are pleasant people, indeed, because you are bred up to be lazy; therefore, I warrant you, industry is dishonorable.

In this passage traditional privilege, rank, and descent are being challenged by worth, merit, industry. And here we see the double standard of morality set forth. It is basically a conflict of establishment versus nouveau riche. The fact that many of the nouveau riche rapidly joined the establishment and that many of the establishment were employing themselves in trade accentuates rather than diminishes this conflict. The new admissions to the establishment did not wish to see the status they had acquired by their efforts denigrated or devalued; the establishment characters involved in trade wanted to maintain their old superiority. But that Mr. Sealand can debate the relative merits of their situations with Sir John

shows how far society has departed from the Restoration stereotype of the merchant. In the comedies, the merchant is a target for revenge and an object of contempt. By the early part of the next century this powerless butt is beginning to answer back.

CHAPTER 6

"THAT AN HONOURABLE PROFESSION SHOULD BE THOUGHT TO DEROGATE FROM THE ESTEEM OF A GENTLEMAN"; ATTITUDES TO THE PROFESSIONS

The gentlemen of the comedies unhesitatingly reject the merchant and his work. The gentlemen's business is pleasure. This attitude can be maintained if the gentlemen have sufficient money. But what can they do if money is lacking? This chapter, and the next two, suggest answers to this question. Earlier in the discussion of London as setting, the opportunities available in the city were outlined. This chapter examines some of these opportunities in greater detail. The particular concern is with the professions. If business is demeaning, are the professions acceptable? My procedure has been to examine what the comedies say about certain professions, law, religion, medicine, the army, the Court, and to correlate these statements with some contemporary information. The contemporary statements are provided for illumination; my concern is primarily with the attitude toward the professions depicted in the comedies.

Law appears to offer unlimited possibilities to the penniless gallant. The great expansion of legal practice accompanying the development of commerce, new

marriage procedures and changes in land ownership could surely provide profitable employment. Gregory King estimated that in 1688 there was 10,000 "Persons in the Law", with a yearly income per family of £140. According to Petty, there were too many lawyers and too much needless law business. In A Treatise of Taxes & Contributions (1662), he wrote:

I come next to the Law, and say; that if Registers were kept of all mens Estates in Lands, and of all the Conveyances of, and Engagements upon them; and withal if publick Loan-Banks, Lombards, or Banks of Credit upon deposited money, Plate, Jewels, Cloth, Wooll, Silke, Leather, Linnen, Mettals, and other durable Commodities, were erected, I cannot apprehend how there could be above one tenth part of the Law-suits and Writings, as now there are.

And moreover, if by accompt of the people, of their Land, and other wealth, the number of Lawyers and Scriveners were adjusted, I cannot conceive how there should remain above one hundredth part of what now are; forasmuch as I have heard some affirm, that there be now ten times as many as are even now necessary; and that there are now ten times as many Law-suits, as upon the abovementioned Reformation, there would be. It follows therefore, that upon the whole there would not need one in a hundred of the present number of Retainers to the Law, and Offices of Justice; the occasions as well of crimes as injuries being so much retrenched.¹

The rather heavy-handed irony of Petty's comment appears again later in the same treatise: "the splendor arising from the easie gaines of those places in Courts of Justice, is called the Flourishing of the Law, which certainly flourisheth best, when the Professors and Ministers of it have least to do".² In Two Essays in Political Arithmetic

(1687), he said Paris cannot compare with London "for the Number and Wealth of Lawyers"; and in the same year, in Five Essays in Political Arithmetic, he commented: "The Lawyers Chambers at London have 2772 Chimnies in them, and are worth 140 thousand Pounds sterling . . . besides the dwellings of their Families elsewhere".³

Petty's low regard of lawyers seems to be common: "The two plagues of the nation rose up from the bottomless pit and are the priests and the lawyers," wrote Rogers in Life and Opinions of a Fifth-Monarchy Man. Samuel Butler, in Characters, presented an uncomplimentary picture of "A Lawyer":

For when he draws up a Business, like a Captain that makes false Musters, he produces as many loose and idle Words as he can possibly come by, until he has received for them and then turns them off, and retains only those that are to the Purpose . . . [73]

The lawyer, of course, was favourably placed for using his profits to engage in money-lending, mortgaging and land participation. Social advancement, however, was restricted to those who could secure a high judicial position or an important political appointment. Very few lawyers could anticipate marriage into the higher social ranks.⁴

In the comedies, lawyers are pilloried. "The Rogues the Poets make greater Monsters of us Gentlemen of the Long Robe, then ever they us'd to make of the

Grandeess of the City," complains Breviat in Dilke's The Lover's Luck [9]. Two comedies make their targets explicit in the title: Ravenscroft's The English Lawyer and Drake's The Sham-Lawyer.

The "English Lawyer" is Ignoramus; his clerk is Dulman, and his servant Pecus. The names are indicative of the presentation of the characters. Ignoramus is shown to be a compound of pretension, lechery, duplicity and avarice. He purchases a bride, Rosabella, from her uncle; he courts her with legal verses in Latin and a statement of the jointure he will make: "I Ambidexter Ignoramus, infeoff thee my wife Rosabella in toyl special of the scite of the Mannor of Tonguewell with its capital Messuage; and I give to thee all and singular Messuages, Tofts, Crofts . . ." [8]. All the time he really intends to marry a rich wife when he returns to England and to keep Rosabella as his mistress. Ignoramus, however, is tricked and scared and defeated by Rosabella's lover, and in one scene he is carried off to a "monastery" where he has to confess his sins so that his devils might be exorcised. At the end of the comedy he goes off reasonably contented because the money he has paid for Rosabella will be returned. In the epilogue he excuses himself: "Now give me leave, as I am Ambidexter Ignoramus, and take Fees on both hands . . .".

The depiction that is in many ways merely suggested in this play is made more particular in James Drake's comedy. Sergeant Wrangle is the real lawyer, and Friendly is the sham one.

Wrangle in his private conversation with his sycophants, Affidavit and Nickit (again the names are symbolic), reveals the concerns of lawyers.

Wrangle Well, a rich Client is a Blessing;
A rich litigious Lord's Cause is an Estate;
that's never starv'd; there are those that
expect a Man shou'd drudge for a single Fee,
but they thrive in proportion.

Affidavit Hang the Penurious, their Causes
like their Purses have poor Issues. Good
Fees beget good Causes; the Times are Aguish,
and a Plea must be warmly lin'd to keep it in
heart.

Nickit The Prerogative of Crowns goes far,
and those that will spare no cost, need want
no Witnesses; experienc'd, fearless Witnesses,
that understand their Businesses, and will
make no unnecessary Scruples. [9]

Wrangle is shown to be avaricious, parsimonious and sexually impotent. Friendly, however, attaches himself to Wrangle as an apprentice lawyer in order to further his designs on Wrangle's wife, Florella, and Wrangle, unable to resist the money offered by Friendly, overcomes his suspicion of all young men. Wrangle talks freely to Friendly about the training, attitude and methods of lawyers:

- Most Gentlemen take a wrong method in breeding their

Sons to the Law, they send 'em to the Inns of Court, where, if they prove Students, (which very few do) they drudge away seven years . . .

- Some Men set up for such a scrupulous, inflexible honesty . . . Have nothing to do with 'em, not one in a hundred of 'em, proves worth a farthing.
- When you're call'd to the Bar, you must make an interest in some Attorneys and Solicitors, which you may easily do by letting 'em go ships in all the Fees, they bring you, and giving 'em Authority to use your Name, when e're they've occasion for a Council's Hand without a Fee, which they frequently have. These things may seem at first to lessen your profit; but trust me they return with Interest upon Interest. [19, 20]

Wrangle's cheating of his clients, Madam Olympia and Careless, is revealed, and at the end of the play he is forced to make restitution and to reform.

The scathing description of not only lawyers but also the law itself persist throughout the period.

Wycherley's The Plain-Dealer pictures the tendency to furious litigation, the suborning of witnesses and the lawyers' concern with money. One scene is devoted to Westminster Hall:

Manly [In Westminster Hall] I hate this place, worse than a Man that has inherited a Chancery Suit; I wish I were well out on't again.

Freeman Why, you need not be afraid of this place; for a Man without Money, needs no more fear a croud of Lawyers, than a croud of Pick-pockets.

.

Freeman Yes, I was one [a lawyer], I confess; but was fain to leave the Law, out of Conscience, and fall to making false Musters; rather chose to Cheat the King, than his Subjects; Plunder, rather than take Fees. [439]

Freeman's comment here is interesting. It may be taken with Witwoud's reaction, in Congreve's The Way of the World, to suggest that the law was generally acceptable as a gentleman's vocation--until he learned better. Although the portrayal of lawyers is strongly denunciatory, it must always be remembered that the expressed intention of the comedies is to expose follies and vices. Mr. Balance, in Farquhar's The Recruiting Officer, for example, is depicted as a fair and reasonable country justice, but a Sir Tunbelly Clumsey, of Vanbrugh's The Relapse, provides more useful material for the dramatist. From the comedies, however, it is quite clear that in their world no gentleman would attempt to earn money or exist by the law:

Ramble A Blockheaded City Attorney, A Trudging,
 Drudging, Cormudging, Petitioning Citizen, that
 with a little law, and much Knavery has got a
 great Estate. [Ravenscroft, The London Cuckolds, I, ii]

Rogers condemned priests and lawyers. Drake's The Sham-Lawyer also associates both professions. The comedy shows members of the church motivated by greed. Careless comments on the entry of the "Spiritual Guides", Homily the curate and Spade the sexton: "a Treat, or a Bribe makes him your Creature" [4]. Homily bemoans the loss of revenue because too many are preaching old sermons, the

hard times have decreased the number of christenings, and the men who have gone into Flanders are being buried there. When he complains "What a torment 'tis to have a slender Stipend, and an Immortal Parish", Spade wishes for "A good Plague" or a "half dozen new fantastical Fevers" [5]. Homily is ready to be bribed; he will antedate a certificate of marriage, find a husband for a pregnant mistress (for forty shillings), or give a funeral sermon (at a range of prices from forty to ten shillings, depending on the relationship)[6]. The portraiture is typical of the treatment of the clergy in the comedies. This harsh treatment may have been partly a result of Puritan domination. The consequent distrust of enthusiasm and religious fervour manifests itself in the comedies in the denigration of the Puritans and their hypocrisy. Their religion and their social behaviour are identified and treated as public poses to disguise private debauchery.

Now it is obvious that "the industrious sort of people" with their respect for hard work would be anathema in the life where "business is pleasure". The dramatists, too, might be expected to have a personal reaction to that period when "Power, for twenty years together, abandon'd to a barbarous race of man, enemies of all good Learning, had buried the Muses under the ruines of Monarchy".⁵

Indeed, according to Macaulay:

. . . the fashionable circles, and the comic poets who were the spokesmen for these circles, took up the notion that all professions of piety and integrity were to be construed by the rule of contrary; that it might well be doubted whether there was such a thing as virtue in the world; but that, at all event, a person who affected to be better than his neighbours was sure to be a knave.⁶

Thus, inevitably, the Puritans (or the Precise or the Fanaticks), their power broken, their mode of life so different, their censure of the gay life so evident, become a target for satire. In the comedies they are always "seemingly precise", casuists whose lust and greed are restrained only by the fear of loss of reputation. In them appears the greatest discrepancy between reality and appearance.

Ananias Gogøle, in Behn's The Roundheads exhibits most directly some of these tendencies. He attempts to seduce Lady Desbro:

Lady Desbro How, this from you, the Head o' th'
Church Militant, the very Pope of Presbytery?

Ananias Verily, the Sin lieth in the Scandal;
therefore most of the discreet pious Ladies of
the Age chuse us, upright Men, who make a Con-
science of a Secret, the Laity being more regard-
less of their Fame. [III, 11]

In Shadwell's A True Widow, Lump ("a methodical Blockhead, as regular as a Clock, and goes as true as a Pendulum; one that knows what he shall do every Day of his Life by his Almanack, where he sets down all his Actions beforehand; a mortal Enemy to Wit" - Dram. Pers.⁷) helps his sister,

Lady Cheatly, to pose as a woman of wealth so that she can find suitable husbands for her two daughters and herself. His arguments with Lady Cheatly illuminate his attitude to his religion:

Lump I wish you had set up in the city among our party, and gone to meetings, it might have been a great advantage - I myself have made much benefit of religion, as to my temporal concerns, and (so long as it be directed to a good end) it is a pious fraud, and very lawful.

Lady C. No, brother, the godly have two qualities which would spoil my design: great covetousness (which would make 'em pry too narrowly into our fortune), and much eating (which would too soon devour what I have left). [I, 1]

When he complains about Lady Cheatly's musicians, she says:

 'Tis the way to get credit, at our end of the town; as singing psalms and praying loud in a forerom is at yours.

Lump You talk not wisely; do not several godly men, by those means and by frequenting meetings, get credit enough to break for a hundred thousand pounds, and are made by it for ever? [III, 1]

One further example is sufficient to make the typical treatment obvious. In Wycherley's Love in a Wood, Alderman Gripe ("seemingly precise, but a covetous, leacherous, old Usurer of the City" - Dram. Pers.) is using Mrs. Joyner, a bawd, to aid him in his attempted seduction of Lucy. At the beginning of the play, Lady Flippant, Gripe's sister, describes him as "this counter

fashion Brother of mine, (who hates a Vest as much as a Surplice)--that is, one who hated the court as much as the established church. Mrs. Joyner, although she is already conniving with him to gain Lucy's favour, praises him for his godliness and lists his many qualities. Most of these qualities, of course, Gripe belies by his conduct during the play. He attempts to force Lucy, is discovered and made to pay £500 blackmail. He is revealed as hypocritical, avaricious, lecherous and disloyal: in short, a typical Puritan who has "broken many an Oath for the good old cause" [96]. At the end of the play, he laments:

My Daughter, my Reputation, and my Money gone - but the last is dearest to me; yet at once I may retrieve that, and be reveng'd for the loss of the other; and all this by marrying Lucy here; I shall get my five hundred pound again, and get Heirs to exclude my Daughter, and frustrate Dapperwit; besides, 'tis agreed on all hands, 'tis cheaper keeping a Wife than a Wench. [110]

From Double Diligence, the Puritan constable, in John Wilson's The Cheats, to Smuggler and Vizard, in George Farquhar's The Constant Couple, we have a procession of knaves who are exposed, tricked and scorned. In Congreve, while the typical attitude is maintained, there is a slight amelioration in the individual portrait. Vainlove, in The Old Batchelor, describes Fondlewife:

A kind of Mongrel Zealot, sometimes very precise and peevish; But I have seen him pleasant enough in his way; much addicted to Jealousie, but more to Fondness: So that as he is often Jealous without a Cause, he's

as often satisfied without Reason. [I, 1]

Although Puritans bear the brunt of the attack, members of or adherents to any religious faith are subjected to satirical treatment. John Crowne's Sir Courtly Nice, for instance, pits Hothead, "A cholerick Zealot against Fanaticks" [Dram. Pers.], against Testimony, "A Canting Hypocritical Fanatick" [Dram. Pers.]:

Test. In France! then Friend, I believe you are a Papist.

Hot. Sirrah, I'll believe you are a Presbyterian.

Test. Friend, if you be a Papist, I'll ha' you before a Justice.

Hot. Sirrah, if you be a Presbyterian, I'll kick you down Stairs. [II, 11]

Testimony is earlier described by Lemora as "Oh! a most zealous Scrupulous one [Fanatick]; with a Conscience Swaddled so hard in its Infancy by strict Education, and now thump'd and cudgel'd so sore with daily Sermons and Lectures, that the weak sicketty Thing can endure nothing" [I, 1]. The Fanatick (a term applied to Nonconformists in general during this period)⁸ again bears the main attack, but Hothead is not allowed to escape unscathed.

There are jibes at the avarice, lechery, long-windedness, amenability of priests, parsons and chaplains; the total effect is to point up the hypocrisy of religion. Gipsy, in Farquhar's The Beaux' Strategem, after making an

assignation with the priest Folgard (who, admittedly, is later exposed as an imposter), says: "Well, doctor, your religion is so pure! Methinks I'm so easy after an absolution, and can sin afresh with so much security, that I'm resolved to die a martyr to 't" [IV, 1]. Saygrace, Lord Touchwood's chaplain, in Congreve's The Double-Dealer, assists Maskwell in his attempt to carry off Cynthia: "But first I must instruct my little Levite," says Maskwell, before going to Saygrace, "there is no Plot, publick or private, that can expect to prosper without one of them has a Finger in 't . . ." [V, xi]. Bull, the chaplain in Vanbrugh's The Relapse, shows that he is willing to follow orders for the promise of a fat living [V, 111]. Caution's comment on the parson who married Hippolita to Gerrard instead of Monsieur, in Wycherley's The Gentleman-Dancing-Master, is: "I suppose five or six Guinies made him make the mistake, which will not be rectify'd now Nephew; they'll marry all that come near 'em, and for a Guiny or two, care not what mischief they do Nephew" [229]. Kllligrew's The Parson's Wedding, written before the Restoration but performed in October 1664, is a more detailed portrait of a parson who "for money wouldst sell the share of the twelve, and art allow'd by all that know thee, fitter to have been Judas, than Judas was, for his treachery" [I, 1].

The effect of the currents of incidental comment, casual references and similitudes is just as insidious. In Congreve's The Old Batchelor, Bellmour dons a "Fanatick Habit" to help him in his scheme to cuckold a Puritan merchant:

Bellmour . . . Well and how Setter hae, does my Hypocrisie fit me hae? Does it sit easie on me?

Setter O most religiously well, Sir

Bellmour I wonder why all our young Fellows should glory in an Opinion of Atheism; when they may be so much more conveniently lewd under the Coverlet of Religion. [IV, 1]

In Ravenscroft's The London Cuckolds, the following conversation occurs between the two gallants, Townly and Ramble:

Town. 'Tis strange a man should find a Mistress at Church, that never goes to one.

Ram. 'Tis true; till of late, I have never been at Church since my Father's Funeral, and I had not gone then, but to Conduct him as forward on his way as I could, that he might not return to take the Estate again I got by his Death; Nor had I been near the Church since, but for a sudden shower of Rain that drove me into a Church Porch to shelter, and whilst I was standing there, came by this Miracle of a woman, and wrought my Conversion.

Town. But as often as you have been there, you never said your Prayers?

Ram. Only the Love Litany, and some amorous Ejaculations, as Thou Dear Creature, Charming Excellence, Ravishing Beauty, Heavenly Woman, and such flights as these; I durst not pray against Temptation, lest Heaven should have taken me at my word, and have spoil'd my intrigue.

Town. Spoke like a Cavalier, e'gad! If thy

inclination did but lye a little more to the
Bottle, thou wouldst be an admirable honest
Fellow. [I, 11]

It is obvious from these examples that not only was there a reaction to Puritanism but that there was also a distrust, evolving from a protean skepticism, of religion itself. Krutch stresses the force of reaction:

Speaking broadly, the extraordinary debauchery which succeeded the Restoration was the result of the reaction . . .

They wished to make the time to come in every way the reverse of the time that was past, and the sin of regicide of which the preceding age had been guilty made it seem a sort of piety to reverse all that had been done; to pull down all that had been set up, and set up all that had been pulled down; to hate all that had been loved and love all that had been hated. The Puritans had tended to regard all pleasure as sinful, and they determined to regard no pleasure as such.⁹

This view is valid enough, but to simple reaction must be added the forces unleashed by this reaction: when one form of religion is attacked, other forms are also brought under scrutiny; when fanaticism is rejected, enthusiasm is regarded with suspicion; when one code of beliefs is dismissed, other codes which might fill the vacuum are examined. This scrutiny occurred at a time when a new science was evolving, when materialism was resurgent, when a general philosophical skepticism was gaining popularity, much of this skepticism, of course, occasioned by the events prior to the Restoration. So the picture of the period is only partial if it is regarded simply as

reaction rather than as a point of departure as well. The new mood is evident in Roger L'Estrange's The Relaps'd Apostate: "Come leave your Jocky-tricks, your Religious Wranglings, about the thing ye least consider, Conscience. Leave your Streyning at Gnats, and swallowing of Camels, your Blewcap Divinity of subjecting Publique and venerable Laws, to private and Factious Constitutions". A similar attitude appears in A Speech visibly spoken in the Presence of the Lords and Commons, assembled in Parliament, by a Ghost, in a white Sheet of Paper: "My Lords and Gentlemen; I am come from the dead. Will you believe me? Beware, beware of two Destroyers more dangerous than all, Blind Zeal and Godly Ignorance".¹⁰

That this general ethos is responsible for the specific attitude to the clergy is evident from John Eachard's Grounds and Occasion for the Contempt of the Clergy. That such a book should be published in 1670 is in itself indicative of a prevailing temper. The mood is indicated by Pepys, on 16 February 1668: "Much discourse about the bad state of the Church, and how the Clergy are come to men of no worth in the world; and, as the world do now generally discourse, they must be reformed". Writers tended to seek specific causes for the attitude: Petty, for example, spoke against the "vaste preferments", the "bare Pulpit-discourses", the number of the clergy.¹¹

Yet we must be careful in generalizing upon "data" provided by the comedies. The comedies were written for a special audience. From the evidence of publications, the period was a sober one with religious books first, and scientific material next; plays constituted only two percent of the total books published.¹² Richard Blackmore, in the preface to Prince Arthur, said that a clergyman was introduced on the stage only to be abused.¹³ There were, however, specific changes that can be identified. The major one was that in 1661 the king's, and consequently parliament's, authority was asserted over the ecclesiastical. Ministers and churchwardens lost their coercive powers to obtain revenue. The church relinquished "for the first time . . . all responsibility for the ethics of economic practice". The one and a half million pounds reportedly raised from the fines for the renewal of leases, many of which had lapsed during the wars, were absorbed by the bishops themselves. Two thousand clergy who could not declare complete agreement, in 1661, with the Prayer Book were expelled from their livings. The Clarendon Code, a political instrument, recognized as such by those it excluded, required uniformity of religion; however, in 1689, the Toleration Act, again a political vehicle, discarded the unity of a single state church for a national unity. The clergy became almost a secular profession as

the old conception of a separate estate of clergy diminished.¹⁴ After the Glorious Revolution even the dissenting sects underwent a period of spiritual decline.

Gregory King listed two categories of clergymen: those with £60 and those with £45 yearly income per family. King's figures were estimated for 1688, and his estimates were based on the Hearth Tax. The placing of clergymen for the 1692 poll tax in London provides a suggestion of rather higher economic status. The surtax payable and the categories of people involved are summed up:

- (1) 10 s. per quarter: tradesmen, shopkeepers and vintners with estates worth £300 or more.
- (2) £1 per quarter: gentlemen and above (but not peers); relatively wealthy women (e.g. with estate of £1,000 or more); the clergy (but excluding the lords spiritual); merchants and brokers; and a variety of professions.
- (3) £2 per quarter: clergymen with more than one benefice with £120 per year or over.
- (4) £10 per quarter: lords temporal and spiritual. There were also special charges for persons keeping a coach and for those liable to provide a horse and horseman for the militia.¹⁵

The large-scale impecuniousness of the lower clergy and the public requirements of this profession would not hold any appeal for the gallants of Restoration comedy. Indeed, it was only after 1704, with Queen Anne's Bounty and agricultural prosperity, that the Church became again a profession for younger sons. Up until that time only the higher clergy were wealthy or well-rewarded. At the

institution of the Bounty, it was estimated that there were 5597 benefices in England each worth less than £50 annually.¹⁶

According to Sir William Petty, there were too many lawyers and too many clergymen. Both groups he criticized for their wealth. His attitude to the medical profession was slightly different. From the Bills of Mortality, he argued, it is possible to project the number of people sick in London and from this, it should be possible to estimate the number sick for the whole country. These statistics could be used "by the advice of the learned Colledge of that Faculty to calculate how many Physicians were requisite for the whole Nation; and consequently, how many Students in that art to permit and encourage; and lastly, having calculated these numbers, to adoptate a proportion of Chyrurgeons, Apothecaries, and Nurses to them, and so by the whole to cut off and extinguish that infinite swarm of vain pretenders unto, and abusers of that God-like Faculty, which of all Secular Employments our Saviour himself after he began to preach engaged himself upon".¹⁷ This view is worth quoting because here we have speaking Sir William Petty, elected fellow of the College of Physicians, rather than Sir William Petty, the disputant in a number of law cases. His comments indicate some of the problems associated with

the practice of medicine at the time.¹⁸

The College of Physicians had very special powers: in theory, it could control practitioners and the dispensing of drugs. However, surgery was traditionally under the control of barbers and barber-surgeons, and drugs under apothecaries. The apothecaries inevitably began to prescribe as well as prepare and supply medications and to requite themselves, in the absence of a fee, by increasing the cost of the drugs. Samuel Garth, in the preface to The Dispensary, stated that the College of Physicians attempted to check this tendency by offering medicines to the poor at the "intrinsic value".

This rivalry of physicians and apothecaries was paralleled by that of surgeons and barbers. It was intensified by the stress on source of training: Leyden, Paris and Montpellier were the renowned centres. It was complicated by the presence of numerous quacks, astrologers and faith healers.¹⁹ The environment was ripe for the quack. William Harvey, just before our period begins, had published his findings on the circulation of the blood; Robert Hooke's Micrographia had publicized the microscope; Thomas Willis had begun qualitative examination of urine and described the nervous system; Robert Boyle had shown that air was necessary for life; Richard Lower had engaged in transfusions; and Richard Wiseman had

discussed amputation in The Severall Chirurgicall Treatises. All these revolutionary discoveries and approaches, the inter-connections of the sciences, and the persistence of superstitious practices and beliefs even in the thinking of reputable medical men, left the patient confused and uncertain. Dr. Thomas Sydenham's speculation on epidemics illustrates the layman's predicament:

Whether the inward bowels of the earth undergo various changes by the vapours which exhale there from, so that the air is tainted or whether the atmosphere be changed by some alteration induced by some peculiar conjunction of any of the heavenly bodies, it is a truth, that at particular times the air is stuffed full of particles which are hostile to the economy of the human body²⁰

The speculation was dismissed as more specific causes were found for epidemics. But the influence of earth and air are again under medical examination. Even today the speculation contains enough truth or possibility of truth that it cannot be dismissed out of hand as nonsense. So, with the rise of veterinary medicine, Andrew Snape's The Anatomy of a Horse, for example, was published in 1686, why might not a farrier become a doctor as the subtitle to Lacy's The Dumb Lady suggests? Richard Wiseman might testify to the efficacy of the royal touch of Charles II; Sir Thomas Browne, in exposing vulgar errors, perpetrate more in Pseudodoxia Epidemica; and the

Pharmacopeias continue to list urine, excreta, spiders' webs, and sexual organs in their exotic lists. The patient in such an environment was at the mercy of the chosen practitioner.

Apothecaries, apparently, were the most noted extortioners. It is impossible to discover what the outright quack exacted, but throughout the century, apothecaries were accused of levying high charges and they have been accused of making between £150 and £320 on a single case. The average London physician's fee was about half a sovereign, according to Garrison's History of Medicine, although Richard Mead, early in the next century was charging a guinea and a half-guinea for coffee-house consultation. Garrison collects several other samples of fees: a bill of 1665 listing 12s. for a twenty-mile visit, £1 10s. for a visit of two days' duration, 10s. for bleeding a lady in bed, and 2s. 6d. for bleeding a man; from Levamen Infirmi (1700), a surgeon's fee of one shilling for blood-letting and £5 for amputation, a licensed physician's fee of a noble or an angel, and a graduate in physics' fee of 10s., although the two last might demand almost twice as much. However, a grateful patient might offer a gratuity or even, as in one case, a life annuity to the practitioner.²¹ The Earl of Bedford's accounts provide additional figures.

£45 was paid to Dr. Micklethwait in 1661 "for his visits and advice in the time of the sickness of Mr. William Russell"; £2. 9s. was paid to a doctor "for the time of my fever" in 1678; cordials, purges and ointments usually varied between one and three shillings; and the frequent blood-lettings cost between 1s. 6d. and 2. 6d.²²

A tilt is made at doctors' fees in Ravenscroft's The Anatomist: or, The Sham Doctor. Crispin, the servant, is forced to pose as a doctor. He discovers that his role is both easy and profitable. To a waiting-woman looking for her mistress's dog, he gives "searching" pills for a fee of "Two new Crown-pieces" [20], and to Simon he gives pills for half-a-guinea which will help him to know if his maid is true to him. The satiric touch here is minor, but the play is interesting because of its medical references. The real doctor has procured a body for dissection from the mortuary; he want to demonstrate "the Harveyan Doctrine" [16]; at the same time he is taken by his patients to have astrological powers. In contrast, Lacy's The Dumb Lady is concerned with depicting doctors as pompous pedants, hiding their ignorance and ineptitude behind a smokescreen of jargon, inordinately jealous of their privileges and eager to extract money. Drench, a farrier, is described by his wife as a wise physician of Padua who has retired to avoid patients. Squire Softhead

immediately retorts:

Then he is a fool and no Physician; for the wise
Doctors never leave a Patient whilst he has either
breath in's body or money in's purse. [8]

Drencher is persuaded to attempt a cure on the dumb lady, Olinda. Olinda's lover, Leander, assists Drencher by posing as his apothecary and feeding the fake doctor correct medical terminology. In the meantime, Drencher is approached for help by a number of poor people; to one man whose wife is dying, Drencher says: "If thou be'st poor, trouble thy self no further, she'll dye of a certain . . ." [31]. There are effective scenes where Parson Othentick and Drencher reveal their practices in duping people [65-66], and when the real doctors consult together and with Drencher and a dispute arises between the "Galenicists" and the "Chymists" [70]. The other doctors begin to suspect Drencher, but they agree to work with him on payment of a double fee: "A Farrier? nay, for a double fee, we would consult with a Gun-smith" [71]. In the end, as a parody of actuality, when the dumb lady is "cured" by her marriage to Leander, Leander says to Drencher:

Well, I'll give you a Pension of fifty pounds a
year, for the good service you did me in your
reign of Doctor. [81]

The satire on doctors is not as ubiquitous as on the clergy and on lawyers; however, it does reflect that

their motivation is also gain. Usually the depiction is concerned with their lack of knowledge, dissension, and over-use of technical terms, and with the prevalence of quacks or quackery in the profession, as, for example, in D'Urfey's Trick for Trick [33]. It is a Quack who helps Horner in Wycherley's The Country Wife, and he admits that he has been "hired by Young Gallants" to prove they are free of disease. And Kite, in Farquhar's The Recruiting Officer, tells the butcher:

And a surgeon you will be. The employments differ only in the name. He that can cut up an ox may dissect a man, and the same dexterity that cracks a marrow bone will cut off a leg or an arm. [IV, 11]

Crack, in Crowne's Sir Courtly Nice, presents the attitude that the gallants of the comedies might have to this profession:

Violante Why wou'd you not be a Physician?

Crack A Gold-finder, Madam? look into Jakes for bits o' Money? I had a Spirit above it. I had an Ambition to be some honourable Profession; such as People of Quality undertake. As for instance, Pimping. A Pimp is as much above a Doctor, as Cook is above a Scullion; when a Pimp has foul'd a Dish, a Doctor scours it. [II, 1]

All three professions dealt with so far are depicted as concerned with exploitation. Their sole or major motivation is money. But although they are picked out for individual treatment, they appear from the dominating viewpoint of the comedies to be merely products of the times. Sir Toby, in Granville's The She-Gallants, can inform Colonel

Philabel of the present state of the town:

Why, faith, the Men are as abominable Rogues as ever, always Drunk, and always Pox'd, begad; nothing is heard of but Tavern-brawls and Midnight Rapes and Murders; nothing to be met but Sharpers and Cullies, Pickpockets and Politicians, Cutpurses and Lawyers; Parsons that point out Roads they ne're go; Physicians that prescribe what they never take; Courtiers that promise what they never perform; Colonels that tell of Battels they never saw; Beaux that lye with Women they never could come near; Pocky Lords, Bloated Commoners, and Pale-fac'd Catamites. [25]

Although the army is mentioned in this denunciation, it is the one profession that is acceptable in the world of the comedies. The major disadvantage of a career in the army, however, was that it probably would mean the spending rather than the getting of money. The two playwrights who have been mentioned earlier as having spent time in the army, Otway and Farquhar, did not profit from their careers there. What is surprising is that they were not driven into greater penury.

Not only did a commission have to be purchased, but the officer also was put to the expense of obtaining recruits. Levy-money was allowed for this purpose, but it was barely sufficient and made no allowance for recruits who became ill or deserted or died en route. Parish constables demanded allowances for the subsistence of recruits before they delivered them. The officer also had to pay for the transportation of his horses and to pay any charges in excess of £12 for remounts. In addition,

he had to contribute to certain regimental debts and pensions which went to officers' widows or which maintained commissions for infant officers.²³

The pay itself was uncertain. A portion of it, the subsistence, was paid in advance; the remainder, the arrears, was paid at the end of the year. Before the soldier received the arrears, one shilling in the pound was paid to the paymaster-general, who as a private contractor had to receive his fee; one day's full pay went as a contribution to the funds of Chelsea Hospital; a fee for each muster had to go to the commissaries of the musters; a fee for passing the accounts of the paymaster-general went to the auditors; and a number of fees were deducted to provide the salaries for all the clerks who dealt with the army.

In addition, there existed only regimental pay. Thus, unless officers, such as colonels, resorted to private "arrangements" with contractors they might easily be heavily in debt. The rate of pay, for instance, of a private was eight pence a day. Of this, after the deduction of sixpence for subsistence, he was left with an amount from which the further deductions mentioned above had to be subtracted. This left the private with £2 8s. for the year. This completely inadequate sum was made over to the colonel of the regiment to pay for the clothing

and equipment of the soldier. Thus the colonel might be forced to recoup himself by arrangements with a contractor for lower-grade subsistence or clothing; the captain might claim false musters, and the private resort to plunder.²⁴ The problem was compounded by delays in payment by the paymaster-general or by eventual payments in tallies, which could only be sold at a discount, rather than in cash.

It is little wonder that recruiting was difficult throughout this period. Farquhar's The Recruiting Officer gives a quite realistic depiction of some of the strategies employed, and Lacy's The Old Troop presents the soldier's situation. In the latter play, although they resent his "Excise and Custom upon Plundering" [2], Flea-flint, Ferret and Bumdorp present the Lieutenant with £20 and a "good gelding" from their loot so that he will turn a blind eye to their activities. The lieutenant, because it is pay-day, agrees to connive with Dol Troop, a prostitute, when she decides to lay her pregnancy to every man in the troop because it is "the general principle of mankind, Dol; which is to pick the money out of thy pocket to put it into mine" [7]. The play uses this background to attack the Puritans and Roundheads: "They are form'd to a new stamp of villainy . . . take the wickedest and worst-reputed men you have, and turn 'em loose to Plunder,

and I defy 'em to make the Tythe o'th spoil these hypocrites have done" [12]. The Puritans see the enemy's advance as an opportunity: "In truth a good occasion to fetch in all the Goods and Chattels of the Country, upon pretence of securing them, and so make conditions with the enemy to march away with them" [27]. The royalist captain, however, after defeating the Puritans, returns the ~~pr~~property to the country gentlemen who owned it.

In D'Urfey's Squire Oldsapp, Colonel Buff, "a blunt old Souldier of the last Age" [Dram. Pers.], argues with Oldsapp about the war: "Cause!" he says, "why prethee, we had no Cause, we had money; that's the Cause of a true Souldier - Money!" [39]. But this attitude is countered by Sir Charles Kinglove, in D'Urfey's The Royalist, when he offers £20,000 without security to meet the king's need: " . . . would'st thou have me deal with my King as with a Scrivener, or change the Royal favour of his Countenance for a bargain and sale like a Plebeian?" [53].

It is this spirit of generosity or of service which apparently has motivated the distressed or impoverished officers who appear in, for instance, Otway's The Souldiers Fortune and Farquhar's A Trip to the Jubilee. It is this spirit which animates Hackwell Junior to bear the cost of a campaign, in Shadwell's The Volunteers, but with Sir Nicholas, in the same play, the motivation may be

more complex. Sir Nicholas's personal necessities for the campaign for which he has volunteered include "12 rich Campaign Suits, six Dancing Suits, and 12 pairs of Dancing Shooes"; "Eight Waggon; one for my two Butlers, my Service of Plate and Table Linnen; one for my two Cooks and Kitchin; one for my Confectioner, one for my Laundresses and Dairy Maids, with all their Utensils . . . one for my Wardrobe, great and small, Valet de Chambres, and Upholsteress . . . The rest of the Waggon are for all sort of Wines and Drinks; I carry Fifty Horse, and 25 Carters, Mowers, Reapers, Grooms, and two Gardiners"; and "Fringe and Embroidery . . . for my Velvet Bed, and Counterpane in my Tent" [192-3].

Of the four professions presented above, only one, that of the army, was considered acceptable in the comedies. Plodwell, for example, exclaims against the attitude to law, in Edward Howard's The Man of Newmarket: "That an honourable Profession should be thought to derogate from the esteem of a Gentleman . . ." [33]. Only in the army could one remain a gentleman. It is noteworthy that this is the one career in which self-interest could not be adduced. There is no suggestion of an officer of rank, on the royalist side, profiting from his position. Greed and knavery are usually associated with law, religion and medicine. At first sight this reaction to the professions

seems to indicate a general distaste at the loss of integrity for money. This opinion appears to be borne out by the attitude to another "profession", which one could assume while remaining a gentleman; this is the profession of courtier.

Dryden, in the dedication of Marriage a La mode to Rochester, tells his patron:

That which, with more reason, I admire, is, that being so absolute a courtier, you have not forgot either the ties of friendship, or the practice of generosity. In my little experience of a court (which, I confess, I desire not to improve), I have found in it much of interest, and more of detraction; Few men there have that assurance of a friend, as not to be made ridiculous by him when they are absent . . .

A large part of the remainder of the dedication is in the same strain, commenting on the persecution, malice, lack of wit and sycophancy existing in a court. The king himself, of course, is exempt from this criticism. In the dedication of his comedy, The Assignation, the previous year, Dryden had provided an absolution: "As 'tis an usual trick in Courts; when one designs the ruine of his Enemy, to disguise his malice with some concernment of the Kings . . .".

Dryden's outspoken opinion is no isolated example of the attitude to the courtier. The comedies ring with similar comments. D'Urfey's A Fool's Preferment is set in "The Court, in the Reign of Henry the Fourth". D'Urfey, in his dedication, maintains, apparently because of the attacks

on the play, that it was meant as "a wholsom Satyr" on basset. In the play, Cockle-brain wants to be a courtier, but his uncle, Justice Grub, rails at him: "What dost thou do at Court but to be ruin'd? Hast reckon'd up thy Income? Dost thou know the Value of thy Tenents Sweat and Labour, and thy Expences here?" [6]. Grub warns him that his £1,200 yearly income will disappear. Amelia, Cockle-brain's wife, however, needs money for her gambling. She asks for £500 to assist in his "Preferment" and she suggests that he sell land: "Thou shalt not lose Preferment, my Dear, for the sake of a few dirty Acres" [10]. Her husband decides to comply (and here we get a suggestion of the social change occurring) by selling 300 acres to a merchant for £500 [11]. Cockle-brain, later, is on the point of changing his mind and returning to the country, when Amelia with the help of her courtier friends tricks him into staying. Longoville comes to tell Cockle-brain that he has been made a knight. This is not sufficient for Cockle-brain: "No, it won't do. Besides, I have known a Cheese-monger a Knight; a hundred Sniveling, addle-headed Citizens for Cheating, knighted; and Pimps and Cuckolds innumerable; No, no; I must go . . ." [19]. In quick succession, the credulous husband is informed by the courtiers that he is a lord, a peer, and finally a duke. Cockle-brain, certain that he is now Duke of

Dunstable, decides to remain in town. When Grub hears this news, he decides to return to town and the court to lend the new duke any money he needs. A series of farcical scenes follow in which, for money, mischief, and sexual intrigue, Cockle-brain is stripped of his titles and they are given to Grub, and then Grub is stripped of his title and it is given to Toby, the servant. At the end, the Usher of the Black Rod enters, seizes the duke-makers and fines them £20,000 each. Having learned their lesson, the duped return to the safety of the country.

This play does contain satire on baset, but the comedy is really a thinly-disguised fable. More usually in the comedies, the criticism of courtiers is introduced incidentally. And it begins as early as Dryden's The Wild Gallant. Nonsuch is disturbed at the loss of some money: "Two hundred and fifty pounds in fair Gold out of my Study: an hundred of it was to have paid a Courtier this afternoon for a Bribe" [11]. Setstone tells his client that there is no need for hurry in returning a courtier's money: "Nay, if that be all, there's no such hast: the Courtiers are not so forward to pay their Debts" [11]. In the same play, Loveby, in his attempts to get money, reveals contemporary practices: "now for an 100 l. could I have gratified him with a Waiter's Place at Custom-house, that had been worth to him an 100 l. upon the nail . . ." [47]; and "120 pieces

of old Grandma and Aunt gold can provide "a Dressers place at Court" for which "500 are bidden" [48]. In Wycherley's The Plain-Dealer, one of the sailors believes that the reason Manly sunk his ship was "not only that the Dutch might not have her, but that the Courtiers, who laugh at wooden Legs, might not make her Prize" [392]. Wycherley gives a capsule version of Court procedure in the following scene where Manly rejects Freeman's proffered friendship:

Manly Because he that is (you'll say) a true Friend to a man is a Friend to all his Friends; but you must pardon me, I cannot wish well to Pimps, Flatterers, Detractors, and Cowards, stiff nodding Knaves, and supple pliant kissing Fools; now, all these I have seen you use, like the dearest Friends in the World.

Freeman Hah, hah, hah, - What, you observ'd me, I warrant, in the Galleries at Whitehall, doing the business of the place! Psah, Court Professions, like Court Promises, go for nothing, man. But, faith, cou'd you think I was a Friend to all those I hugg'd, kiss'd, flatter'd, bow'd too? Hah, ha - [396]

In the next act the playwright expands on the picture of the court and adds dimensions by putting the denunciation in the mouth of the dissembling and hypocritical Olivia [410-411].

Courtiers' promises are a frequent source of comment. Whiffler, in Edward Howard's The Man of Newmarket, has "many hopes besides of being made sole Heir to one in Fee-simple, to another in Fee-tail, with no small assurance I may succeed a Baron of my acquaintance; as also some fine

Court-words and Promises, too many for me to remember at once" [7]. But Sir Geoffry Jolthead, in Leanerd's The Rambling Justice, is not so trusting: "Courtiers and Shopkeepers, I grant you, they seldome or never keep their words, but we Countrymen are as true as steel" [29]. The biting comparison of courtiers and shopkeepers is played to the full in Railmore and Gaywood's conversation, in Motteux's Love's a Jest, which ends with Gaymood's comment: ". . . begging was the Courtiers Trade from the Beginning" [6]. By the century's end, it appears that the court's influence has spread to the whole town. In Mountfort's Greenwich-Park, Lord Worthy asks: "But pray, Sir Thomas, how long have you forsook the Court, and Embrac'd the Order of Citt?" Sir Thomas Reveller replies, "Why, ever since Knavery took Place of Honesty" [9], and launches into a description of life at the other end of town:

'Tis to speak ill of every Man; yet be courteous to all Men; borrow of most Men, and pay no Man; always at homes to their Whores, and ever abroad to their Creditors; to Cheat their Brothers, Debauch their Sisters; to be Drunk Nightly, Arrested Weekly, Beaten Monthly, Poxt Quarterly, Live Cursedly, Dye Wretchedly, and to be Damn'd to all Eternity . . . [10]

In D'Urfey's Love for Money, the typical stance is maintained by Sir Rowland Rakeshell:

Now must I set my face and fleer upon him just like a Court-depender upon a great Lord that has newly worm'd him out of his Office, and is too powerfull for him to beate, that is Salute him Civilly, and all the while heartily wish him damn'd. [17]

Sir Rowland speaks from conviction that this situation is but typical of the way of the world. Unlike Old Merriton, who argues for virtue, he does not retail platitudes which he cannot accept. He is convinced that the world is a cheat, and even when he is carried off by the officers for his crimes he does not repent. The world is dishonest; he is dishonest; everyone becomes dishonest:

No! does not the Forreigner cheat the Country, the Country cheat the City, the City cheat the Courtier, the Courtier cheat the King, the Robber cheat the Fur-Coat, the Fur-Coat cheat the Red-Coat, the Red-Coat cheat the Petty-Coat, the Petty-Coat cheat the Black-Coat, and the Black-Coat cheat us all! and yet thou pratest of Honesty, Honesty; prithee Cant, Pray on, and be damn'd, for that thou wilt come too for all thy Honesty; and so farewell. [63]

Sir Rowland, however, is not merely an extension of the traditional malcontent of comedy. In The Malcontent, Malevole has a faithful wife and an honest friend; in the end he regains his throne. On the other hand, Sir Rowland is not a villain in the manner of Vendice, in Tourneur's The Revenger's Tragedy. DonJohn, in Shadwell's The Libertine, goes unrepentant to his doom. Sir Rowland, in his acceptance of his fate, is in many ways Don John's counterpart. He makes no easy repentance: the world is bad, he is bad; he has been caught, everyone will be caught.

Most of the professions discussed in this chapter

appear to be rejected as mere money-mongering. Crack's comment, "look into Jakes for bits o' Money", typifies the controlling attitude of the gallants. A revealing incident occurs in Congreve's The Way of the World when Petulant discovers that Witwoud had served an apprenticeship "with honest Pumble-Nose the Attorney of Furnival's Inn":

Petulant 'Slife, Witwoud, were you ever an
Attorney's Clerk? Of the Family of the
Furnivals. Ha, ha, ha!

Witwoud Ay, ay, but that was but for a while.
Not long, not long; pshaw, I was not in my own
Power then. An Orphan, and this Fellow was my
Guardian; ay, ay, I was glad to consent to that
Man. to come to London . . . [III, xv]

Petulant's ridicule and Witwoud's defence illustrate the comedies' prevailing attitude to "mechanick arts" and to the one who has to work and is thus associated with commoners.

Certain general conclusions appear to be suggested by the material presented here. While a statement by a particular character does not necessarily reflect the playwright's belief, there is nothing in the context of the individual comedies to rectify or really balance the opinions expressed about the professions. There is no indication that we are shown extremes of vice or greed, because no norm is presented. It would seem, then, that the general condemnation of the professions matches the

general opinion of the Restoration audience. Such a conclusion requires careful scrutiny. John Wilson's defence of The Cheats puts the matter simply: ". . . if I have shewn the odd practices of two vain persons, pretending to what they were not, I think I have sufficiently justifi'd the Brave man, even by this Reason, That the Exception proves the Rule". Comedy deals with the exception, the lack; it is under no necessity to balance the picture. Balancing does occur in the comedies, especially when a noble is mocked for some aberration or extravagance, for instance, of dress. But, as I indicated in the first chapter, the poet wrote under a number of constraints. No balancing is given in the matter of the professions.

Most of the professions discussed appear to be rejected because they are motivated by greed for money. This might lead the reader to feel that money itself and the quest for money are rejected. The simplicity of this position, however, is destroyed by the gallants' own inexorable quest for money. This matter will be examined in the following chapters. That the money motivation does not stand alone as the reason for rejection of a profession is illustrated in Crowne's Sir Courtly Nice:

Violante . . . I am told you ha' been an
Oxford Scholar.

Crack A Scholar Madam? a Scholar's
Egg - emptied by old Suck-Eggs, of all that

nature gave me, and crumbled full of essences,
Hypostases, and other stuff o' their baking.
[II, 1]

What we do see in the comedies is a pervasive attitude of cynical resignation to the corrupting power of money or interest. This attitude will be explored in the following chapter.

A profession ranked only slightly higher than trade at the time.²⁵ Trade and the professions, work of any sort for a living, are rejected consistently in the comedies. We are left still with the question posed at the beginning of this chapter; what do gentlemen do if money is lacking?

CHAPTER 7

"MEN MUST NOT BE POOR":

THE POWER OF MONEY AND SOURCES OF INCOME

The comedies reject the professions which are depicted as blatantly motivated by money; the comedies exhibit a cynical resignation to the power of money. These comments sum up the preceding chapter. While the second point arises from the first, the relationship is not simply one of isolated causality. Both attitudes are symptoms of a greater malaise.

In the introductory chapter, I presented examples of and statements about the power of money. In this chapter, I shall explore some of the dimensions of this power. There are things money can do, and there are some things which money alone cannot accomplish. Money by itself, for instance, cannot buy acceptance into fashionable society, but money is essential for continuing membership in this society. These ideas are explored in this chapter, but they lead to certain other aspects of the society itself. If "Men must not be poor", then certain attitudes towards the procuring of money are legitimized. If, for instance, in a moneyed society, gambling flourishes, it is acceptable to procure money through gambling. If sharpers prey upon this society or pretenders infiltrate themselves into its ranks, it may be excusable to outwit

them. These attitudes are as much social as financial; for instance, those with money alone who attempt to enter the society are deprived of their money.

First, let us examine each of the different ways in which money is regarded. The variety of attitudes revealed in the comedies of the period exhibit the power of money to elevate, maintain, compensate or procure. These attitudes usually are concerned with money's influence in a social context.

The lack of money, for instance, can cause loss of reputation and subsequent rejection from London's genteel society. The person without money becomes an object of pity and thus loses his equality in the group. This is revealed in the following conversation between the two gallants in Farquhar's The Beaux' Stratagem:

Archer . . . for 'tis still my maxim, that
there is no scandal like rags, nor any crime
so shameful as poverty.

Aimwell The world confesses it every day in
its practice, though men won't own it for their
opinion . . . But did you observe poor Jack
Generous in the Park last week?

Archer Yes, with his autumnal periwig
shading his melancholy face, his coat older
than anything but its fashion, with one hand
idle in his pocket, and with the other picking
his useless teeth; and, though the Mall was
crowded with company, yet was poor Jack as
single and solitary as a Lion in the desert.

Aimwell And as much avoided, for no crime
upon earth but the want of money.

Archer And that's enough. Men must not be poor; idleness is the root of all evil; the world's wide enough, let 'em bustle . . . [I, i]

Archer and Aimwell themselves left London on a pretence of going to Brussels because they had spent all their money and their friends were beginning to suspect the truth.

Money is necessary merely to exist in the good society as a later conversation between Archer and Aimwell shows:

Aimwell Well, well, anything to deliver us from sauntering away our idle evenings at White's, Tom's or Will's, and be stinted to base looking at our old acquaintances, the cards, because our impotent pockets can't afford us a guinea for the mercenary drubs.

Archer Or be obliged to some purse-proud coxcomb for a scandalous bottle, where we must not pretend to our share of the discourse because we can't pay our club o' th' reckoning. - Damn it! I had rather sponge upon Morris, and sup upon a dish of bohea served behind the door!

Aimwell And then expose our want of sense by talking criticisms, as we should our want of money by railing at the government.

Archer Or be obliged to sneak into the side-box, and between both houses steal two acts of a play, and because we han't money to see the other three we come away discontented, and damn the whole five.

Aimwell And ten thousand such rascally tricks - had we outlived our fortunes among our acquaintance . . . [IV, ii]

The gallant's necessity for money is accentuated in a society where one may not engage in gainful

occupation without expulsion from that society. The problem of the penniless gallant is personified in Young Fashion (Vanbrugh, The Relapse), Loveless (Cibber, Love's Last Shift), Dick Amlet (Vanbrugh, The Confederacy), and Valentine (Congreve, Love for Love). The last case shows that without money, in the eyes of the world all other qualities are set at nought:

Scandal . . . Why, what the devil! has not your poverty made you enemies enough? must you needs show your wit to get more [enemies]?

. . . Don't you see how worthless great men, and dull rich rogues, avoid a witty man of small fortune? Why, he looks like a writ of inquiry into their titles and estates; and seems commissioned by Heaven to seize the better half. [I, i]

For the woman, money is even more necessary. Not only does she need money to live, but she also needs enough money to maintain status. Belinda's reply to Lady Brute, in Vanbrugh's The Provok'd Wife, exhibits the concern with status:

Lady Brute . . . You know he's a younger brother, and had nothing.

Belinda 'Tis true: But I like him, and have fortune enough to keep above extremity: I can't say I would live with him in a cell, upon love and bread and butter: But I had rather have the man I love, and a middle state of life, than that gentleman in the chair [Lady Brute's drunken, sleeping husband] there, and twice your Ladyship's splendour. [V, ii]

More important, to have any hopes of a fitting marriage, she needs money for a portion.

A common attitude is that money can compensate for other qualities which are lacking. Lady Brute, to her regret, had adhered to this attitude:

The devil's in the fellow, I think - I was told before I married him, that thus 'twou'd be. But I thought I had charms enough to govern him; and that where there was an estate, a woman must needs be happy; so my vanity has deceived me, and my ambition has made me uneasy. [I, 1]

Lady Fidget, in The Country Wife, in agreeing to accept Horner, who she believes is impotent, as a companion, puts the prevailing attitude of the comedies most succinctly:

Then I am contented to make him pay for his scurrillity; money makes up in a measure all other wants in Man. - Those whom we cannot make hold for Gallants, we make fine. [287]

The power of money, too, is such that anything can be bought:

Silvia [After an entertainment of singers and dancers provided by Heartwell]. If you could Sing and Dance so, I should love to look upon you too.

Heartwell Why, 'twas I sung and danc'd; I gave Musick to the Voice, and Life to their Measures - Look you here Silvia, [Pulling out a Purse and chinking it] here are Songs and Dances, Poetry and Musick - hark! how sweetly one Guinea rhymes to another - and how they dance to the Musick of their own Chink. This buys all the t'other - and this thou shalt have; this, and all that I am worth for the purchase of thy Love . . .

[Congreve, The Old Batchelor, III, x]

And money will excuse everything:

Martha Indeed, I found my self gone with Child, and saw no hopes of your getting me a Husband, or

else I had not married a Wit, Sir.

.

Ranger Who wou'd have thought, Dapperwit,
you wou'd have married a Wench?

Dapperwit Well, thirty thousand pound will make
me amends; I have known my betters wink, and fall
on for five or six . . .

[Wycherley, Love in a Wood, 109]

In short, it seems that money, or the quest for money,
dominates all else. Indeed, the pecuniae omnia obediunt
theme is given frequent utterance:

Loveless . . . But prithee, Will, how goes the
world?

Youngworthy Why, like a bowl, it runs on at the
old rate; interest is still the Jack it aims
at . . .

[Cibber, Love's Last Shift, I, i]

Sharper Faith, e'en give her over for good-
and-all; you can have no hopes of getting her for
a mistress; and she is too proud, too inconstant,
too affected and too witty and too handsome for a
wife.

Bellmour But she can't have too much money.
- There's twelve thousand pounds, Tom. - 'Tis
true she is excessively foppish and affected;
but in my conscience I believe the baggage loves
me; for she never speaks well of me herself, nor
suffers anybody else to rail at me.

Then, as I told you, there's twelve
thousand pounds - hum - Why, faith, upon second
thoughts, she does not appear to be so very
affected neither. - Give her her due, I think
the woman's a woman, and that's all. As such I
am sure I shall like her, for the devil take me
if I don't love all the sex.

[Congreve, The Old Batchelor, I, i]

Yet this concentration on and search for money in Restoration comedy is not a simple thing. Here is an expression of the straight desire for gold from a comedy first licenced for performance in 1632:

In by-corners of
This sacred room, silver in bags heaped up
Like billets sawed, and ready for the fire.
Unworthy to hold fellowship with bright gold
That flowed about the room, concealed itself.
There needs no artificial light; the splendour
Makes a perpetual day there, night and darkness
By that still-burning lamp forever banished.
[Massinger, The City Madam, III, iii]

Luke, the speaker, is matched by Sir Epicure Mammon and a host of similarly motivated characters in the earlier comedies. The type is rarely met with in Restoration comedy. Shadwell does give two examples which approximate to these exemplars of lust. Goldingham, in The Miser (based on Moliere's L'Avare), when he discovers that the money he has buried in the garden has been stolen, cries:

Oh you thieves, my Gold, my Gold, give me my Gold;
I'll hang ye, I'll drown ye, I'll murder ye all; oh
my Gold, must I lose thee . . . I have lost my
money, my life, my blood, my entrails, my heart, my
vitals. I dye, I am dead, I am buried; will no body
save my life, and help me to it? . . . And if I find
not my Money, I will hang my self. [83]

Gripe, "A miserable Wretch, that denies himself all
Necessaries, very Jealous of his Wife" [Dram. Pers.], in
The Woman-Captain, is "such an Ass to deny all his Senses,
to live miserably to dye rich" [23]. He is willing to
risk his life and endure the threat of death rather than

lose £3,000. Gripe, however, is interesting in another aspect of his attitude to money. "What is the worth of any thing," he asks [31], "but so much Money as 'twill bring: He was a brave Poet that wrote that". The poet was, of course, Samuel Butler. His words are quoted also by Betty Jiltall in the first act of D'Urfey's Love for Money. Here we appear to have a typical Restoration assessment of value. However, the "exempla exposing the essential ridiculousness, futility and sterility of human greed", the "ironic comment on the total dedication of his [Face's] urban society to acquisitiveness" of Jonson's Alchemist¹ do not exist in such terms in the later comedy. The implication in the wife-sale in Middleton's The Phoenix, the same implication that flows through Volpone, that everything has its price still exists in Restoration comedy, but it has several important qualifications.

Money, in Restoration comedy, is wanted not for acquisition but for use. The traditional attack on the miser continues in a minor way, for example, Gripe, in Wycherley's Love in a Wood, says: "My Daughter, my Reputation, and my Money gone - but the last is dearest to me" [110]. But, predominantly, money is valuable only for what it can buy. Loveless's procedure in Cibber's Love's Last Shift is typical of that of most of the young men:

Young Worthy But hark you, Ned, prithee, what hast thou done with thy estate?

Loveless I pawned it to buy pleasure, that is, old wine, young whores, and the conversation of brave fellows as mad as myself. Pox! If a man has appetites, they are torments if not indulged. I shall never complain as long as I have health and vigor; and as for my poverty, why the devil should I be ashamed of that, since a rich man won't blush at his knavery. [I, i]

Young Worthy, however, shows more caution; he reveals the happy mean:

Loveless Live! How dost thou live? Thou art but a younger brother, I take it.

Young Worthy Oh very well, sir, though, faith, my father left me but three thousand pounds, one of which I gave for a place at court that I still enjoy; the other two are gone after pleasure, as thou sayest - But besides this, I am supplied by the continual bounty of an indulgent brother, - now I am loath to load his good nature too much, and therefore have e'en thought fit, like the rest of my raking brotherhood, to purge out my wild humors with matrimony. By the way, I have taken care to see the dose well sweetened with a swinging portion. [I, i]

But generally the young rakes spend their money and then seek to recoup their fortunes by finding a rich bride.

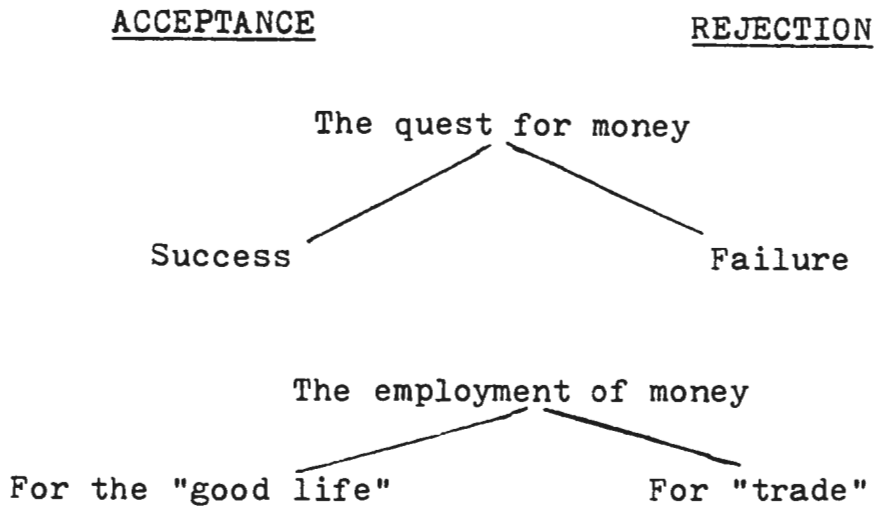
Money is a commodity; the hoarding of money is rare. When money is hoarded, it is by the citizen or the alderman or the usurer. More usually, however, even these characters are shown as using money too, but using money to get money. Money is too valuable merely to collect when it can be used in stock-jobbing and for the purchase of patents (Shadwell, The Volunteers, 188), or

for investing in mortgages or the acquisition of estates (Wycherley, The Plain Dealer, 460-1), or in bartering and trading (Shadwell, The Miser, 46-7). Usually the image of the citizen as hoarder has been transfigured into that of the citizen as banker, and this is merely a vestigial image. The mercer may hold "a hundred pound in hard money" for tradesmen or common (country) folk, as in Farquhar's The Recruiting Officer [85], or the alderman may be a banker, as in Alderman Fondlewife in Congreve's The Old Batchelor [II, ii], or a money-scrivener or goldsmith, as are Gripe, Moneytrap and Clip in Vanbrugh's The Confederacy.

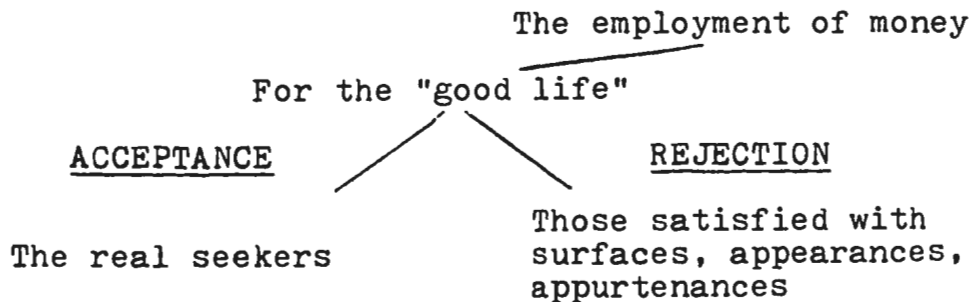
What is established in these comedies, then, is a polarity: not merely between those who have money and those who do not, but between those who use it well and those who use it ill.

The young men or women who lack money, we feel, lack it only temporarily: they are poised on a landing on which they may remain only a short time before ascending, for instance, with the acquisition of a fortune through marriage, to a permanent place, or descending, after lack of success, to oblivion. Restoration comedy is only concerned with the landing and upper floors.

The axes of the comedy established by money may be expressed schematically on a pattern of acceptance and rejection.



There is, however, a more sophisticated subdivision to this scheme. This is one of acceptance and rejection within the society of the seekers for the good life



This subdivision really is articulated in the conflict of Nature and Appearance (or Art, or Affectation).

These schema, of course, are simplistic; what happens in the plays is much more complex. But they do assist towards an understanding of the forces being articulated in persons and events.

A basic motivation in Restoration comedy is the desire for money. But money is merely the entrée to participation in the society of the comedies, a necessity

for but not a guarantee of acceptance. The comedies illustrate the necessity, but in the various attitudes to those who have money they also exhibit a more complex code of acceptance and rejection. In this, Restoration comedy is not merely a reaction to or a continuation of the older drama; it is a new departure. Money is important, but it is not a universal passport. These statements require some development for it is easy and misleading, to equate the desire for money of Restoration comedy with the lust for wealth of the earlier comedy.

Avarice and acquisitiveness are of increasing importance as controlling forces in Jacobean and Caroline drama. The primary motivation, however, seems to evolve from the desire for money as a thing of value in itself rather than the desire for money as a means of payment. Jonson's Volpone, for example, exhibits the pleasure of possession:

Good morning to the day; and next, my gold!
Open the shrine, that I may see my saint. [I, i]

Volpone glories in the "cunning purchase" of his wealth even more than in the possession of it, but all his suitors are bent merely on possession. The play reflects on the ways, legitimate and not so legitimate, of acquiring money. Volpone does not trade, farm, invest or lend; neither, according to Mosca, does he swindle heirs or engross estates [I, i]. His abstinence serves to bring

all these activities into the focus of the play's anti-acquisitive viewpoint. The statement operates in this fashion: Volpone gains "No common way"; here are the common ways; Volpone does not follow these ways. The theme, in the play, is a dual one, lust and greed. The same theme is central to The Alchemist.² Here, however, we do find money wanted for use: Mammon wants it for sexual conquest [II, i], for instance, and Tribulation wants it, overtly anyway, to further the Puritan cause [III, i]. Their needs are specific; money provides opportunities for realization. But it is only occasionally, as in The Devil is an Ass, that we get glimpses of what is to be the Restoration viewpoint, in, for example, Meercraft's attitude:

Sir, money's a whore, a bawd, a drudge;
 Fit to run out on errands; let her go.
Via, pecunia! when she's run and gone,
 And fled, and dead; then will I fetch her again ... [II, i]

These plays developed out of an anti-acquisitive tradition which regarded riches with distrust and viewed acquisition, for instance, through usury, as unnatural and sinful. This tradition persisted as background to the comedies of the Restoration, but it is only exposed for selective use. It is there to be shown, from time to time, when the emphasis on money of a particular group is being condemned. Two examples of this strategy were given earlier in this chapter, from Shadwell's The Miser and

Wycherley's Love in a Wood. The overwhelming attitude is that money is a commodity. It is a necessary commodity for the gentleman who wishes to maintain his status. In 1647, the anonymous author of The Worth of a Penny, or a Caution to Keep Money, commented on the situation:

Whosoever wanteth money is ever subject to contempt and scorn in the world, let him be furnished with never so good gifts, either of body or of mind . . . In these times we may say with the wise man; My son, better it is to die than to be poor, for now money is the world's god, and the card which the devil turns up trump to win the set withall . . . Pecuniae omnia obediunt; hence it is so admired that millions venture both souls and bodies for the possession of it. [15]

Money is necessary to live; money is necessary to buy pleasure. It is a fact of life, and in an age when a gentleman either had it or did not have it, an age when if he did not have it there were few acceptable ways of getting it, it represented an important motivation. The Restoration comedies accept the gentleman's desire for money as a natural and legitimate motivation. They condemn the earnings of money, not as something sinful in itself but rather as a dirty trick played by others to disturb the traditional rights and status of the gentleman.

The centrality of a money motif is everywhere obvious in the comedies, and it follows a quite simple pattern. The royalists lost their lands and money during the civil wars; they had to pay money to get them back. The citizens prospered during the wars and continued to

prosper after the war by lending money, investing money, venturing money in trade. With money, the citizens buy titles and power; thus, they rise above their station. Business and trade are promoted by the citizens in order to get more money. For the royalist, it costs money to live in London, and the country estate must provide money. If it is sold, a citizen purchases it and becomes a landed person. The poor do not even count as persons; they do not have money.

These views are all simple, but they are generalizations which operate in and through the comedies. There is no discrimination or qualification. Stock judgments provide not only a refuge from thought but also a stimulus to emotional reflex.

In this situation, the gentleman gallant becomes the only honest man. Ironically, however, the gallant has to follow the way of the world in order to survive. He too is impelled by the desire for money. However, he will not follow the methods of "the industrious sort of people". But "Men must not be poor," says Archer, in the quotation at the beginning of this chapter; and Aimwell's and Archer's plight reveals the truth of his statement. Archer, however, continues: ". . . idleness is the root of all evil; the world's wide enough, let 'em bustle". This portion of his statement is revealing. It matches

contemporary Puritan thought, as summed up, for instance, by Cotton Mather: "for those who indulge themselves in idleness, the express command of God unto us is that we should let them starve".³ There are other implications. Fuller suggested that hospitality died when bishops' lands were taken away in 1646.⁴ Thus invoked here is the new approach to the poor which replaces the old hospitality in existence when society held to its degrees. But Aimwell and Archer, too, must "bustle". They do it in their way, by seeking an heiress to wed. And, of course, their aim is to live as gentlemen, in idleness.

The gentleman's avoidance and detestation of the mechanick ways of getting money may account in part for the ambivalence of attitude in the comedies to cheating or "gulling". Marriage with a rich heiress provides a permanent solution, but until this occurs, temporary expedients are required. Gulling and gambling are the most convenient sources, even if they are unreliable.

Only gulling on a large scale usually is acceptable, and then only if the "gullers" themselves are otherwise acceptable. Thus Cheatly and his crew in Shadwell's The Squire of Alsatia are on the fringes of fashionable society, predators who play a part because this is the only place where they can exist. To

Belfond Senior they may appear as members of gallant society, but this is an indication merely of his rustic naïveté for they are instantly recognised as knaves by Belfond Junior and Sir Edward Belfond. The same situation exists in the portrayal of those who are duped by Colonel Courtly in Vanbrugh's A Journey to London and, more obviously, by Captain Bluffe in Congreve's The Old Batchelor. The theme, the gulling of the country squire, although no doubt based on fact still current, is a traditional one. However, in Restoration comedies, gulling may occasionally be conducted by members of the gallant society without loss of face. For instance, the gulling, which is in reality blackmail, of Widow Blackacre by Freeman, in Wycherley's The Plain-Dealer [508-9], seems not to injure Freeman's status, and the acquisition of £100 from Sir Joseph Wittol by Sharper in Congreve's The Old Batchelor [II, i] is not pictured as demeaning. Gulling on a truly large scale was most possible in the securing of an advantageous marriage. Here acceptability appears to depend on the degree of success. No odium, apparently, attaches itself to an Aimwell who poses as his brother, Lord Aimwell, to win a bride (Farquhar, The Beaux' Stratagem), to a Young Fashion who poses as his brother, Lord Foppington, to win the bride destined for this brother (Vanbrugh, The Relapse), to the Mirabell

who advances sham addresses to Lady Wishfort in order to gain her niece (Congreve, The Way of the World). The Restoration comedy's distinctive feature is its clear-sighted, pragmatic and sceptical view of the world. Follies, vice, corruption, knavery are taken for granted. Dorimant can encourage Young Bellair's marriage to Emilia with the hope that he will then be in a position to cuckold him (Etherege, The Man of Mode); Harcourt can seek to alienate Sparkish and secure Alithea who is already bound to Sparkish (Wycherley, The Country-Wife); and Rhodophil can attempt to secure his friend Palamede's wife-to-be, Melantha, as his mistress, while Palamede, at the same time, attempts to secure the favours of Rhodophil's wife, Doralice (Dryden, Marriage a La Mode). This is all part of the code of urbanity of Restoration comedy.

There is in the gulling a predominant tendency to evoke some such principle as caveat emptor; that is, if one is credulous enough to be deceived by appearance, then one deserves his fate. With credulity, there is often an allied strain of avariciousness in the victim. This is the case with the victims of Lady Cheatly, "the True Widow, that comes to town, and makes a show of a fortune, to put off herself and her two daughters" [Dram. Pers.], who, in Shadwell's A True Widow, has partial success in her plans and remains at the end in possession of the

money invested with her by the scrivener and citizens. The targets of the gulling are usually pretenders to the ranks of the gay society or groups who are outside the charmed circle. When any of these groups are cheated, the actions of the gullers or sharpers appear to be condoned. If the cheats are not members of fashionable society, they may be nominally, by Restoration comedy standards, punished, as in the play discussed below, where Wheadle is forced to marry his mistress.

The pattern is established at the beginning of the period. Etherege's The Comical Revenge is perhaps the earliest complete depiction. It is a useful comedy to choose as a referential point because the world that the gallant is to inhabit in the later comedies is placed in relief by the incorporation of a love-and-honour plot. The play had early recognition as being in the vanguard of the new comedy. Oldys draws attention to Etherege's achievements:

. . . our Author's changing the study after old copies, and chimerical draughts from ungrounded speculation, which is but painting with dead colours, for those taken directly from the freshest practise and experience in original life. He drew his characters from what they called the Beau Monde; from the manners and modes then prevailing with the gay and voluptuous part of the world; which has made them appear the more natural, tho' we cannot say the more innocent. He has also spirited his dialogues, especially in the courtship of the fair sex, for which he is distinguished by Mr. Dryden and others, with a sparkling gaiety

which had but little appeared before upon the stage, in parts pretending to the character of modish Gallants.⁵

This first play, as Etherege himself noted in its prologue, was in a different style from the handful of new comedies produced in the early years of the Restoration. It is pertinent, when we look back nearly three hundred years to the incidents of the play, to consider Roger North's report that young Charles Crompton "not only diverted, but instructed his Lordship in all the rakery and intrigues of the lewd town; and his own follies were his chief subject to rally upon, as he did with most lively description and wit; particularly his being cheated of his best horses brought up to him from the North, and bubbled into a duel, which came off with an acquittance signed upon the cheat's back in the field, and was the very action which Mr. Etherege describes in his play of 'Love in a Tub'".⁶ Etherege was praised by contemporary playwrights⁷, but Captain Alexander Radcliffe was not enthusiastic about

. . . one that does presume to say,
A Plot's too gross for any play.
Comedy should be clean and neat,
As Gentlemen do talk and eat.
So what he writes is but Translation
From Dog and Pa[r]tridge Conversation.⁸

In Etherege's play we can see the treatment of and attitude toward cheating. Sir Frederick makes a drunken foray against the lodgings of Mrs. Grace, "A Wench Kept

by Wheadle" [Dram. Pers.]. Sir Frederick gives a description of Wheadle and his world:

Sir Fred. Why his Name is Wheadle; he's one whose trade is Trechery, to make a Friend, and then deceive him; he's of a ready Wit, pleasant conversation, thoroughly skill'd in men; in a word, he knows so much of Virtue as makes him well accomplish'd for all manner of Vice; He has lately insinuated himself into Sir Nich'las Culley, one whom Oliver, for the transcendent knavery and disloyalty of his Father, has dishonour'd with Knighthood; a fellow as poor in experience as in parts, and one that has a vainglorious humour to gain a reputation amongst the Gentry, by feigning good nature, and an affection to the King and his Party. I made a little debauch th' other day in their Company, where I fore-saw this fellow's destiny, his purse must pay for keeping this Wench, and all other Wheadle's extravagances. [7]

Sir Frederick is engaged in some gulling of his own, in his pursuit of Mrs. Rich, "A wealthy Widow, Sister to the Lord Bevill" [Dram. Pers.]. His "careless carriage" in his wooing, according to Lord Beaufort, has won her. Sir Frederick is complacent:

Some women, like Fishes, despise the Bait, or else suspect it, whil'st still it's bobbing at their mouths, but subtilly wav'd by the Angler's hand, greedily hang themselves upon the hook. There are many so critically wise, they'll suffer none to desire them but themselves. [8]

And now that success is in sight, Sir Frederick justifies himself:

Well, since 'tis my fortune, I'll be about it. Widow, My ruine lie on thy own head; Faith, my Lord, you can witness 'tis none of my seeking. [8]

The people in the worlds which Sir Frederick spans

are the dishonourable, the predators, and the honourable. Wheadle and Palmer are two of the predators. The imagery of angling is again used, this time setting off Sir Frederick's catching of the widow with Wheadle and Palmer's hooking of Sir Nicholas Cully:

Wheadle . . . How eagerly did this half-witted fellow chop up the bait? like a ravenous Fish, that will not give the Angler leave to sink his Line, but greedily darts up and meets it halfway.
[11]

Even the predators may be engaged in the "re-defining" mode of Restoration comedy as Palmer's retort shows when Wheadle suggests that want of money may make his reform:

I protest I had rather still be vicious Then owe my Virtue to Necessity. How commendable is chastity in an Eunuch? [9]

Palmer and Wheadle prey upon Sir Nicholas, but even he sees the citizen as fair game. Eager to be a participant in the gay life, he adopts the pose of the rake:

Wheadle . . . the opportunity of seeing another lovely brisk Woman, newly married to a foolish Citizen, who will be apt enough to hear Reason from one that can speak it better than her Husband . . . But since y'ave bus'ness -

Cully A pox on bus'ness, I'll defec't.

Wheadle By no means for a Silly Woman; our Pleasures must be slaves to our Affairs.

Cully Were it to take possession of an Estate I'd neglect it. Are the Ladies Cavaliers?

Wheadle O, most Loyal-hearted Ladies!

Cully How merry will we be then! [10-11]

Sir Nicholas follows Wheadle's advice and seeks a rich widow:

Wheadle Is it not better pushing thus for a Fortune, before your Reputation's blasted with the infamous names of Coward and gamester? and so become able to pay the thousand pounds without noise, then going into the Country, selling your Land, making a havock among your Woods, or mortgaging your Estate to a scrupulous Scrivener, that will whisper it into the ears of the whole Town, by inquiring of your good behaviour? [48]

The "rich widow", however, is Wheadle's mistress, Grace. With this marriage, Wheadle hopes to be able to cheat Cully of his estate, for, as he says, "I was not born to ease nor Acres; Industry is All my stock of living". Sir Nicholas, dressed in the style of Sir Frederick, is led by mistake to the real Widow Rich, where he is recognized by the maid Betty:

'Tis one of Oliver's Knights, Madam, Sir Nicolas Cully; his Mother was my Grand-mother's Dairy Maid. [67]

Just then, outside the widow's door, Sir Frederick is supposedly arrested by Bailiffs for a debt of two hundred pounds. The widow sends the money with the admonition that Sir Frederick should not know from where it came, but it is all a ruse of Sir Frederick's. He returns to the widow to mock her with the money she has paid. It is then that he discovers Wheadle's plot against Sir Nicholas. He administers justice:

Sir Fred. . . . 'Tis fit this Rascal shou'd be cheated; but these Rogues will deal to unmercifully


with him; I'll take compassion upon him, and use him more favourably my self. [73]

Under his direction, Sir Nicholas marries Sir Frederick's "sister", who in reality, is Lucy, "A wench kept by Sir Frederick" [Dram. Pers.]; Wheadle is forced to marry his mistress, Mrs. Grace; and Palmer, her maid Jenny. Sir Frederick himself marries the widow--but she gives the audience an afterword in the Epilogue:

Sir Frederick, now I am reveng'd on you; For all your Frollick Wit, y'are couzen'd too; I have made over all my Wealth to these Honest Gentlemen; they are my Trustees. Yet Gentlemen, if you are pleas'd, you may Suply his wants, and not your Trust betray.

Between the farcical episodes of Dufoy and his tub and the love and honour seriousness of the high plot, Etherege presents what is to be the milieu of the Restoration comedy. Some of the elements are there merely in rudimentary form, but the direction is clear.

It is a world where the heroes are astute, gallant, rakish. Here they live life to the full, with wild-cap escapades, sexual adventures. They are worldly and worldly-wise. They are without illusions; they are pragmatic. They accept love somewhat cynically; they pursue a fortune in marriage. And in this world, there are the pretenders, the cullies who attempt to be frolickers. But the pretenders lack the astuteness of the heroes, and they are preyed upon by the sharks and gamesters and cheats and bluffs who never deceive the real heroes. Always there is



the foolish citizen, fair game for both hero and pretender. The lower classes, the common people, hardly have a being at all in this gay society. They are the servants, the servicers, the confidantes, the go-betweens who can be bought with money or bestowed by command.

This, and Etherege's two later comedies, She Wou'd if She Cou'd and The Man of Mode, provide a fascinating picture of the gay society. They do not present a total picture of its milieu: the hostility to the citizen/merchant/Puritan, where it does occur, is incidental; the plight of the younger brother or his quest for a fortune in marriage is never a main topic of concern; the rejection of conventions and religion is incidental; the satirical depiction of the motivations operating in society in general are minimal. They do offer, however, certain chords which are played upon with variations in nearly all of the comedies of the period; London is the mecca for both young and old, but particularly for the young; love is mortal and marriage is a business arrangement; the concern of the gay society is divertissement (usually, sexual divertissement), and its mode of raillery; the gay people are surrounded by would-be gallants and foppish aspirants to their society, and by predators; commoners are all of negligible account; money is a necessity; and traditional conventions, attitudes and sanctions are regarded in a new light, not only for their correspondence to reality or practice but also for

their congruity to one's "natural constitution".⁹

For this world where exploitation reigns, the merchant becomes a natural choice for the dupe, because of his association with Puritanism, his concentration on gain and his pride in his sagacity. The rationale is basically simple: he cheats, so outwit him or let him be outwitted at his own practice. The choice of the pretender has its roots in dramatic tradition, but there are more complex reasons for the selection. With the displacement occurring in society after the wars, many of the old criteria for evaluating a person's quality have been superseded; in a larger urban context it is difficult to "place" a person; in a society where exploitation is common, self-protection becomes a motivation, but because exploitation is the mode, the self-protective attitude acquires aggressive tendencies. The pretender is himself an exploiter, of rank, privilege, quality, and especially is this true of the upstarts emerging after the wars in this new commercial society; consequently, as exploiters they deserve to be exploited. This method of requital, of course, has a chain-reaction, and the citizen or merchant is at the end of the receiving-line.

The aspirants include fops, such as Monsieur in Wycherley's The Gentleman-Dancing-Master, who think by imitating the outward and visible signs of the gay to

capture the spirit; would-be wits, like Brisk in Congreve's The Double Dealer, who with contrived and false wit think that they match the natural brilliance of the real wits; predators, such as Sir Simon Addleplot in Wycherley's Love in a Wood, who join the gay in order to secure material advantage; and citizens, like Jorden in Ravenscroft's The Citizen turn'd Gentleman, who present themselves as members.

These pretenders lack the birth, real breeding, sense of proportion or nicety, or wealth of the real members. They imitate the manners but lack the essentials. By their excesses, by their slavish adherence to custom rather than reality, by their contrived rather than spontaneous attitudes, actions and words, they serve as a contrast to the "natural way" of the gallants. They deserve to be cheated because their very presence in fashionable society is an impertinence: "This Rogue is one of those Earthly Mongrels that knows the value of nothing but a good Estate, and loves a fellow with a great deal of Land and Title, though his Grandfather were a Blacksmith", says Truman, in Otway's Friendship in Fashion [366].

The cheating, then, that occurs in the comedies is not simply, directly or merely a matter of one character swindling another of money. It is not simply an economic matter; it is a social problem which has economic roots. Cheating is part of the larger manifestation of outwitting,

which in turn leads to the comedies' characteristic theme of exploitation. Viewed in this sense, cheating leads directly to the heart of the comedies and to the polarity of appearance and reality on which they are based.

The apparent acceptance of gulling suggests that while gain by work is demeaning, gain by wit, if not ennobling, is at least worthy of applause. This hypothesis gains some credence when the attitude to and the amount of gambling depicted is considered. The motivation is unequivocal: it is gambling for money. Beyond the personal objections (which are mainly based on losses or time consumed), there is no doubt that gambling is regarded as both respectable and acceptable as a means of financial support. Contemporary accounts abound with references to the mania for both dice and cards. The Memoirs of Count Grammont gives a reflection of its importance in court circles:

"You play from morning to night, or, to speak more properly, from night to morning, without knowing what it is to lose. Far from losing the money you brought hither, as you have done in other places, you have doubled it, trebled it, multiplied it almost beyond your wishes, notwithstanding the exorbitant expenses you are imperceptibly led into . . ." commented Saint Evremond. "Fortune may grow weary of befriending you at play. What would have become of you, if your last misfortune had happened to you when your money had been at as low an ebb as I have known it? Attend carefully then to this necessary deity, and renounce the other. You will be missed at the court of France before you grow weary of this; but be that as it may, lay up a good store of money: when a man is rich he consoles himself for his banishment. I know you well my dear Chevalier: if you take it into your head to seduce a

lady, or to supplant a lover, your gains at play will by no means suffice for presents and bribes; no, let play be as productive to you as it can be, you will never gain so much by it as you will lose by love, if you yield to it." [121-123]

The amounts of money involved were considerable:

Talbot played deep and was tolerably forgetful; the Chevalier de Grammont won three or four hundred guineas of him the very evening on which he was sent to the Tower. That accident had made him forget his usual punctuality in paying the next morning whatever he had lost over-night . . ." [247]

The Chevalier de Grammont had won of him [Lord Cornwallis] a thousand or twelve hundred guineas, which he had heard no tidings of, although he was upon the eve of his departure, and he had taken leave of Cornwallis in a more particular manner than any other person.¹⁰ [249]

Although de Cominges, the French ambassador, described Grammont as an unparalleled liar, there is enough contemporary evidence of the passion for gambling and the large sums of money involved to lend credence to the amounts mentioned in his accounts. Lady Castlemaine, a special case, sometimes risked £1,000 or £1,500 on a card, and on one night won £15,000 while losing £25,000 another.¹¹ When the same lady, now Duchess of Cleveland, returned to England at the end of July, 1679, the king told the Commissioners of the Treasury to beware "for that she would have a bout with them for money, having lately lost £20,000 in money and jewels in one night of play".¹²

These two examples are indicative of the situation at court. Pepys, on 17 February 1667, was scandalized to find the Queen, the Duchess of York and some other ladies

playing cards in public on a Sunday. Gambling flourished at court by custom especially between Christmas and Epiphany. The same period was observed in the Inns of Court: "Methinks, 'tis like one of their own Halls, in Christmas time, whither, from all parts, Fools bring their money, to try by the Dice, (not the worst Judges) whether it shall be their own . . .," comments Freeman, in Wycherley's The Plain-Dealer [439]. The most usual resort was the Groom-porter's: "What lord has lately broke his fortune at the Groom-porter's?" [Farquhar, The Constant Couple, I, i]; "Come, Theodore, a lucky hand or two at the Groom Porters, will get thee as good a Mistress as any about the Town" [Shadwell, The Miser, 21]. The Groom-porter's quarters were in St. James's Palace. Both Pepys (1 January 1668) and Evelyn (6 January 1662; 8 January 1668) comment on the Groom-porter's, and the Flying Post for 10-13 January 1699, reports the king played there on Twelfth Day, according to custom.

For some, gambling persisted throughout the year not only in designated public places and at specified times but also wherever there was a convenient table and affairs which could be set aside, and the "some" who gambled, if we are to judge from the literature of the period, constituted a sizeable portion of the society.¹³ Etherege, who himself was reported to have lost £250

gambling at the Hague¹⁴, recorded the craze in "Song of Bassett".¹⁵ But cards and dice reflected only part of the obsession which spread to cock-fighting, ninepins, and even arguments.¹⁶ Prig, in Shadwell's A True Widow, is an example of the sportsman who will bet on anything; Kick and Cuff, in Shadwell's Epsom-Wells, discuss betting on ninepins, "I have known a great Bowler, whose Betters place was worth above 200 l. a year, without venturing a farthing for himself" [108]; and, in Farquhar's The Constant Couple, Vizard, Standard and Sir Harry bet "ten guineas a-piece" on the merits of their respective mistresses [I, 1].

The Gaming Act of 1664 limited a loser's legal obligation to £100. This legal statement and the examples I have quoted suggest that the references to gambling in the plays do not seem much exaggerated. Sir Francis Headpiece, in Vanbrugh's A Journey to London, is disturbed to find Lady Arabella Loverule and his own family gaming at breakfast-time (IV, 1), and Lady Arabella had lost £100 in the previous night's gambling. Clarissa, according to her maid, Flippanta, in Vanbrugh's The Confederacy, intends to pay for all the luxuries she has asked her husband Gripe for by gambling:

Flippanta Madam plays, Sir, think on that; women that play have inexhaustible mines and wives who receive least money from their husbands, are many times those who spend the most. [IV, 1]

And Novel, in Wycherley's The Plain-Dealer, gives an indication of sums involved:

Novel . . . besides what I presented her jantily by way of 'Ombre, of three or four hundred pounds value, which I'm sure are the earnest Pence for our Love bargain. [478]

But this is not large compared to the £1,000 that Sir Nicholas Culley loses at one go to Palmer in Etherege's The Comical Revenge [29].

Sizeable sums, and a means of existence, could thus be procured. And the apparent acceptance of cheating, the seeming lack of odium for cheating, and the lack of financially-rewarding opportunities could encourage an almost professional approach to gambling. Perhaps the number of women who indulged in playing can be explained partially by the all but complete constraint on them so far as other legitimate opportunities to earn money were concerned.

In this context, it is easy to appreciate the attraction and to understand the popularity of the Tontine and the Lotteries. Realizing the fraudulent aspects and the inadequacy of this means of taxation, Petty spoke out against lotteries in 1662.¹⁷ But the incidental references, in, for example, Dryden's The Kind Keeper [26], D'Urfey's A Fool's Preferment [20], and Higden's The Wary Widdow [prologue], suggest that lotteries were still common even though the fraudulent aspect was fully realized. Joseph

Harris's deservedly unfortunate comedy, Love's a Lottery, was produced in 1699 just before the early advertisements for the Million Lottery. In this play, he apparently attempted to capitalize on the idea by building a plot on a lottery for wives. The action stumbles along, to be pulled vainly together with a moral ending:

The World may now see, what all Lotteries are -
They are Bawds to Fools; Decoys to catch Gulls;
The sport of Knaves, and the Losers tryal of
Patience . . . [32]

The play was ill-received, and the moral was rejected in the scramble that was to follow for participation in the lottery.

In the comedies, business and the professions are rejected as means of livelihood unsuitable for the gentleman. Yet we have seen in this chapter the importance that is attached to money in the gallants' world. Gulling and cheating apparently are acceptable if directed against those who are regarded as outside the charmed circle of gay people. These activities offer opportunities for both requital and money. Gambling for money is condoned. But both gulling and gambling usually offer only occasional and unreliable income. The question still remains: How does the gentleman who does not have money acquire it? In the next chapter I shall examine the gentleman's condition and position to discover how important money is to him, before proceeding to his major emolument, marriage.

CHAPTER 8

" . . . OUR GENTLEMEN NEVER GET BUT TWICE
IN ALL THEIR LIVES":

THE GENTLEMAN'S RIGHT TO MONEY AND THE REJECTION OF WORK

After 1660, radical and communistic views of society were effectively silenced. In general, the clergy accepted the existing society and concentrated on giving it a rationale, but traditional hierarchical notions were not always easily applied to an aristocratic society which was becoming increasingly bourgeois. The clergy in their writings reflect the antagonisms between aristocratic and bourgeois elements; Anglicans were concerned with aristocratic theory, and Nonconformists tended to express bourgeois ideas. However, both groups agreed on fundamental principles, and both accepted the idea of a ranked and ordered society: "Anglicans were not reactionaries, nor were the Dissenters prophets of revolution".¹ The social theories of these religious writers provide important information, for the clergy, in many ways, were the philosophers of a total view of society. To them, it was an undoubted fact that authority and leadership rested in hereditary rank and fortune. To them, it was implicitly right that prestige, leisure and power should rest with

the gentlemen. Isaac Barrow expressed the philosophy in Of Industry: "So hath the great author of order distributed the ranks and offices of men in order to mutual benefit and comfort . . . all conspiring to one common end, the welfare of the whole . . ."² The gentleman, then, has a natural right to prestige and leisure. But the theory assumed that society was static, whereas economic change was causing increasing fluidity. Thus, the following discussion examines the changes and the difficulties these changes create for traditional hierarchical notions. The gentleman is forced to define himself in a different way. There is an economic constituent involved in this redefinition. Rank and wealth are no longer inevitable concomitants. This leads me to an examination of the gentleman's legitimate sources of income. Finally, I discuss the different categories of gentlemen presented in the comedies.

Young Reveller, in Mountfort's Greenwich-Park, describes to Lord Worthy the changes which have taken place in London: "our Nobility love their Ease and Pleasure, the Gentry are Careless and stubborn, the Commonalty grumbling and Positive, the Clergy Ambitious and froward, and the Mobile mad for an Insurrection" [4]. This play was produced in 1691. Two other comedies, later in the same decade, make easier class distinctions. Sir Wealthy Plainer, in Dilke's The Pretenders, says, "Ah Mr. Nickycrack, is it not

a hard case for me that am but a poor Commoner, to be rivall'd by a Lord" [21]. Here a simple division of rank is indicated, that of commoners and nobility. George Marteen, in Behn's The Younger Brother, who as a cadet had been apprenticed to a trade, reveals that the difference is a significant one, involving spirit, temperament and attitude to life: "I could not bow my Mind to this so necessary Drudgery; and yet however, I assum'd my native Temper, when out o' th' Trading City; in it, I forc'd my Nature to a dull slovenly Gravity, which well enough deceiv'd the busy Block-heads; my Clothes and Equipage I lodg'd at this End of the Town, where I still pass'd for something better than I was, whene'er I pleas'd to change the Trader for the Gentleman" [328].

The distinction, then, that there were two classes, comprised of those who were gentlemen and of those who were not, was still operative at the end of the century whatever signs of change may have occurred. Change is suggested, for example, in Lord Wiseman's comments in Crowne's The English Frier: "Well Mr. Bellamour, I shall condescend to't, though you be but a Commoner - you have a good Estate, and are of a very good family for a Commoner - What? But I must tell you I consent with some reluctancy to Match with a Commoner - Antiently the distance was vast between Nobles and Commons. No Commoner cover'd before a Nobleman; and none

but Noblemen went into the Privy Chamber, and Privy Galleries, and was not that a great thing? what?" [12]. That the distinction was still acute even though circumstances were changing is evident in, for example, Newcastle's The Triumphant Widow: ". . . she who you have married, is a better Gentlewoman than you are a Gentleman; her Father was a Gentleman, your's an Ironmonger at London; her's was ruined by Loyalty, as your's was raised by Rebellion" [95]. Ravenscroft might indicate the changes taking place in the title of a comedy, The Citizen Turn'd Gentleman, but such an apparent transformation could not obliterate the prerogatives of those who, as revealed in Orrery's Guzman, were "gentlemen by birth" [48].

What, is being encountered again here is the simple system of social stratification, a relation of two levels of society in terms of superordination and subordination, based on prestige, privilege or power. The changes, as I have suggested, were occurring because purely economic criteria, in an emerging and developing capitalist society, were assuming added importance. Birth, land and wealth were being countered by wealth alone, and wealth alone was sufficient to purchase status symbols: accoutrements, education, title, advantageous marriage, eventually power, and with power, prestige. There was, then, a situation ripe for a higher degree of social mobility.³ And mobility

complicated any simple theoretical division into gentle and non-gentle.

The career of Dudley North (1641-1691) provides an example of the dangers of simplification. He was the younger brother of Francis North, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. The family was descended from Roger North, a merchant of Henry VII's time. Is Dudley North to be classed as merchant or gentleman? He was educated for a merchant's career, and he was apprenticed to a Turkey merchant. After serving as supercargo, factor and foreign partner, he returned to England in 1680 and established himself as a Turkey merchant. He was made a director of the African Company, became Sheriff of London in 1682, served as Commissioner of Customs and was later a Member of Parliament. He married the daughter of a Bristol merchant, for whom he was willing to make a £20,000 settlement, and this when he was only forty-one. The huge fortune he is reputed to have made was acquired through trade.⁴

Presumably, Dudley North from his education, because of his mode of life and on account of his procedures for amassing wealth must be classed with the merchants. As we shall see in the following discussions, Dudley North fails to qualify as a "younger brother", according to the tenets of the comedies, on nearly all accounts.

Before proceeding, it is necessary to discover how

the gentle defined themselves. Kelso, in The Doctrine of the English Gentleman in the Sixteenth Century, suggests that the idea of honour was at the root of the code of conduct which grew in importance as a distinguishing element between the genteel and the plebeian at a time when other distinguishing marks, such as wealth or mode of life were becoming ineffective.⁵ In this situation, honour was an inner mark, with fewer external, tangible referents. With the growing hostility between the gentry and the citizens, with the increasing importance and power of the non-gentry, such a distinction became acutely necessary to the genteel during the Restoration period. Honour was that inner something, reflected in reputation or behaviour, which belonged exclusively to the gentle. In this respect, it had little to do with reward or possessions. However, Parly, Lady Lurewell's maid, in Farquhar's The Constant Couple, while indicating that it was a prerogative of the genteel, gives an outside opinion on this element in the following conversation with the disbanded Colonel Standard:

Standard . . . Well, Mrs. Parly, 'tis ordered by Act of Parliament, that you receive no more pieces, Mrs. Parly.

Parly . . . 'Tis provided by the same act, that you send no more messages by me, good Colonel; you must not pretend to send any more letters, unless you can pay the postage.

Standard Come, come, don't be mercenary; take example by your lady, be honourable.

Parly A lack a day, sir! it shows as
ridiculous and haughty for us to imitate our
betters in their honour as in their finery;
leave honour to nobility that can support it; we
poor folks, Colonel, have no pretence to 't;
and truly, I think, sir, that your honour should
be cashiered with your leading-staff.

Standard (Aside) 'Tis one of the greatest curses of
poverty to be the jest of chambermaids. [I, ii]

In the same play, we see that the distinguishing mark of
honour is forfeited by anyone who devalues it:

Lady Lurewell Your word, sir, is not to be relied on;
if a gentleman will forfeit his honour in dealings
of business, we may reasonably suspect his fidelity
in an amour.

Sir Harry My honour in dealings of business! Why,
madam, I never had any business in all my life.
[ii, iv]

In dealing with Alderman Smuggler, Lady Lurewell does not
use the word honour; instead she says: "Sir, I'll blast
your reputation, and so ruin your credit" [II, iv].

Honour, then, is an endowed possession, not some-
thing to be acquired, although there are indications of a
social change in cases where the younger generation are
treated as gentlemen while their parents or guardians are
not.⁶ It is the possession of a gentleman, something that
is valued and protected. Usually, the playwrights do not
meddle with variations on this meaning of the word. It is
too important a concept which, if satirized or mocked, would
endanger the tenuous hold of gallant society, at risk as it
was. But they do reinforce this meaning by exposing the

pretenders to honour. The pretenders (for example, in Shadwell's Bury Fair or Behn's The False Count), the bullies (in Shadwell's The Squire of Alsatia or Congreve's The Old Batchelor), and the upstarts or parvenus (in Etherege's The Comical Revenge or Behn's Sir Patient Fancy) who lay claim to honour are depicted as lacking in their conduct the essential attributes of gentlemen. Usually, this exposure takes the form of a revelation of cowardice where duelling is concerned. The social change is again evident here as many knights are depicted as pretenders; knighthood is something which can be purchased. Dapperwit's comment, in Wycherley's Love in a Wood, is worth quoting here;

Because 'tis now no more reputation to write a Play, then it is honour to be a Knight; your true wit despises the title of Poet, as much as your true gentleman the title of Knight; for as a man may be a Knight and no Gentleman, so a man may be a Poet and no Wit, let me perish. [37]

It is essential here that we realise that honour in this context is an attribute of a gentleman; it is only incidentally that it coincides with virtue (or the older vertu), for now virtue is a moral quality assumed by the Puritans. Henry Peacham's The Complete Gentleman (1622) with its complaints against upstart "gentlemen", and Richard Braithwaite's The English Gentleman (1633), with its commendation of honourable labour, both indicate change in the upper ranks of society. They suggest two main

conflicting ideals of the gentleman; the Cavalier and the Puritan. But both books, and the courtesy books in general, appear to be concerned with encouraging a moral uplift in society; their point of reference is the Christian-Humanist tradition.⁷ The gallant of the comedies, however, is oriented quite differently. His mark is indicated by the Viscount Conway: "We eat and drink and rise up to play and this is to live like a gentleman; for what is a gentleman but his pleasure?"⁸ These words echo and re-echo throughout the comedies. They find voice in the courtesy books. In The Gentleman's Companion (1672), we hear that ". . . idleness is become the badge, as it were, or distinguishing mark of Gentility, to be one of no Calling, not to Labour; for that's derogatory of their Birth; they make Vacation their Vocation" [121]. This attitude finds expression right at the beginning of the period, in, for example, the preface to The Gentleman's Calling (1660), "A Gentleman is now supposed to be only a thing of pleasure, a creature sent into the world . . . to take his pastime therein". Sir Harry Wildair, in Farquhar's The Constant Couple, presents the typical interpretation in the comedies: "I make the most of life, no hour misspend, Pleasure's the means, and pleasure is my end. No spleen, no trouble, shall my time destroy; Life's but a span, I'll every inch enjoy". This gallant is "a gay, splendid,

generous, easie, fine young Gentleman", as the dedication to Farquhar's The Inconstant tells us, a "Witty, Wild, Inconstant, free Gallant" living with "easy freedom, and a gay address", as the epilogue to the same play states. Although individuals from the lower strata may succeed in entering the existing elite in so far as society in general is concerned, there is really no place for them in the comedies other than as extras to fill the social scene or as objects upon whom abuse or mockery might be heaped. Birth, land and money were some of the prerequisites for membership in beau monde of the comedies, but more important, perhaps, was the adoption of the mode of life of this society. Membership, however, was something conferred by natural or innate right; it was not something which could be acquired. Those who had the natural right of membership, also had the natural right to the good things of life. This attitude illuminates the attitudes of the society to debts. If money was lacking, the gallant had a natural right to borrow it from the baser sort; repayment was solely at the individual's discretion.

To live idly, to live sumptuously, to gamble, all required money. What was the source of income? For the real gallants, there were only two sources: an estate or an advantageous marriage. The estate in itself might provide sufficient income, or it might be necessary to mortgage it.

The comedies are replete with examples of mortgaged estates. The resentment which the gallants feel towards those who hold the mortgages expresses again their reaction to those who place restraints upon their natural right to the money. Here again the social theory of religious leaders may be operating as background: ". . . the division of property was not made by any antecedent law, yet being once made, and so useful to mankind, the violation of it, by taking that which is anothers right, is a manifest violation of the law of nature".⁹ As for marriage, it is again the gallants' natural right to marry the fortunes, especially if the money is needed to recoup their own fortunes.

The upstarts and the pretenders, on the other hand, do not have this natural right. They may have acquired lands and money, they may have purchased titles, and they may have adopted the mode of life of the gay society, but they have no right to win the wealthy bride and no right to assume or be accorded the privileges of real gentlemen.

All of these attitudes are exemplified in the comedies. In D'Urfey's Madam Fickle, Jollyman tells his son: "Money was made for those that laugh, and drink with appetite, whose merry Souls - put Padlocks on dull Conscience, and live the life of sence cum Privilegio"[2]. A similar point is made later when Manly congratulates Lord Bellamore on winning three hundred guineas at gambling:

"'Twas well you won 'em: They might else have been thrown away upon one of far less merit . . ." [7]. The country squires are reviled for their "new-coin'd Gentility" [12]. Zechiel, one of the country squire's sons, sets up for a wit; he serves mainly to reaffirm the attitudes of the real wits, "Trade! Thou son of Assafatida! call a Gentlemans divertive Custome a Trade" [51], and he engages in a quarrel with some citizens when "one of the Rascals would needs take the wall of me . . ." [54]. Merry, in Payne's The Morning Ramble rails against even the use of the word business by "well-bred Gentlemen": "Living, Townlove, Living: thou hast not so much as consider'd what bus'ness thou was sent into the World about - 'Tis living, Man"[2].

The whole of Boyle's Guzman is predicated on the assumption that a gentleman by birth has the right to money and to an estate. The estate, however is important because of what it yields, as Henry, in D'Urfey's Squire Oldsapp, makes clear: "I am of the same temper with other Young Gentlemen, newly come to their Estates, and do not so much consider what I may spend, as what I can spend, still deserting the thrifty for the gentile quality" [2]. Indeed, here and there in the comedies, a new attitude towards the estate and land begins to emerge. At the beginning of the period, in Cowley's Cutter of Coleman Street, set in 1658, Truman Junior speaks of his qualms

about efforts "to save this Dung-hill an Estate" [3].

Careless, in Drake's The Sham-Lawyer, produced in 1697, asks:

Does true Wealth then consist only in the number of Acres? No let the dull Landed Clods manure the Dirt they sprang from, and when the've worn themselves out in slavery, fatten it with a Dung-hill of their own Carcases. [2]

But this note sounds forlorn when, as Franciso, in Behn's The False Count, says: ". . . our gentlemen never get but twice in all their Lives; that is, when Fathers dy, they get good Estates; and when they Marry, they get rich Wives" [47]. And, frequently, to get the rich wife, an estate is of importance. The country squires realize this and put it at the beginning of their lists of courting assets, but even the gentlemen do not ignore it: in Farquhar's original form of Act V of The Constant Couple, Sir Harry proffers himself to Angelica with "I throw a purer victim at your feet, my honourable love and fortune. If chastest, purest passion, with a large and fair estate, can make amends, they're yours this moment". Perhaps the momentary change of tone regarding the estate denotes an ambivalence or uncertainty created by the loss of lands during the wars or by their purchase by the rising mercantile class. Gusman, in Powell's Imposture Defeated, rails against the "Muck-worm, a Rogue that has ruin'd your Poor Old Daddy, and swallow'd as much Land in a

Twelvemonths time as has kept our Family these three hundred Years" [9]. The mention of land speculation occurs in many of the plays, from Sedley's The Mulberry Garden (1668) to Drake's The Sham-Lawyer (1697). And, of course, the accumulation of wealth and the acquisition of land were followed by the purchase of titles; Melito Bondi, in Pix's The Deceiver Deceived intends his daughter "for my Lord Insuls, Son to the rich French Merchant Monsieur Opulant, who by his Industry has purchas'd three Jack Pudding French Beaux Estates" [2].

Nevertheless, land remained of overwhelming importance as a source of ready income and as a symbol of security and independence, if not of automatic prestige. Dryden's The Wild Gallant provides examples of these attitudes. Jack Loveby has "no Estate; he had one; but he has made a Devil on't long ago" [4]; he lives in a miserable condition, in poor lodgings, with few clothes, but even here he has to be supported, and eventually rescued, by his lover. Whatever grandeur he affects cannot change society's opinion, expressed by Constance, "You forge these things prettily, but I have heard you are as poor as a decimated Cavalier, and had not one foot of land in all the world" [18], and Failer reports of him that even though he sometimes has money "This still renders him the more suspicious; He has no land to my knowledge . . . He has no Meanes, and he loses

at Play" [31]. Bibber, at the end of the play, states, "No, hence forward I'll trust none but landed men; and such as have houses and apple-trees in the Country" [77].

The estate, then, was something not to be worked or improved but to be drawn on for revenue to buy the accoutrements that were necessary in the London society. Wilding, in Behn's The City Heiress, explains the requirements:

I having many and hopeful Intreagues now depending, especially those of my charming Widow, and my City-Heiress, which can by no means be carried on without that damn'd necessary call'd ready Money; I have stretcht my Credit, as all young Heirs do, till 'tis quite broke. New Liveries, Coaches, and Clothes must be had, they must my Friend. [227]

Lacking the income from an estate, Wilding has other sources; according to Foppington, there is dice, "and now and then he lights upon a squire, or so, and between fair and foul Play, he makes a shift to pick a pretty livelihood up" [220]. Below consideration is that "damn'd Business, that Enemy to Love" [221] and so Wilding has to seek every possibility for financial return: "I am to live by my Wits, as you say, and your rich good-natur'd Cuckold is as sure a Revenue to a handsome young Cadet, as a thousand Pound a year. Your tolerable Face and Shape is an Estate in the City, and a better Bank than your Six per Cent at any time" [208]. Careless, in Behn's The Debauchee, however, will "ne're fall so low to do the drugery of an old Lady",

although dice and borrowing have both failed him. Pedro, in Arrowsmith's The Reformation, whose father will not die and pass on the estate, considers gaming, a "Souldiers Life", and Poetry [2-3]. Woodvil, in Dogget's The Country-Wake, whose father has spent all the estate before he died, accepts the situation philosophically: ". . . the Old Gentleman cou'd not 'a chosen a better time to put me to my Shifts, since the War gives me so Glorious an opportunity to try what Fortune has in store for me" [3].

Other possibilities are dismissed, as Sir Anthony Merriwell indicates, in Behn's The City Heiress:

What, they wou'd have me train my Nephew up, a hopeful Youth, to keep a Merchant's Book, or send him to chop Logick in an University, and have him returned an arrant learned Ass, to simper, and look demure, and start at Oaths and Wenches . . . [211]

Sir Anthony's comments reveal how such activities would be greeted in the gallant society. Work for money was anathema to the gay. Although Defoe, in A Plan of English Commerce (1728), said, "The rising Tradesman swells into Gentry, and the declining Gentry sinks into Trade . . . Thus Tradesmen become Gentlemen, by Gentlemen becoming Tradesmen" [12], the older system of apprenticing gentlemen's sons, especially younger sons, is rarely mentioned in the comedies. In pre-Restoration comedy, such references are commonplace. Sir John Frugal, the merchant and husband of The City Madam (1624), for instance explains his position:

I was born
 His elder brother, yet my father's fondness
 To him, the younger, robbed me of my birthright;
 He had a fair estate, which his loose riots
 Soon brought to nothing. [I, 111]

Elsewhere in the same play we get more specific mention of apprenticeship:

Luke [To Young Goldwire and Young Tradewell] . . .
 Are you gentlemen born, yet have no gallant
 tincture/ Of gentry in you? You are no mechanics/
 . . . [II, 1]

Luke [To the fathers of the two apprentices] Your
 bonds lie/ For your sons' truth, and they shall
 answer all/ They have run out - The masters never
 prospered/ Since gentlemen's son grew prentices.
 [V, 11]

There is evidence that the system of apprenticeship for the sons of gentlemen continued during the Restoration period. Edward Chamberlayne, in the 1692 edition of Angliae notitia, for instance, complained:

And yet to the shame of our nation, we have seen of late not only the sons of baronets, knights, and gentlemen sitting in the shops, sometimes of peddling trades . . ., but also an earl of this kingdom subjecting his son to an apprenticeship and trade . . . these young gentlemen possessing more noble and active spirits could not brook such dull slavish lives, and being thereby unfitted for other employments have generally taken to debauched courses. [259]

This opinion is curiously reminiscent of George Marteen's comment which was quoted at the beginning of the chapter. However, Chamberlayne's opinion provides information on an actual state of affairs and his disapproval of these changes. What is interesting is that, in the 1700 edition of his book, this statement is withdrawn and replaced by the judgment

that a gentleman who is bound apprentice does not lose his status. Later in this chapter, when I take a closer look at the condition of the younger brother, I shall present Josiah Child's quite definite statement on gentleman apprenticeship. The matter cannot be resolved easily. With the relaxation of the Elizabethan Statute of Apprentices and the abolition of some of the restrictive gild regulations, it is likely that apprenticeship as such was regarded with less favour. In the next century, apprentices came to be regarded as part of the mob, and even during the Restoration period they were frequently involved in public disorder.¹⁰ Sir Christopher, in Shadwell's The Woman-Captain, sees some apprentices breaking windows and he is enraged: "Apprentices! must such Rogues as you usurp the privilege of Gentlemen?" [45]. For all this, George Marteen, in Behn's The Younger Brother, is a merchant's apprentice:

I'm a Cadet, that out-cast of my Family, and born to that curse of our old English Custom. Whereas in other Countries, younger Brothers are train'd up to the Exercise of Arms, where Honour and Renown attend the Brave; we basely bind our youngest out to Slavery, to lazy Trades, idly confin'd to Shops or Merchants Books, debasing of the Spirit to the Mean Cunning, how to cheat and chaffer. [328]

Marteen's father had later sent him as a factor to France, but Marteen had returned to London, unwilling to "purchase a younger Brother's narrow Stipend, at the expense of my Pleasure and Happiness" [322].

Thus far I have been discussing the gentleman in general terms; however in the comedies, there are six different categories of gentlemen: 1. Those who possess a sufficient estate, such as Lord Bellamy or Wildish, in Shadwell's Bury Fair; 2. Those who are penniless because they have lost, sold or mortgaged their estates, such as Careless, in Drake's The Sham-Lawyer; 3. Those who have spent their allowance and are waiting for their fathers to die in order to come into the estate, such as Pedro, in Arrowsmith's The Reformation; 4. The younger brother who has no estate to inherit, such as George Marteen in Behn's The Younger Brother; 5. The "professional" gentleman, who usually has or had an army career but who lacks land, such as Standard, in Farquhar's The Constant Couple; and 6. The country squire, who has sufficient land and income but who lacks the essential qualities to be accepted as a gallant, such as Sir Barnaby Bussler, in Ravenscroft's The Canterbury Guests. There are two other types who exist with varying degrees of acceptance in the gay society: 1. The son of a prosperous merchant, who rejects the "mechanick" life and who is treated in the comedies as, or almost as, an accepted member, such as Young Jorden, in Ravenscroft's The Citizen Turn'd Gentleman; 2. The son of a citizen, who with his acquired wealth or estate, sets up as a gallant, but who is revealed to be merely a pretender, existing only

on toleration, such as Monsieur de Paris, in Wycherley's The Gentleman-Dancing-Master. The first is usually without money and consequently has to resort to the same stratagems as the impoverished gentleman in order to live; the second, for all his wealth, is usually discomfited or gulled.

The Lord Bellamy or the Wildish floats effortlessly through the economic jungle, often unconcerned about portion and uninvolved in financial gymnastics. With his plentiful estate, his business is pleasure. Vizard describes Sir Harry, in Farquhar's The Constant Couple:

He's a gentleman of most happy circumstances, born to a plentiful estate, has had a genteel and easy education, free from the rigidity of teachers and pedantry of schools. His florid constitution being never ruffled by misfortune, nor stinted in its pleasures, has rendered him entertaining to others, and easy to himself; - turning all passion into gaiety of humour, by which he chooses rather to rejoice his friends than to be hated by any . . . [I, 1]

Sir Harry is a baronet and has £8,000 a year, and "can dance, sing, ride, fence, understand the languages" [IV, 1]. The Sir Barnaby Bussler, country "clod", may have £1536 13s. 4 1/2d. yearly (or about £1600 yearly, as is the case with Sir John Emptie, in Betterton's The Revenge, or £3000 a year, as with Sir Credulous Easy, in Behn's Sir Patient Fancy), but this money, as is often recognized by the character himself, is his chief or only merit. He is never hero; he is always butt. The "professional" gentleman is usually treated seriously; he is a character more allied to the love-and-

honour play, as, for example, with Colonel Bruce, in Etherege's The Comical Revenge. His fidelity and love and merit carry him to the winning of a fortune. The Careless, the Pedro and the George Marteen, however, all suffer from shortage of money and the comedy is, in great part, an explanation of their efforts to succour themselves. In this, they all come under the mantle of motivation which directs the younger brother. In an exceptional case, there is a Warner who, in Dryden's Sir Martin Mar-all, lives by assuming the occupation of a serving-man. For him, because he exists in a comedy, everything ends happily. Through marriage he is cheated "into an estate of 2000 l a year", for Millisent, his bride, had previously assured herself that he was a gentleman with "an Estate of 800 l a year, only it is mortgaged for 6000 l" [69].

London attracted the younger brother, "thatt which the catt left on the malt heape", who because of the strict rule of primogeniture had only "perhaps some smale annuytie during his life or what please an elder brother's worship to bestowe . . .". Although these words applied to an earlier period, Summerfield, in Harris's The City Bride (1696), echoes the sentiment:

A Younger Brother! 'Tis a poor Title, and very hard to bear with: The Elder Fool inherits all the Land, whilst we are forc'd to follow Legacies . . . and get 'um when we can. Why shou'd the Law, by which we are deprived of equal Portion with the first-begotten, not bend our Fathers to cease from Procreation, and so

as well deprive us of a wretched Being, as of the Thing we cannot without . . . To beg, my Birth will ne're consent to; and borrowing is [qu]ite out of date - Yet starve I cannot, nor murder I wou'd not: It must be the Highway then, the old Trade we poor honest Rogues are forc'd too. [9]

Josiah Child, in Brief Observations Concerning Trade (1668), was also concerned about primogeniture. He believed that the Netherlands was successful in trade because of "Their Law of Gavel-kind, whereby all their Children possess an equal share of their Fathers Estates after their decease, and so are not left to wrastle with the world in their youth, with inconsiderable assistance of fortune, as most of our youngest Sons of Gentlemen in England are, who are bound Apprentices to Merchants" [3]. The statement about apprenticeship does not appear to be confirmed by Sir William Petty in Political Arithmetick, which was probably written before 1680. His comments are worth quoting at length because of the information they provide on income and employment:

Nor is it unseasonable to intimate this matter, forasmuch as the younger Brother, of the good Families of England, cannot otherwise be provided for, so as to live according to their Birth and Breeding; For if the Lands of England are worth eight Million per annum, then there be at a medium about ten thousand Families, of about 800 l per annum; in each of which, one with another, we may suppose there is a younger Brother, whom less than two or 300 l per annum will not maintain suitable to his Relations: Now I say that neither the Offices at Court, nor Commands in our ordinary Army and Navy, nor Church Preferments; nor the usual Gains by the Profession of the Law, and Physick; nor the employments under Noblemen, and Prelates:

will, all of them put together, furnish livelyhoods of above 300 l per annum, to three thousand of the said ten thousand younger Brothers; whereof it remains that Trade alone must supply the rest. But if the said seven thousand Gentlemen, be applyed to Trade, without increasing of Trade . . . we must necessarily be disappointed.¹¹

All of the employments, listed by Petty, except the Army, are consistently rejected in the comedies.

Against this background it is interesting to put what happened in the Finch family. The Finch family provides information on the progress of a cadet branch, on the elevation through training in law, on the possibilities of gain through office and on the treatment of the younger brother. Daniel Finch belonged to a cadet branch of a long established landed family. His grandfather rose through the law to become Speaker of the House of Commons; his father, also a lawyer, became Lord Chancellor and was created Earl of Nottingham. Yet in the 1670's the income from his father's estate only provided a total of £1,900 a year; however his father was able to accumulate a substantial fortune from his legal practice and from his £4,000 salary as Chancellor. Professor Trevor-Roper's contention that many gentry families rose, during the period 1540-1640, with the support of proceeds from offices,¹² appears to have validity for the Restoration period. Daniel Finch himself, as eldest son, received estates worth £1,200 a year when he married. However, while his estate was not

sizeable (in fact, he inherited debts amounting to about £15,000) he was able to expend £132,000 during the period 1694-1724. Apparently, a significant portion of this came from offices such as his Secretaryship of State. Professor Habakkuk, indeed, estimates his total gains in office as between £40,000 and £45,000. (A gentleman, if Daniel Finch is typical example, did not invest his surplus cash in trade; instead he put his money in mortgages or government tallies). Daniel Finch's attitude to his own younger sons is revealing. He believed "no estate can provide so fully for younger children, but that they must in great degree help themselves". Two of these younger sons were provided with annuities of £300 each. These two were trained to the law, and subsequently did "help themselves". The other two sons received annuities of £200 each but managed to thrive with the assistance of offices and sinecures.¹³ Daniel Finch's treatment of his younger sons, incidentally, is quite similar to that of the Earl of Bedford. Bedford's sons had allowances of between £300 and £400 yearly. When the eldest married he was ensured an annuity of £2,000; the other sons received annuities of £500 on marriage.¹⁴

Without money, however, the young gentlemen of the comedies, impoverished gallants as well as younger brothers, must live by "the Highway", as Summerfield actually attempts to do, or as Hernando, in Powell's Imposture Defeated,

considers[1]. Usually "the Highway" assumes a civilized guise. Amorous, in D'Urfey's Love for Money, plans to trick Sir Rowland Rakehell out of an estate. Careless, in Behn's The Debauchee, has lived by gambling and cozening. Pisauro, in Arrowsmith's The Reformation, lives on his earnings as a gigolo. Lovechange, in Dover's The Mall, borrows and buys and never pays his debts. And, as we have seen, they all complain about fathers or uncles who live too long, or greet with equanimity (in Aimwell's case in Farquhar's The Beaux' Stratagem), or joy (in Clincher Junior's case in Farquhar's The Constant Couple), the death of an older brother. So they exist until they capture a fortune in marriage.

They deserve to live and to live well. They have a natural right to money and the good things of life. They are "gentlemen by birth". And if commoners or citizens or merchants, have by cheating, by usurious practices, by civil war, by "base mechanick arts", garnered a rich harvest of money and land, they deserve to be attacked, to be cheated in turn, to have their wives seduced and their daughters stolen. That the merchants have acquired estates and wealth and titles is evidence that "the World's an arrant Cheat, a very Rook that never obliges you, but to undo you" [D'Urfey's The Royalist, 16], and "Mankind is one great, very great Rogue" [Newcastle's The Triumphant

Widow, 2]. The railing against the world, of Gaymood, in Motteux's Love's a Jest [60], has its echo in nearly every play. Sophronia, in D'Urfey's The Richmond Heiress, says:

Money is now the soul o' the Universe: The States-man, Commoner, and Country-man, Phisitian, Lawyer, Cittizen, Priest, greedily dam their own for't every day; the man that's Rich must be accomplished too, his Apish Tricks are Gentleman like Carriage, his silly speeches called refined and Witty, if he be Prodigal they must stile him generous, if Covetous, a close, wise wary fellow, if he detracts or Lyes, he's a fine Courtier, if Blasphemous, a Witt, if finnickal a Beau, if drunk, he's then a merry Jolly Fellow, or if unmanly Lewd, a Rare Companion. [46].

In this situation, the concluding line of the footpad's song in Newcastle's The Triumphant Widow might well be invoked as a guiding principle for the gallant:

When all the World plays the Rogue, why should not we? [3]

CHAPTER 9

" . . . THE PASSION LOVE IS VERY MUCH OUT OF FASION":

THE BUSINESS OF MARRIAGE

In Aphra Behn's The False Count, when Francisco says that he is a gentleman, Guzman asks how he gets by that trade. Francisco's reply, which I quoted in the previous chapter, sums up the usual sources of income: ". . . our Gentlemen never get but twice in all their Lives; that is, when Fathers dy, they get good Estates; and when they Marry, they get rich Wives" [47].

Marriage was the most certain and most reputable opportunity available to both men and women for the acquisition of money. In addition, it was the way most suited to the temperament of the leisured society.

My concern is with the economic aspects of marriage; however, I cannot avoid presenting an unbalanced picture of what actually happens in the comedies unless I take notice of what the comedies are and what they purport to do. For instance, in our examination of the economic motive in marriage, it is easy to overlook the importance of love. This has been the fault of many readers who appear to have been completely bemused by the exploitation or licence seemingly rampant in the comedies. Of course, "the pursuit of uncertain pleasure and idle gallantry" are there, because

as Hazlitt says:

Half the business and gaiety of comedy turns upon this. Most of the adventures, difficulties, demurs, hair-breadth 'scapes, disguises, deceptions, blunders, disappointments, successes, excuses, all the dextrous manoeuvres, artful innuendos, assignations, billets-doux, double entendres, sly allusions, and elegant flattery, have an eye to this - to the obtaining of those "favours secret, sweet, and precious", in which love and pleasure consist, and which when attained, and the equivogue is at an end, the curtain drops, and the play is over. All the attractions of a subject that can only be glanced at indirectly, that is a sort of forbidden ground to the imagination, except under severe restrictions, which are constantly broken through . . . It is the life and soul of Wycherley, Congreve, Vanbrugh, and Farquhar's plays. It is the salt of comedy, without which it would be worthless and insipid.¹

And because love, and especially love in relation to marriage, was tested, mocked, criticized, attacked and satirized in the comedies, that is not to say it was regarded as negligible. In fact, to judge from the incidental comments of writers of the period, it was felt that one of the merits of the Restoration comic writers was their portrayal of love. In Dryden's An Essay of Dramatic Poesy (1668), there is the following comparison of the ancients and moderns:

Among their Comedies, we find a Scene or two of tenderness, and that where you would least expect it, in Plautus; but to speak generally, their Lovers say little, when they see each other, but Anima mea, vita mea; Ζωή καὶ ψυχὴ as the women in Juvenal's time us'd to cry out in the fury of their kindness: then indeed to speak sense were an offence. Any sudden gust of passion (as an ecstasie of love in an unexpected meeting) cannot better be express'd than in a word and a sigh, breaking one another. Nature is dumb on such occasions, and to make her speak, would be to represent

her unlike herself. But there are a thousand other concernments of Lovers, as Jealousies, complaints, contrivances and the like, where not to open their minds at large to each other were to be wanting to their own love, and to the expectation of the Audience; who watch the movements of their minds, as much as the changes of their fortunes. For the imaging of the first is properly the work of a Poet, the latter he borrows of the Historian.²

Commenting on Jonson, in Defence of the Epilogue, Dryden said: "But let us not think him a perfect pattern of imitation, except it be in humour; for love, which is the foundation of all comedies in other languages, is scarcely mentioned in any of his plays . . .". Defending himself, in the preface to An Evening's Love, Dryden declared "we make not vicious persons happy, but only as Heaven makes sinners so; that is, by reclaiming them first from vice. For so it is to be supposed they are, when they resolve to marry; for then, enjoying what they desire in one, they cease to pursue the love of many".³ According to the dramatists, the plays are concerned with love and marriage.

The importance of love must be stressed because it does have consequences for the financial approach to marriage. Usually love defeats the economic designs of parents. The situation with which Crowne's The Countrey Wit opens is quoted at length because it reveals the circumstances around which so many of the comedies are built. It is important to point out that Sir Thomas is

not pictured as a cruel or unloving or unusually mercenary father.

Christina Marry to-morrow, sir?

Sir Thomas Ay, to-morrow, sir; why not to-morrow, sir? what great affairs have you to do that you cannot marry to-morrow as well as to-morrow come twelve-month?

Isabella [The Maid - ASIDE] What a rash giddy old man is this! he will compel my lady to marry one she never saw, and to a marriage he has not thought on above these ten days.

Christina If I must marry, sir, I think marriage is a great affair; and so great a one, that I ought to consider of it more weeks and months than there are hours betwixt this and to-morrow.

Sir Thomas O, pray do you throw considering-caps aside, they are not for your wear. No considering cap was ever made fit for a woman's head yet.

.

Sir Thomas . . . I say the marrying, loving embracing part is yours; the considering part is mine: I have considered enough of it.

.

Sir Thomas Not time enough! Why what had I to consider of that requir'd time? Here's my daughter Christina, and £5000 portion; there's Sir Mannerly Shallow, a young baronet, and £2000 a year. In short, I'll have no more considering. The affair in concluded, articles are drawn up betwixt the Lady Faddle and me, by the consent of her nephew, Sir Mannerly Shallow, and Sir Mannerly will be in town to-morrow, and to-morrow he shall marry you before he sleeps, nay, before his boots are off, nay, before he lights off his horse; he shall marry you a horse-back but he shall marry you to-morrow.

Isabella And he shall bed her a horse-back too, shall he?

Christina . . . Well, sir, but suppose Sir Mannerly upon his arrival should not like me.

Sir Thomas Not like you? he shall like you, or I'll try it out at law with him: I have it under black and white, and my black and white shall make him like you red and white, in spite on's teeth . . .

Christina If I should be so unfortunate not to have the same inclinations for him, I hope, sir, you will not compel me to marry one I cannot love, and consequently to be the most miserable of women?

Sir Thomas One you cannot love, maid! you shall love him, I'll make you love him. What cannot you love £2000 a year and a fair mansion house, and all conveniences, as fine as any in all Cumberland? [I, 1]

The economic purpose here is very obvious; it is a purpose which the young couple must fight. Fortunately, for Christina, love, as is its wont, triumphs. After a series of mishaps, she is able to marry Ramble whom she loves and who would marry her "without any consideration of a fortune, rather than any other woman in the world with a Kingdom"[III].

Lady Fulbank, in Behn's The Luckey Chance, cries out against the usual result of the situation portrayed above:

Oh how fatal are forc'd Marriages!
How many Ruins one such Match pulls on! [I, 11]

Many of the comedies show us the results of these "forc'd Marriages" on the woman, as, for example, on Lady Brute, in Vanbrugh's The Provoked Wife, and on Lady Duncie, in Otway's The Souldiers Fortune. But the comedies are comedies of love. Instead of submitting to a parent's demands, the lovers attempt to subvert these designs and overcome the

threat of forced marriage. Hippolita and Gerrard, in Wycherley's The Gentleman-Dancing-Master, for instance, meet secretly and contrive to get married in defiance of her father's plans. Their case is typical.

The Hippolita-Gerard situation is paralleled by Beatrice and Afterwit in Wilson's The Cheats (1664); Emilia and Stanford in Shadwell's The Sullen Lovers (1668); Lucia and Cleverwit in Ravenscroft's The Citizen turn'd Gentleman (1672); in Hippolyta and Antonio in Behn's The Dutch Lovers (1673); in Clorinia And Dorido in Porter's The French Conjuror (1678); in Leonora and Farewel in Crowne's Sir Courtly Nice (1685); in Floriante and Valentine in Southerne's Sir Anthony Love (1691); in Clarinda and Manly in Centlivre's The Beau's Duel (1702). The situation of love triumphant occurs in at least three plays by Shadwell, three by Behn, three by Ravenscroft, and six by Centlivre. In addition, love wins out in cases even where a parent or guardian's consent is withheld to the end, for example, in Arrowsmith's The Reformation, Fane's Love in the Dark, Shadwell's The Volunteers, Motteux's Love's A Jest, D'Urfey's The Old Mode & The New, and Centlivre's The Man's Bewitch'd.

The matter of love, however, can be undervalued by the twentieth-century reader because in the comedies it is not a love set in Illyria but a love set in Restoration London society. The importance of the setting is profound. Social attitudes to marriage are mainly economic, and the comedies exhibit a constant awareness of them. This chapter, therefore, will examine the economic context of marriage and the procedures accompanying marriage negotiations as a preliminary to analyzing the reflection of these conditions in the plays.

It is essential if one is to put the economic motive in marriage in perspective not only to remember the paucity of opportunities to acquire money in an acceptable way but also to understand the prevailing attitude to marriage in society at large. In the earlier discussion of the Court of Wards, in the third chapter, we caught a glimpse of parents bringing their daughters to be "marketed" at London. The conservative attitude is put quite simply by Samuel Clarke, a Puritan who had once been curate of St. Bennet Fink: "Children are as the goods of their parents, wholly in their power to be ordered, and disposed by them".⁴

Perhaps the situation can be revealed most readily by taking an illustration from the lowly case of Pepys's brother:

23 AUGUST 1662. I went away . . . to my Lord's lodgings where my brother Tom and Dr. Thomas Pepys were to speak with me. So I walked with them in the garden, and was very angry with them both for their going out of town without my knowledge; but they told me the business, which was to see a gentleman for a wife for Tom, of Mr. Cooke's providing, worth £500, of good education, her name Hobell, and lives near Banbury, demands £40 per annum joynter. Tom likes her, and they say, had a very good reception, and that Cooke hath been very serviceable therein, and that she is committed to old Mr. Young, of the Wardrobe's tuition.

22 OCTOBER 1662. So I by water to my brother's, and thence to Mr. Smith's, where I was last night, and there by appointment met Mrs. Bentley, with whom I plainly discoursed and she with me. I find she will give but £400, and no more, and is not willing to do that without a joynture, which she expects, and I will not grant for that portion . . . I find her a very discreet, sober woman, and her daughter, I understand and believe, is a good lady; and if portions did agree,

though she finds faults with Tom's house, and his bad imperfection in his speech, I believe we should agree in other matters.

- 31 DECEMBER 1663. My wife's brother has come to great unhappiness by the ill-disposition, my wife says, of his wife, and her poverty, which she now professes, after all her husband's pretence of a great portion . . . Pall [Pepys's sister, Paulina] with my father; and God knows what she do there, or what will become of her, for I have not anything yet to spare her, and she grows now old, and must be disposed of one way or other
- 3 FEBRUARY 1665. Then took coach and to visit my Lady Sandwich, and she discoursed largely to me her opinion of a match, if it could be thought fit by my Lord, for my Lady Jemimah, with Sir. G. Carteret's eldest son; but I doubt he hath yet no settled estate in land
- 5 OCTOBER 1665. Lay long in bed talking among other things of my sister Pall, and my wife of herself is very willing that I should give her £400 to her portion, and would have her married soon as we could; but this great sickness time do make it unfit to send for her up.⁵

These random quotations show a different orientation to marriage than exists today.

Early in the seventeenth century, the Earl of Northumberland wrote to his son: "love soon grows cold when want calls at your doors . . . Time will tell you of many imperfections in her that plenty must make plasters for".⁶ Lord Montagu and Lord North, however, were advocating, by the 1660's, a more moderate course;⁷ the ubiquitous Edward Waterhouse expressed the attitude they represented: "One of the greatest mistakes and mischiefs of our age is dis-esteem of wives, and that upon conceit that any thing, if woman, serves for a wife, if she have but money".⁸ This criticism may be interpreted not only as a change in attitude to the importance of money in marriage but also as

a reaction to the continuing emphasis of the trend, especially as that popular mentor, Francis Osborne, had less than a decade before gone so far as to say: "as the fertilitie of the ensuing years is guessed at the height of the river Nilus, so by the greatnesse of a wive's portion may much of the future conjugall happinesse be calculated".⁹ Money, then, was important in marriage. But was it the most important thing? What place did love hold in marriage? The brother of Dorothy Osborne told her: "all passions have more of trouble than satisfaction in them, and therefore they are happiest that have least of them".¹⁰ To understand this approach, one must interpret it in the context of the times. And here, perhaps, marriage as a universal feature can give us the major clues to the motivation of a society in some basic ways radically different from our own.

At this time, the father of the bride had to provide a substantial cash sum, known as a portion, usually payable in several instalments over one or two years. In return for this, the father of the groom had to make provision for an annual allowance for support of the bride if and when she became a widow, and the ratio between this jointure and the cash portion was the main issue around which marriage negotiations turned. In addition, the father of the bride was interested in the allowance made to the groom, as annuity or direct transfer of property, during his father's

lifetime. For instance, when John Viscount Brackley married Lady Elizabeth Cranfield in 1664, the Earl of Bridgewater agreed to give them an allowance of £1500 a year. From this amount £700 was deducted for the provision of lodging, diet, and horsemeat for the family unit made up of the bride and groom, eleven servants, and fourteen horses.¹¹ The increasing economic independence of women was reflected in a number of settlements which placed a fixed annual sum, later known as pin money, at the bride's free disposal. In 1661, for example, the Earl of Rutland wrote to the Earl of Salisbury: "My lord of Salisbury shall have with my daughter 9000 li... & for joynture [I] expect 1600 li per an., & that land to be for the present maintenance of the young people, that, if it be found inconvenient there being familie with parents, they may live by themselves; out of this 1600 li, 300 I desire for my daughter's personal allowance, made over to trustees for her."¹² Fulvia, in Behn's The Richmond Heiress, makes indirect reference to the topic when, pretending to be mad, she says: "Sir Thomas Spindle: What Impudence is this? He has nothing but a silly Place at Court, 250 l a Year, it won't buy me Pins . . . [18].

By the middle of the seventeenth century, a form of settlement was developing which became standard practice in the later part of the century. This was the strict

settlement. By it, detailed provision was made at the time of the marriage of the eldest son for widows' jointures, younger sons' annuities and daughters' portions, so that now the father of the groom, and after him, the groom himself, was entitled only to the income of his estate for his life and could not sell or mortgage it for a longer period. The estate was then entailed on the eldest son to be born of the marriage.

By the strict settlement:

A landowner could now ensure that the estate remained intact until the male issue of the marriage became twenty-one; the eldest son, being only a life tenant, could not frustrate the provision for his sisters and younger brothers, and had himself to specify the provision which would, in fact, be made for his own younger children - for a life-tenant could mortgage his estate only for purposes and amounts laid down in the deed which created his life-tenancy . . . Under the arrangements common in the early seventeenth century a landowner was not legally bound to provide his younger children with specified amounts, and even a fond father might, when the time came for him to make provision for them, be tempted to economize at their expense; indeed, this was one of the few large items of a landowner's expenditure which at a pinch could be cut. Moreover, in the case of many younger children provision was, in the event, left to the discretion of the elder brother. Complaints against the eldest son arose directly from situations created by the deficiencies of the forms of settlement available.¹³

The purpose was "to secure in family settlements a provision for the future children of an intended marriage, who before were usually left at the mercy of the particular tenant for life".¹⁴ There were also several side-effects: "younger sons obtained their patrimony in a form which

enabled them, even if it did not induce them, to supplement it in some profession";¹⁵ the eldest son would inherit the estate intact; and the bride's jointure would be safe.

Under the arrangement the position of daughters might be made more secure. When Elizabeth Lewis married the Earl of Huntingdon in 1671, with a portion of £10,000, the arrangements were : "If the Earl had no sons by Elizabeth, one daughter was to have £10,000, two £12,000, three £15,000, and four or more £16,000. But if the Earl had no sons by Elizabeth and no children by any subsequent wife, then one or two daughters were to have £30,000 and three or more £40,000 . . .".¹⁶ A side consequence of this procedure was that "the independence of women without brothers was greatly enlarged".¹⁷

How did these legal arrangements affect the people involved?

Daughters were members of an inferior sex, totally dependent on parents or family. They were faced with the choice of marrying at a parent's behest and arrangement or remaining celibate and dependent on the family. A father could enforce his wishes, in person or through his will, by the threat of withholding both portion and maintenance. Humane parents might give the power of veto to a daughter, and by the second half of the century some parents were leaving portions in their wills without any obligations.

With the strict settlement, which provided the daughter's portion at the time of her parents' marriage, the girl had at least a secure portion and a certain economic independence even if, as Mary Astell complained in 1700, "A woman indeed can't properly be said to choose, all that is allow'd her is to refuse or accept what is offer'd".¹⁸

The eldest son was dependent on the father for an allowance. He was "a free man, to be disposed of as God Almighty and his parents think fittest for him", according to Sir Owen Wynn in 1653.¹⁹ Younger sons might have more freedom because little financial importance attached to their choice, but they were dependent for maintenance and jointure.

The increasing freedom came with the idealized Puritan view of love and marriage,²⁰ which also brought into question the position of women in society and the double standard in sexual mores. Economic freedom was possible when an heir came into his estate or when a daughter's portion was assured under the strict settlement. Freedom was possible for both, but particularly for the female, if they were members of court society. And it was possible for both in later remarriages. This latter is not an insignificant matter as mortality, especially among married women, was high.²¹

However, remarriage had its own financial

enticements. Now the bridegroom, a widower and independent, had the opportunity to take in ready cash the bride's portion for himself; in return, he offered a jointure which, of course, was not payable until after his death. The man who married a widow might procure the jointure from the first husband, and in common law, the woman was at the mercy of her husband unless she protected herself with some proviso in the marriage contract. The widows of London merchants, by the Custom of London, were entitled to one-third of their husband's private property if there were children and to a half if there were none,²² and so were of special interest to the money-hunting man. These merchants' widows and merchants' daughters, heirs to cash rather than land, could raise a family's fortune in return for status elevation. Both motivations were powerful, and both were articulated by earlier playwrights.²³ Massinger, in The City Madam, might have Lord Lacy speak of the "fit decorum" which should be kept between the city and the court, but his son and heir sought Anne Frugal because her father's money was needed [I, 1]. This attitude is carried into the comedies of the Restoration, but here marriage with a city heiress is no longer regrettable and demeaning, but necessary. Rapidly, even this attitude altered; marriage with a city heiress became a worthy objective of the gallant.

There are elements of this general design which require elaboration as they bear directly on the comedies. There is, first of all, the important matter of portions.

During the second half of the seventeenth century, portions appear to have averaged about £9,700.²⁴ Social status, of course, had to be paid for: "In 1683 when Sir George Downing was negotiating to marry his son to a daughter of the 3rd Earl of Salisbury, it was put to him that in view of the social disparity 'there ought to be straine beyond the usual proporcon of joyntures'".²⁵ The Earl of Bedford granted £6000 to his daughters;²⁶ but Daniel Finch, eager to establish important alliances, spent £52,000 on portions: £20,000 to his eldest daughter, £7000 for another, and £5000 each for the rest.²⁷ Significantly, Josiah Child, merchant, is reputed to have given £50,000 as portion with one of his daughters to the Duke of Beaufort,²⁸ and it is reliably reported that he did give £25,000 for at least one of them.²⁹ It seems true, in the light of these amounts, much larger than were common with the landed aristocracy, that, as Professor Habakkuk says, "For some royalists the real cost of the Civil Wars was poor marriages for their daughters".³⁰ The merchants could, and did, outbid them. Mary Master, in 1663, said: "Now, no gentlewoman of what beauty, quality or qualities soever is thought of, without 3, 5 or 7 thousand pounds. Everybody for a great fortune.

Some are plagued, yet it is not warning to the covetous rogues".³¹

The comedies appear to give a quite accurate reflection of these amounts. The top sums are offered by Sir Charles's ward worth £50,000, in D'Urfey's The Richmond Heiress; by Martha in Wycherley's Love in a Wood, who has £30,000 [108]; and by Florella and her sister, in Mountfort's Greenwich Park, who have each £15,000 [18]. A sum of 20,000 crowns (whatever its value is) is mentioned as the Spanish dowry of Isabella in D'Avenant's The Man's the Master. Mariana, in Manley's The Lost Lover, has £12,000 [7], and Mrs. Beauclair, in Pix's The Innocent Mistress, has a like sum "in ready Money" [3]. Dorinda, in Farquhar's The Beaux' Stratagem, has £10,000. This approximates to the £9,700 I quoted earlier as representing the average for the period. This amount is offered by: Clarinda, in Scott's The Mock-Marriage [44]; Leticia, in Revet's The Town-Shifts [35]; Maria, in Carlile's The Fortune-Hunters [2]; Emilia, in Cibber's Womans Wit [2]; the young widow, in Behn's The Debauchee [19]; Isabella, in Behn's The False Count [59]; and Olivia, in Behn's The Younger Brother. Lady Beauclair, in Pix's The Innocent Mistress, says that her daughter Peggy will have £8,000; to match this, Spendall's reputed £800 a year and "some thousands in ready money" [37] appear to be satisfactory. The other amounts

mentioned spread over a considerable range. Isabella, in Sedley's Bellamira, has at least £5000 [49]. Charlot, in Behn's The City Heiress, has £3000 a year [226]; Diana, in Behn's The Lucky Chance, has "three thousand Pound present, and something more after Death" [15]; Teresia, in Behn's The Younger Brother, has £500 a year [340] and £3000 settled on her by her grandmother [393]; and Jacinta, in Ravenscroft's The Canterbury Guests, has £3000 [19].

The importance of the portion is given emphasis by Merryman, in Sedley's Bellamira: he will not "get Girls, without I knew where to get Portions for 'um; in this Age they sowre and grow stale upon their Parents hands" [31]. The fear of many girls if they disobey their parents' commands is expressed by Leticia, in Revet's The Town-Shifts, who is worried that her father might "turn me off, without a penny Portion" [39]. The difficulties that would make for the young lady are suggested by Maggot in Harris's Love's a Lottery: "I knew there were a World of poor Gentlemen in and about this City, who had daughters that stuck upon their Hands for want of Portions" [1]. In any case, as Trickwell, in the same play, sees it, "Love without Money is like a Summer Pippin, 'twill never last" [4].

There are marriages to girls who apparently have no portions, such as in Shadwell's The True Widow, Motteux's Love's a Jest, and Behn's The False Count, but these are

exceptional, and, in any case, either the groom has an adequate income, or a portion is suddenly given after the marriage or marriage commitment has taken place. A typical solution occurs in the denouement of Scott's The Mock-Marriage. Lord Goodland cautions Belfont who intends to marry Flavia: "How my Landlady's Niece; consider, Harry, thou art a Gentleman". It is then that Flavia reveals "my right Name is Lovell, a Name well known in the West of England; the occasion of my Disguise, I can scarce confess without Blushes; I had often seen Mr. Wilmot at the Bath, and must own I lov'd him; 'twas that drew me to London, with a Design of offering him my Person and a considerable Fortune" [60]. Wycherley's The Plain-Dealer has a similar ending.

Occasionally, there is the direct statement on the size of the portion being an universal salve, as in Behn's Sir Patient Fancy: "Oh, she's debauch'd! - her Reputation ruin'd, and she'll need a double Portion . . ." [81].

There are two special elements involved in this matter of marriage for money. As I mentioned earlier, merchant wealth may be used to buy social elevation, and marriage to a wealthy widow may offer freedom from the usual restrictions accompanying financial negotiations. Both these motives are explicit in the comedies.

Lady Grumble makes it clear that she is interested

in purchasing elevation, in Dilkes's The City Lady:

". . . thou can'st Jointure Quality, and Quality thou shalt have, and so beget Quality to Inherit thy Mother's most Court-like Accomplishments" [45]. This situation occurs only rarely with men. The alderman, in Lacy's S^r Hercules Buffoon, is attempting this for his nephew: "I have a Nephew that I'll make my Heir, and if you'll match your Northern Neice to him, I'll settle five thousand pounds a year on him, and at my death the rest: and I'll give you ten thousand pounds for your consent" [19]. Later, his ambitions soar: "Most freely, upon this Match I'll make my Nephew a Lord" [26]. In Mountfort's Greenwich-Park, the grocer, in presenting his own case, reveals a less extreme ambition:

I Robert Raison Grocer,
To have and to hold, and so, Sir,
Took the Daughter of a Knight from Covent Garden,
 I Worth 10,000 l. she not one Farthing. [3]

His interpretation of this situation is cynical: ". . . if we Marry Gentlewomen, they'l play us Gentlewoman's Tricks; we Citizens marry them for Love, and they take us for Interest" [7].

The more effective and more common route to advancement is given by Florella to Violante, in the same play, when they discuss Lord Worthy:

Florella You must have somebody, and why not him;
 he's a pretty Gentleman, and besides a Lord, and
 that you know goes a great way with a Merchants

Daughter; most of our young Nobility by the Extravagance of their Fathers are left very inconsiderable in their Fortunes; so their quality being necessitated for money, and our Citizens Ambitious of Honour, many a Title has been kept up by the Pride of a Tradesman, who never values what he gives for a Nobleman to his Son in Law.

Violante 'Tis true, and Interest is so absolute, and Poverty so pressing, that a Taylor who can but get a Considerable Estate, need not despair of seeing his Daughter dye a Countess. [35]

The same opinion is given in Ravenscroft's The Careless Lovers: "Great persons of mean Estates choose Wives out of the City; they are covetous of Honour, and we of Money" [5].

Occasionally, however, the citizen-parent objects:

Isabella Why, Father; the Gentry and Nobility nowadays frequently marry Citizen's Daughters.

Francisco Come, come, Mistress, I got by the City, and I love and honour the City; I confess 'tis the fashion now adays, if a Citizen get but a little money, one goes to building houses, and brick walls; another must buy an Office for his Son; and third hoists up his Daughter's Topsail, and flaunts it a way, much above her Breeding; and these things make so many break, and Cause the decay of Trading; but I'm for the honest Dutch way of breeding their Children, according to their Fathers Calling.

Isabella That's very hard, because you are a Laborious, Ill-Bread Trades-man, I must be bound to be a mean Citizen's Wife. [Behn, The False Count, 13]

To the money-hunting gentleman, and especially the younger brother, the widow, with all the financial attractions of her position, is a desirable catch. Usually her purse is the sole objective; her person is treated rather contemptuously. Sir Frederick, in Etherege's

The Comical Revenge, sets the dominant note: "Widows must needs have furious flames; the bellows have been at work, and blown 'em up" [16]. The usual expectation concerning a widow's response is also given by Sir Frederick: "Have we not daily experience of great Fortunes, that fling themselves into the arms of vain idle Fellows?" [14]. The widow, in Carlile's The Fortune-Hunters, puts her position starkly:

Well, 'tis a barbarous case that a Lady can't secure one man to her self, though she pay a very good price for him, and maintain him as her own Goods and Chattels; which is a great misfortune to us Widdows. For upon my life, your young fellows now a days, are scare-crow'd with the name of a Widdow, that we must either marry old musty Batchelours, or secure some younger Brother by the magnetick Vertue of our Money. [9]

Sir Philip Freewit, in D'Urfey's The Marriage-Hater Match'd, sees a widow as "a meer Fripperer, or Broker's Shop, that's fain to sell her Wares at second hand" [27].

Lord Stately shows rather nice and, at the same time, rather elastic discrimination in his approach to Lady Pinch-Guts, in Crowne's The English Frier: he is not concerned about the fact that she is a Roman Catholic for "I shall make my Court that way to the Court - Whatever her Religion be, her own merit is great - 'Tis true, she's a Citizens Widow; Sir Thomas Pinch-gut was a Citizen, but her Father was an honourable Lord Viscount; and she has a fair Estate, which her own excellent parts have much improv'd" [9]. The other pursuers of rich widows are not so hesitant.

Comely's advice about the widow, in Howard's The English Mounsieur, "get her for thy Wife, she's a great Fortune for a younger Brother" [39], is typical of the arguments advanced for marrying widows in the comedies, as is shown in Behn's The Younger Brother and Dover's The Mall. The following conversation from Boyle's Guzman expands the theme:

Guivero Prithee no more, a Widow is by destiny,
the Portion of the youngest Brother.

Alvares She is monstrous Rich, and not Forty;
consider how many younger Sons of good Families
would leap to Marry Wealth; tho the Mistress of
it were Sixty. [31]

These direct financial facts and reflexes were influenced by other factors. Marriage was a business activity, and as such it was subject to the procedures of the market-place. In this marriage market, conditions were influenced by supply and demand. At this time, universal marriage for girls was the rule; there was little room, and no respect, for spinsterhood. But the supply of eligible women exceeded that of eligible men, and the convenient stowing place, the convent, was no more. The Marquess of Argyle in 1661 commented: "in great and noble families . . . interest forbids perpetual virginity; nor ever since the suppressing of nunneries and such monastick privacies and renunciations to the world have we had in this Kingdome many, if any, of the daughters of Jephtha".³² The supply

of women was large, but the number of eligible heirs was limited for the increase in population would have produced few male heirs in comparison with daughters and younger sons. These factors all influence the size of portions, for in a market-place price is a function of supply and demand. In addition, the competition from daughters and widows of the squirearchy and the merchant class necessitated an increase in portions, and the deaths in the civil war of fathers and heirs, by an increased number of jointures, might have required increased portions for future jointures. Of course, portions were heightened too for the daughters of the gentry and aristocracy because, while the males might marry into merchant families, it was apparently exceptional for females to do so:

. . . within less than fifty years the first noble families were married into the City for downright money, and thereby introduced by degrees this public grievance which has since ruined so many estates by the necessity of giving great portions to daughters.³³

Marriage, then, was a business arrangements. The bridal pair might be strangers to each other, the union based on lack of positive antipathy. The comedies reflect the situation. Otway's The Cheats of Scapin, Vanbrugh's The Relapse, Crowne's The Country Wit, for example, all present cases where parents have arranged marriages for their children with partners they have never met. The parental business element is evident also in Caryl's

Sir Salomon and Shadwell's The Squire of Alsatia. The young men themselves, however, seek a fortune in marriage. The quest of Aimwell and Archer in The Beaux' Stratagem exemplifies this, but the point can be made from most of the comedies of the period: Dapperwit's marriage in Wycherley's Love in a Wood to Martha, made pregnant by someone else, for her £30,000 is a blatant example of the tendency. The quest for money in marriage is corroborated by Sir William Temple:

These contracts would never be made, but by men's avarice, and greediness of portions with the people they marry, which is grown among us to that degree, as to surmount and extinguish all other regards or desires so that our marriages are made, just like other common bargains and sales, by the mere consideration of interest or gain, without any of love or esteem, of birth or of beauty, itself which ought to be the true ingredients of all happy compositions of this kind, and of all generous productions.³⁴

With women in the comedies, however, the approach to marriage is somewhat more complex. There are the outright searchers after money at any cost, such as Widow Flippant in Wycherley's Love in a Wood and Lady Cheatly in Shadwell's A True Widow. There are women like Lady Brute in Vanbrugh's The Provok'd Wife and Mrs. Sullen in Farquhar's The Beaux' Stratagem who apparently have gone along with the traditional system and who have failed to find not merely marital bliss but even a satisfying companionship. But usually the women who are major figures in

the comedies already possess a substantial amount of money. Their aim, when it is pragmatic, is not financial aggrandisement but rather social elevation. This aim is seen even in some of the "romantic" heroines; they may sacrifice some of their aspirations in their love for a penniless, younger son, but they do so with their eyes open, knowing what they are losing. This, for example, is the case with Belinda in Vanbrugh's The Provok'd Wife, and, until the surprise ending, it is the case with Dorinda in Farquhar's The Beaux' Stratagem. The pragmatic motivation of social elevation is especially obvious in merchant parents, but, perhaps as a reflection of the changing times, their daughters, like Hippolita in Wycherley's The Gentleman-Dancing-Master, increasingly overthrow their aspirations by marrying the young gallant. This increasing independence of women is exemplified in the number of females who will disturb an arranged marriage by allying themselves with a young man whom they prefer, as in Vanbrugh's The Relapse. Here there is an opposite reaction to the males in the plays who usually seem prepared to accept the brides proposed for them; although, because we are dealing with comedies, it frequently turns out in these cases that the selected and unknown brides are also the women they admire and love. The comedies may ridicule many of the features of contemporary life, but the serious role of the heir is not tampered with;

he may, through folly, squander his money, as Belfond Senior does in Shadwell's The Squire of Alsatia, but he will rarely do anything so silly as to sacrifice his estate for love alone.

Freedom is a powerful generating force in the comedies; the freedom of women, the freedom of younger sons, the freedom to seek the good life. This freedom, however, is circumscribed by the young people themselves. According to some implicit code the heroines in the play never marry merchants, although many are portrayed who are already married to citizens or merchants. The heroes rarely marry beneath themselves: Lucia, "The Attorney's Daughter, a young, beautiful Girl, of a mild and tender disposition, debauched by Belfond Junior" [Dram. Pers.] is regretfully but quite willingly put aside for Isabella, in Shadwell's The Squire of Alsatia.

Basically, the quest in marriage, for men, is two-fold; the finding of a fortune and the finding of love. For many, their quest is rewarded if they achieve the first objective, the finding of a fortune. The choice then that men have to make is that of financial independence and monogamy versus penury and sexual freedom; the rational solution was to marry and yet retain mistresses. The same two aims, love and money, apply to certain of the women in the plays; most of the heroines, however, deal with a

different combination of objectives, love and status, which may pose the choice of love or status. The existing double standard of sexual mores made the woman's choice of alternatives difficult. Whereas the man could seek extra-marital satisfaction to compensate for a loveless marriage, the woman had to protect her reputation as a person of virtue.

As in society itself there was a pattern of acceptance and rejection, so in marriage the above objectives, money, love, status, reputation, set up their own patterns of acceptance and rejection. Where such a pattern exists, inevitably there will be people who belong to the rejected group striving to make themselves acceptable. Thus, those, especially women, who have no estates or money will pretend to have some in order to capture a spouse; the unchaste will pose as virginal; the nouveau riche merchant family will compile an impressive genealogy. In such a society, things may often be the opposite of what they purport to be, and in the comedies, reflecting the forces at work in this society, there is the recurrent concern with appearance and reality. In such a society and in the comedies which reflect it money is the one reality which can be touched, counted, used.

Both Manly and Freeman show a recognition of the power of money when they talk of Olivia in The Plain-Dealer:

Manly Yes, for she is not (I tell you) like
other Women, but can keep her promise, tho' she has

sworn to keep it; but, that she might the better keep it, I left her the value of five or six thousand pound; for Womens wants are generally their most important Solicitors to Love, or Marriage.

Freeman And Money summons Lovers, more than Beauty, and augments but their importunity, and their number; so makes it the harder for a Woman to deny 'em. For my part, I am for the French Maxim, if you wou'd have your Female Subjects Loyal, keep 'em poor; but, in short, that your Mistress may not marry, you have given her a Portion.

Manly She had given me her heart first, and I am satisfied with the security; I can never doubt her truth and constancy.

Freeman It seems you do, since you are fain to bribe it with Money . . . [407]

Freeman's sardonic judgment is confirmed in this play, and his comment, "Money summons Lovers", is confirmed in all the comedies. The marriage for money motivation is made quite explicit. Sir Gregory Lovemuch, in Behn's The Counterfeit Bridegroom, says of his advances to a rich widow who is seventy years old: "I marry her Wealth, not Person - when I've the Blessing of her Estate, it shall be at your Command, I marry her only to supply my Purse" [10]. This attitude is echoed by Sir Timothy Tawdrey, in Behn's The Town-Fopp, "Hereabouts is the House wherin dwell, the Mistress of my heart; For she has money Boyes, mind me, money in abundance, or she were not for me . . ." [1]. Wilding, in Behn's The City Heiress, sees the woman's chase for money in marriage as prostitution, ". . . though a

Jointure or a Vow in publick/ Be her Price, that makes her but the dearer Whore" [264]. Boyle's Guzman presents two opposing approaches to the situation, apparently based on the double standard applied to men and women. Guiverro and Alvares have plans to marry their sisters to two lords to "restore our withered Fortunes" [2], but, in the same play, the lords are telling their uncles that "the Old are unfit to chuse Wives for the Young":

Oviedo Nor would I Wed the Empress of the World, though she were the greatest Beauty of it in that dull Method of our grave Fore-Fathers; 'Sfoot, they marry'd as they purchased Lands, agreed upon the Bargain, then entred and took Possession.

Pirracco They Wedded Wealth to Wealth, when the chief Benefit of Riches is, to make Election of what most we like. [2]

Their uncles are not happy with these "new Maxims", but insofar as these sentiments exist they are rather tentative gropings towards a new attitude to marriage rather than anything established. Celinda, in Behn's The Town-Fopp, may say in a poetic vein uncharacteristic of the comedies:

Yes, I wou'd Marry him, tho' our scanty Fortune,
Cou'd onely purchase us
A loanly Cottage, in some silent place;
All cover'd o're with Thatch,
Defended from the outrages of storms
By leafless Trees, in Winter, and from heat,
With Shades, which their kind Boughs wou'd bear anew,
Under whose Covert, wee'd feed, our gentle Flock:
That shou'd in gratitude repay us Food,
And mean and humble Cloathing. [6]

But this is a result which never occurs. Furthermore, when

there is a possibility of economic deprivation through marriage, the heroine views the situation with pragmatic eyes. Olivia, in Sedley's The Mulberry-Garden, sums up the situation:

. . . if I were your Wife, I must board
Half a Year with a Friend in the Country, tumble
About the other half in most villainous Hackneys,
Lye two pair of Stair high, and wear black
Farrendine the whole year about; see you when
You had no Money to play, and then be kist out
Of a Ring or a Bracelet. [69]

And Leticia, in Revet's The Town-Shifts, shows that marriage cannot be a matter of attraction alone: "I love him well; yet, if I marry him, I'm lost; and left to languish in a life of loathed poverty, for he is poor" [6]. Jacinta, in Ravenscroft's The Careless Lovers, deals with the matter simply: "I love you so well, I will not make you unhappy: Till I can bring a Portion with me, I will not be your Wife" [68].

Marriage, as can be seen from the sample contract included in the Appendix, is a complex and delicate and detailed business arrangement. Lovell, in Ravenscroft's The Canterbury Guests, indicates the negotiations involved: "Her Father and he have treated by Letters this Twelve-month, but a Nights Courtship must serve the Lady" [8], and Sir Barnaby Bussler's approach to Jacinta is strictly financial, "My Child, I have an Estate in two Counties, I am Lord of three Mannors, I have One Thousand Five Hundred Thirty Six

Pounds Thirteen Shillings and Four pence Half penny Rent, besides Pepper Corns . . ." [4-6].

The portion involved in marriage might constitute the only money which the married couple have to live upon if the young gentleman is impoverished. This is the case with Pedro whose father will not "be so civil as to die" [1-2], in Arrowsmith's The Reformation, and with Careless, who, in Behn's The City Heiress, after capturing the £3000 a year heiress, says, "I have a fortune here that will maintain me" [298]. The portion may even be used to pay off the gallant's debts, as Tom Essence, in Rawlins's play of the same name, reveals: "I owe nothing, my Wifes Portion paid my Debts" [22]. In this context, Airy, in Motteux's Love's a Jest, raises the problem of the wooer who is an upstart possessed of money: "A Pox of all such Men of Clay and no Sense! They are the Terror of those who want only to be marry'd to raise Portions and pay Debts. Women shou'd be oblig'd not to use such rich Fools better than if they had Merit and nothing else" [36]. Later, Airy gives another insight into this aspect when he asks, "Shall I court you like an eldest Son, sold by his Father to redeem a Mortgage?" [38]. The portion may even be used to join wealth to wealth. Although there is comment on this aspect (as in the quotation given above from Boyle's Guzman), the facts of the financial situation, for example,

of the gallant, are not given overt statement in the wooing. The financial arithmetic, for instance, in Farquhar's The Beaux' Stratagem, loses its primacy so that there is no reason for Aimwell, suddenly elevated to be Lord Aimwell, to tell Dorinda that his wealth of such an amount joined to her £10,000 will amount to so much money. Wilmot, in Scott's The Mock-Marriage, simply dismisses the problem with "I have enough for both" [44].

There is another economic dimension to the comedies' treatment of marriage which is worth consideration. By the clandestine, fake or trick marriage, the gallants can best their opponents, rich old merchants, upstarts and even their own parents. Using one of these devices, the gallants gain financial independence or an economic advantage. Lyrick and Lovewell make both motives clear when they discuss comedy in Farquhar's Love and a Bottle:

Lyrick . . . the Hero in Comedy is always the Poet's Character.

Lovewell What's that?

Lyrick A compound of Practical Rake, and speculative Gentleman, who always bears off the great Fortune in the Play, and Shams the Beau and 'Squire with a Whore or Chambermaid; and as the Catastrophe of all Tragedies is Death, so the end of Comedies is marriage. [IV, 11]

Lyrick gives us two broad classifications with which to work: the gentleman who thwarts his opponents' plans by using some trick in marriage to catch the fortune, and the

dupe who is frustrated in his plans by being married to a lower character. Both forms of requital persist throughout the period.

1a. The gallant catches the heiress by out-witting his rivals; in Sedley's The Mulberry-Garden (1668), the impoverished Wildish is able to carry off Olivia; in Dryden's The Wild Gallant (1669), Loveby is able to marry Constance because her father believes that she is pregnant; in Ravenscroft's The Citizen turn'd Gentleman (1672), Cleverwit impersonates the Sultan of Turkey to get Lucia; in Wycherley's The Gentleman-Dancing-Master (1673), Gerrard presents Don Diego with an accomplished fact when he tricks the parson who had come to marry Monsieur to Hippolita into accepting himself as the bridegroom; in Porter's The French Conjuror (1678), Clorinda's father is diverted by other matters while she marries Dorido; in The Factious Citizen (1685) Farewel marries Leonora while her guardian is kept in a madhouse; and in Behn's The Younger Brother (1696), the gallants rescue the heroines from forced marriages by marrying them themselves.

1b. Often the young man marries a heroine whom his father had plans on marrying himself. This occurs in Ravenscroft's The Citizen turn'd Gentleman, Shadwell's The Miser, Etherege's The Man of Mode, Carlile's The Fortune-Hunters, Cibber's Love's Last Shift, Ravenscroft's The Anatomist.

2. The dupes who are tricked include: Sir Nicholas Culley, who, in Etherege's The Comical Revenge, marries Sir Frederick's mistress under the belief that she is his sister; the parson who marries the Captain's mistress, in Killigrew's The Parson's Wedding; Sir Martin Mar-all, who marries the servant Rose, thinking that he is marrying the heiress, Millicent, in Dryden's Sir Martin Mar-all; Sir Positive at-all, in Shadwell's The Sullen Lovers, who marries Lady Vaine, unaware that she is already someone's mistress; Dapperwit, in Wycherley's Love in a Wood, who finds that Martha is already pregnant and about to be disinherited; the fop Frenchlove, in Howard's The English Monsieur, who finds his fortune is a prostitute; Sir Mannerly Shallow, in Crowne's The Country Wit, who marries a porter's daughter by mistake; Isabella, in Behn's The False Count, who marries a

chimney-sweeper thinking that he is a French count; and the fop Tattle, in Congreve's Love for Love, who ends up married to Mrs. Frail, a prostitute, instead of to the fortune, Angelica. Occasionally, the dupes outwit themselves. In Dilke's The Pretenders, each of the pretenders is deceived by the other's pretence so that the pimp ends up married to the procuress and the clerk to the penniless widow. In Wycherley's Love in a Wood, the destitute Sir Simon is committed to the penniless Lady Flippant.

Gellert Spencer Alleman, in Matrimonial Law and the Materials of Restoration Comedy, suggests that: "The clandestine marriage - one of the great social questions for the upper classes until 1754 - is a leading motif. My survey of the legal background shows that the dramatists did not much exaggerate either the frequency or the ease of such unions . . . Pre-contract, like the clandestine marriage, was an important element in English life until 1754 . . . A knowledge of the legal effects of betrothal makes intelligible otherwise perplexing situations in comedies of intrigue such as those of Mrs. Behn. In doing so, it shows us tense dramatic conflicts of which we were hitherto unaware, since the engagement of our times has nothing like the binding power of the seventeenth century contract".³⁵

Thus, the frequency of the clandestine marriage in the comedies may reflect, as also perhaps in part the cuckolding does, reactions in a society where the arranged or forced marriage was common. Betrothal customs which were designed to enforce the traditional practice are used

quite deliberately to subvert the system. However, if we regard the clandestine, mock or trick marriage within the context of requital, we see that it is used to bring to the hero the love and the fortune that he unquestionably, in the comedies, deserves, to score off the old, and to give to rogues, fops, pretenders the deserts that again, according to the scales of values of the comedies, they so richly merit. The viewpoint and the scale of values and justice are those of the gallants. If Waitwell is married to Foible, and then disguised as Sir Rowland to go through a mock-marriage with Lady Wishfort, in Congreve's The Way of the World, to suit the machinations of Mirabell, it is only fitting for commoners so to act. If Sir Frederick's mistress, Lucy, is married to Sir Nicholas, in Etherege's The Comical Revenge, to satisfy Sir Frederick's sense of justice, it is only natural that she should be willing to be so disposed of. People who do not meet the society's criteria are pawns to be used for its convenience or to satisfy its sense of fitness.

As I cautioned at the beginning of this chapter, there is more to the depiction of marriage in the comedies than merely the financial element. The loveless marriages, the extra-marital affairs, the keeping of mistresses, the probations and provisos have all metaphoric richness as articulations of underlying currents of the age. These,

the testing of conventional ideas of marriage and the questing for a more natural, a more sensible approach or arrangement, reflect serious concerns in an age when marriage resulted from a parent or guardian's decision that a person should enter a married state and when it was felt that love should come after marriage, not before it.

Money, however, is a primary motivation and an important consideration. Charles II summed up the situation when he wrote to his sister: "I finde the passion Love is very much out of fasion in this country, and that a handsome face without mony has but few galants, upon the score of marriage".³⁶

The comedies reflect this statement in many respects but they are also, as I noted at the beginning of the chapter, comedies of love, Restoration-style:

Mellefont I don't know why we should not steal out of the House this very Moment, and marry one another, without Consideration, or the Fear of Repentance. Pox o' Fortune, Portion, Settlements and Jointures.

Cynthia Ay, ay, what have we to do with 'em; you know we marry for Love.

Mellefont Love, Love, down-right very villainous Love.

Cynthia And he that can't live upon Love, deserves to die in a Ditch. - Here then, I give you my Promise, in spite of Duty, any Temptation of Wealth, your Inconstancy, or my own Inclination to change -

Mellefont To run most wilfully and unreasonably away with me this Moment, and be married.

Cynthia

Hold - Never to marry Any Body else.

[Congreve, The Double-Dealer, IV, 1]

In the comedies, love conquers nearly all--if the heroine has a fortune, or the gallant an estate.

CHAPTER 10

" . . . YOU MUST EVER MAKE A SIMILE . . . 'TIS
THE NEW WAY OF WRITING": THE IMAGERY OF COMMERCE

F.R. Leavis, in "A Critical Exercise" on All for Love, Dryden's reworking of Shakespeare's Antony and Cleopatra, examines what, in Dryden's verse, takes the place of the life of metaphor and imagery in Shakespeare's play:

What we find, when we can put a finger on anything, is almost invariably either a formal simile, or a metaphor that is a simile with the 'like' or the 'as' left out . . . The structure, it will be seen, is always that of simple illustrative, point-by-point correspondence. One analogy may give way to another, and so again, but the shift is always clean and obvious; there is never any complexity, confusion or ambiguity. When there is development, it is simple, lucid and rational.

Dr. Leavis concludes that "This habit of expression manifests plainly the external approach, the predominance of taste and judgment".¹ Here, an analysis of the imagery is the basis for a generalization about expression: in other words, the language used predetermines the nature of the imagery. The matter is of sufficient importance that preliminary to the examination of the imagery of commerce in the comedies I need to establish the linguistic context of this imagery.

Language and its use can provide us with valuable clues about a society's values and beliefs. The important

aspect in the use of language for the drama is its highly deliberate and self-conscious nature. Dryden's comments on drama are revealing. He was certain "that the language, wit, and conversation of our age, are improved and refined above the last". He revealed the interests of the patrons: "As for Comedy, Repartee is one of its chiefest graces; the greatest pleasure of the Audience is a chase of wit kept up on both sides, and swiftly managed".² He believed that verse bounded and circumscribed the poet's fancy; it was "a rule and line by which he keeps his building compact and even, which otherwise lawless imagination would raise either irregularly or loosely".³ According to Dryden, dramatic language is refined by a knowledge of "correctness" and by "example", defined by the audience's taste, and confined by the requirements of form.

The point here is of fundamental importance; it is the implicit recognition of literary expression as public language rather than private inspiration. It is the designation of the writer as speaker of plain truth rather than seer of higher truth. It would lead us into matters tangential to the immediate purpose to explore this topic in detail here. However, two comments by contemporary spokesmen for a public language have direct relevance. Sprat attacked "poetic" language; the members of the Royal Society prefer "the language of Artizans, Countrymen, and Merchants,

before that, of Wits, or Scholars".⁴ Hobbes, an extreme nominalist, stressed that "External objects cause conceptions, and conceptions appetite and fear, which are the first unperceived beginnings of our actions".⁵

The purpose of these introductory remarks is to show that in the comedies we are encountering a logical, objective, and nominative language. It is a language which abstracts and generalizes. It is, to use Dryden's comment on repartee, a language given some of its parameters by the audience; it is, to use Sprat's statement, a language dependent on a relatively low level of conceptualization; and it is, to use Hobbes's definition, a language oriented to a small degree of causality. In other words, language appears to be used primarily as an ordering instrument. Underwood makes this point for Etherege's comedies when he points out that the weight of meaning is carried by the nouns so that the sense of experience is that of "being" rather than "becoming"; thus, he goes on to conclude, the language deliberately abstracts a level of experience into generalized classes and categories.⁶ Language has another function; it is a perceiving instrument. The perceptions in the comedies however, are limited by the use of the instrument: for example, processes, discriminations, personal expressions of emotions are discouraged.

Thus, the language of the comedies tends to mirror social groupings in their primitive form and encourages a response to the immediate situation. At its simplest, because it is language used by a select group, it shows gentlemen and non-gentlemen, and it responds to the non-gentlemen appearing to assume the status of gentlemen. To approach the matter metaphorically, the language has no future tense; it cannot accept possible change or possible results. The past tense is a shaped selection of remembrance, and in this shaped past the non-gentleman has a fixed place in society. The comedies have no term for a developing capitalist system and they cannot prohibit what they cannot name. Thus, the attack is on the manifestation, the individual merchant. The attack is vehement because it is only in this emphatic affirmation of gentlemanly status that the authority of the gentleman may be projected and played back.

A knowledge of this language context is a necessary prerequisite to an examination of the imagery of the comedies because the persistent employment of the "similitude" as a rhetorical device, with parallelism and extended parallelisms and the insistent use of balanced structure, serves to create the sense of a coherent reticulation. This leaves the reader with the impression that here is society, unchanging and fixed, a logical and patterned creation

depending on certain absolutes, within which individual human emotions and attitudes are evanescent. Because the comedies use plain language, it is the "wit" which carries the burden of the imagery. And the approach to wit is standard. Bayes, in Buckingham's The Rehearsal, says: "That's a general rule: You must ever make a simile when you are surprised, 'tis the new way of writing" [II, 111]. Later, in scene two of the next act, Bayes gives his approach: antithesis, reasoning, simile. The new way and the method, as we shall see, are almost universally accepted by the playwrights. Professor Knights finds the wit either merely verbal and obvious or "hopelessly dependent on convention"; he also finds that "the pattern of the prose inhibits any but the narrowest - and the most devastatingly expected - response".⁷ No matter how prepared the reader may be, inevitably he is startled at how "devastatingly expected" both imagery and wit are.

One special feature in the use of the language has a particular relevance to the imagery. This is the deliberate reduction of meaning which recurs constantly in the comedies. There are enough examples to catch the attention even of the most casual reader of the reduction of the "heroic" in language to the point where gallants wage war on pretty maidens or beseege them for plunder or capitulation. Gerrald, in Ravenscroft's Dame Dobson wants a love

charm because; "I hate delays and laying Siege to Women; who sometimes wanting a little Inclination to betray 'em within, will hold out longer than fortify'd Towns. Now I am for a brisk assault, Taking, Sacking and Plundering them all in a Minute" [43]. This imagery finds frequent repetition in, for example, Ravenscroft's The Careless Lovers [8], Fane's Love in the Dark [26], Shadwell's The Humorists [202], The Miser [63], and The Amorous Bigotte [35], Motteux's Love's a Jest [43], Sedley's The Mulberry-Garden [7], and Etherege's The Comical Revenge [6]. Perhaps here, as with the shift of meaning in the word "Honour", there are indications of a great social change, a transposition from the battlefield to the drawing room. The naturalistic and secular basis of the society of the comedies is indicated in the use of hunting or fishing imagery in describing relationships, especially relationships between men and women, and in the reapplication of Christian terminology to matters of courtship.

This reduction in meaning offers a fascinating insight into a thematic core of the comedies: the separation, the "credibility gap", between appearance and reality. The increasing discrepancy is registered in this reduction of meaning in specific words, and it is something, again, that the writers were very conscious of:

This Imployment was formerly stil'd Bawding and Pimping
but our Age is more civiliz'd - and our Language much

refin'd - it is now a modish piece of service only, and said, being complaisant, or doing a friend a kind office. Whore - (oh filthy broad word!) is now prettily call'd Mistress; - Pimp, Friend; Cuckold-maker, Gallant; thus the terms being civiliz'd the thing becomes more practicable, - what Clowns they were in former Ages. [Ravenscroft, The London Cuckolds, III, 1]

The writers' predilection for double entendre and innuendo, as intrinsic parts of the mode of wit, of course aggravated the process. Underlying the comedies seems to be a belief that whatsoever principles are avowed, those that actually motivate people may not only be altogether different but also even the reverse. Appearance, in other words, is no guarantee of the reality. There is also the pragmatic knowledge that the institutions of society are largely based on fiction and the cynical awareness that private interest will always precede public good.

The imagery and the wit, then, are used to expose the realities of life. The dominant "reality" appears to be that everything has its price and can be bought. The characters of the comedies hold in common one assumption: pecunia omnia obediunt.

This attitude becomes strikingly obvious in even the most superficial examination of the imagery. Apart from the examples mentioned earlier, and occasional images built on allusions to sequestration, the country, and duelling, the overwhelmingly large basis for the imagery is economic.⁸ Betty Tiltall, in D'Urfey's Love for Money,

quotes Butler's Sir Hudibras:

For what's the worth of any thing,
But so much Money as 'twill bring. [10]

This is one of the major evaluations that is made through imagery, of relationships and occupations and motivations. Wellman, in Betterton's The Revenge, says: "nay, since all things have been sold, Honour, Justice, Faith, even Religion, pray where's the dishonour of selling the pleasures of a womans Bed?" [4]. His comment takes us one step further in the economic process, from money to trade and the procedures of trade. From trade as a source of imagery, more sophisticated elements, such as banking, investments, and usury, are evoked. Thus, within the comedies' context of rejection and contempt of the merchant code, there occurs the ironic circumstance that the dominating frame of reference for imagistic patterns is the language of the evolving capitalism. There are, however, other bases; those of estates, and gambling, and law. But where they are not related to business, they still signify, as we shall see, a money basis to human relation. Nearly all of the comedies contain imagery arising from the economic bases outlined above. The remaining comedies either include some explicit rather than imagistic reference to the economic tenor of the times or deal with a scene remote from contemporary London.

The imagery of economics is so pervasive and its

terms so interwoven that it is impossible to avoid being tiresomely repetitive or to avoid setting up artificial and dangerously tenuous discriminations. An example from Drake's The Sham-Lawyer illustrates the difficulties:

Madam Olympia Do you make so light of the Favours of Ladies, Sir?

Careless I'm not acquainted enough with them to know the true Value of 'em. I was always afraid of trading in that way, Madam; for fear of dealing to loss, of making bad Debts.

Madam Olympia How can that be in a Trade that's carry'd on purely by Truck? How can the stock be diminish'd, where an Equivalent is always deposited?

Careless That might be the ancient way of Traffick, Madam; but the Case is very much alter'd in our Times; There's no such thing as Retail Truck now; and your Sex are grown such errant Brokers, you're for dealing altogether by the Lump, and rate a Man's Stock by the Bulk, not th' intrinsic Value; Nay, you're such very Jews, there's no Credit to be had amongst you; not a Favour without Ready Money, or Church - security for such extravagant Demands, that 'tis the business of a Man's Life to raise the Interest, without hope of ever discharging the Obligation.

Madam Olympia That's because so many of you make your selves wilful Bankrupts, there's no trusting to you; you break on purpose to compound with one at an easie rate, and set up with the remainder for fresh Credit with others. [28-9]

Here the "Favours" may be strictly those of sexual intercourse, or they may be extended to those of love. The complex cluster of imagistic referents include true value, trading, debts, brokerage, credit, ready money, interest, and bankruptcy.

To provide some manageable order for discussion then, I have selected a number of topics which provide the focal points for the poets' application of imagery. These are the professions, sexual intercourse, love, and marriage. Following discussion of these, certain specialized or tangential aspects of the imagery of economics will be presented.

The footpad and his rogues in Newcastle's The Triumphant Widow sing a song of self-justification:

Since ev'ry Profession's become a lewd Cheat,
And the little, like fish, are devour'd by the great;
Since all Mankind use to rob one another;
Since the Son robs the Father, the Brother the Brother;
Since all sorts of men such Villains will be,
When all the World plays the Rogue, why should not we? [3]

Twenty years later, these sentiments are being echoed in

Dilke's The Lover's Luck:

Breviat I find downright Suborning is improved
to a delicate nice Science.

Eager O God, Sir, a curious Study, and has its
different Appellations by the several Stations of
Men. - The Church-men call it an Earnest of Merrit. -
The Courtier a Hint of Remembrance. - Ministers of
State, and Officers in the Courts of Justice term
it Expedition. - The Grandees of the Army a Recommendation. - The Parliament-men a Promoting of the
Business. - The Bawd a Gratuity. - The Whore a Pair
of Gloves; and the Jockeys a Barnacle. - All's to
the same purpose i' Faith. [3]

This corrupting power of money finds ample expression in the imagery of the plays as it relates to professions and occupations.

Sir Philip Freewit, in D'Urfey's The Marriage-Hater

Match'd, swears that if he fails: "I'll give you leave to vouch this Miracle of us, that a Lawyer refus'd to get Five hundred pounds through a squeamish fit of his Conscience" [22]. Here the reference is to the cheating practices of lawyers. The attitude is a typical one in the comedies: "Now were I Lawyer enough, by that little enquiry into that fellow's Concerns, I cou'd bring in a false Deed to cheat him of his estates," says Roebuck, in Farquhar's Love and a Bottle [38]. Jinkin, in Ravenscroft's Dame Dobson, when asked for nine pieces of gold to pay Dame Dobson's "devil", says: "Nine Pieces? An able Lawyer has but five; Zownch - And why shou'[d] the Devil have more Fees than the Lawyer?" [53]. This reference to the avarice of lawyers is made explicit, as I mentioned in an earlier chapter, in Ravenscroft's The English Lawyer. In that play, the lawyer's name Ambidexter meant that he took Fees "on both hands". The imagery makes it clear that the lawyer's sole motivation is money: "A little use will make it as familiar to you as Taking of Fees to an old covetous Lawyer", says Sanco in Duffett's The Amorous Old-woman [61]. The relationship set up within the imagery is always one of simple correspondence. The procedure may be exemplified from D'Urfey's The Virtuous Wife. A man who has a mistress but has no money corresponds to the man who employs a lawyer and has no fees: "a Man that has a Mistriss in this Age, and no

Money to give her, is like one that sets a Lawyer to Plead without his Fee, whatever happens, his business is sure to be neglected" [58]. There is nothing subtle in the presentation, just as there is nothing indirect in the depiction of the lawyer as avaricious in the comedies.

The same direct "similitude" is applied to the clergyman. In Boyle's Mr. Anthony, the love-sick Pedagog is refuted to sigh "at them, as movingly as a lean Benefic'd Parson looks at a Living of 400 l. a year" [1]. In Cowley's Cutter of Coleman Street, Puny says, "I ha' made more haste hither than a Parson does to a Living o' three hundred and fifty pounds a year" [30]. These examples provide the imagistic correlate to the direct statements on the clergy's susceptibility to financial enticements. Other referents, however, appear in the presentation of the clergy. Jonas, in D'Urfey's The Royalist, says: "Aye Sir, our Trade you know, tis a spiritual Trade, we Merchandize Souls as others do Goods; sell Heaven by Commission, and upon good consideration can remit all manner of sins" [22]. Here, the money quest is fitted into the existing nature of things. Religion is simply another vocation, equivalent to business. The procedures of business are merely applied to other pursuits which are thus legitimatised. This strategy, as we shall see, is applied to all human relationships and activities, and in its application it has a two-directional

effect; not only does it illuminate the matter under discussion, for example, in the preceding case, religion, but it also reflects on the referent itself.

Trading or business becomes the veneer under which money may be pursued respectably. This is clear, for instance, when the doctors drink after their consultation, in Behn's Sir Patient Fancy:

Turboon To our better trading, Sir.

Brunswick Faith, it goes but badly on, I had the weekly Bill, and 'twas a very thin Mortality; some of the better sort die indeed, that have good round Fees to give. [103]

The doctor, surprisingly, does not receive through imagery the treatment meted out to the other two professions. The courtier, however, is pictured disparagingly, although in this case the playwrights often prefer obvious satire to the indirection of imagery. Boldman, in Newcastle's The Humourous Lovers, says to Courtly: "Let us be gon, I had rather have business with a great Man at Court, and no money to recommend me to him, than have anything to do with these Women" [10]. Again, the lucid similitude is preferred and the relationships are predictable, as in Mountfort's Greenwich-Park: "faith I am sorry to see a young Nobleman that has no Dependance on the Government, sip like a Minister of State that has his Fortune to make out on't" [36]. Courtiers and their debts receive attention in Behn's The Debauchee: Lady Thrivewell pays

ready money for "I am never in the City Books, like Heirs under age and Courtiers" [12]. Fursante, in Duffett's The Amorous Old-woman, makes the same relationship when he explains how he has tricked Cicco: "Like a young Mercer, who had never been deceived/ By a Court Customer; he believ'd most religiously" [29].

The soldier is not implicated in the universal money-grubbing, either directly or through imagery, although in one rare reference, Roebuck, in Farquhar's Love and a Bottle, points out the possibilities to a begging cripple: "Thy condition fellow, is preferable to mine; the merciful Bullet, more kind than thy ungrateful Country, has given thee a Debenter in thy broken Leg, from which thou canst draw a more plentiful maintenance than I from all my Limbs in perfection" [1].

Enough has been said to illustrate the typical procedure of similitude and to show the common economic referents to the professions. Usually these referents are money motivations or money motivations presented under the guise of trade. One profession, however, has not been mentioned: that of playwright.

Significantly, the playwrights frequently apply this type of commerce imagery to their own occupation, and to its ancillary, wit. The prologue to Aphra Behn's Sir Patient Fancy runs:

We wrote not now, as th' Antient Poets writ,
 For your Applause of Nature, Sense and Wit;
 But, like good Tradesmen, what is in fashion vent,
 And cozen you, to give ye all content.

She maintains this attitude in the prologue to The Town-Fopp:
 the young poet with

Rhiming Dogerel,
 Sets up with this sufficient Stock, on Stage,
 And has, perchance, the luck to please the Age;
 He draws you in, like cozening Citizen,
 Cares not how bad the Ware, so Shop be fine.

Drake's prologue to The Sham-Lawyer finds referential points
 for the writer's condition in shortage of coin, banks,
 trading, loan security, credit, and the mint; but the pro-
 logues to Sir Robert Howard's The Committee and Leanerd's
The Country Innocence stick to trade alone.

The implications of this imagery are obvious. The
 poet realizes that like any tradesman, he must entice his
 customers and please his customers. At the same time, as
 we shall see later, there is the knowledge that he is in-
 volved in a gamble which may provide, again at the whim of
 the audience, "vast Fortunes". This perception needs to be
 related to our earlier chapter on the poet's ability to
 transcend his milieu.

Although the poet's quest for money is legitimatised
 through the imagery of trade and gambling, D'Urfey, in the
 epilogue to The Intrigues at Versailles, excludes nobody
 from its influence:

Money corrupts the Body, damns the Soul,

And in Life's game still turning like a bowl,
Can by its Byas all distinctions draw,
The Court, the Country, Clergy, and the Law.

This same play provides us with a link to our next topic, the economic nature of the imagery relating to sexual intercourse.

When Madam de Vandosme receives a diamond from a suitor, she says:

The Diamond shall be wellcome, what e'er you are -
'Tis Glittering Profit is my Taking Theme,
Constancy's Folly, Conscience a meer Dream. [19]

Sex then is depicted in commercial terms. "Neice, I know you are a fair Merchant; I have paid you my money, and now I come for my commodity", says Sir Tim to Betty, in Boyle's Mr. Anthony [V]. Friendly, in Betterton's The Revenge, however, dislikes this approach to sex: "I hate, I nauseate a common Prostitute, who trades with all for gain, one that sells humane flesh, a Mangonist" [4]. But the wench, in D'Urfey's Madam Fickle, regards her profession simply as "Marchandizing" [57], and the landlady in Buckingham's The Chances advises the gallant:

Trade with no broken Merchants, make your lading,
As you would make your rest, adventurously,
But with advantage ever . . . [12]

But it is not only "wenches" who are involved in this trading. Lady Dupe, in Dryden's Sir Martin Mar-all, instructs her neice to cozen an infatuated married nobleman until "his passion must be satisfi'd at any rate, and you

keep shop to set the price of Love; so now you see the Market is your own" [4]. The same terms of reference are extended to more serious amatory dalliance, to love itself and to marriage. Wilding, for instance, in Behn's The City Heiress, swears to his prospective bride that he has not been wenching: "What Banker, that to morrow is to pay a mighty Sum, wou'd venture out his Stock to day in little Parcels, and lose his credit by it?" [221]. His idiom serves merely to relate casual philandering and marriage more closely.

The whole matter of courtship and love is treated logically in this new commercial language which offered opportunities for public discussion of what was otherwise taboo. This language also acted as a screen through which private emotions could be filtered and depersonalized, as the following conversation from Shadwell's The Virtuoso shows:

Longvil Yes, I have presented several bills of love upon you, and you would never make good payment of any of 'em.

Miranda Would you have one answer a bill of love at sight? That's only for substantial traders; young beginners dare not venture, they ought to be cautious.

Longvil Not when they know him to be a responsible merchant they have to deal with.

Miranda Such who keep a correspondence with too many factories, venture too much, and are in danger of breaking.

Clarinda My sister's in the right. 'Tis more danger trusting love with such than money with goldsmiths; especially considering most men are apt to break in women's debts . . . [34-5]

The commercial language of love, however, could also indicate a devaluation of the person. In Higden's The Wary Widdow, for instance, Frank Fox uses the mode to his intended wife, Lady Wary, and unintentionally reveals his attitude:

Fox By all the fair Tokens of my Letter of advice; Madam, you are Consign'd hither. And I am to be the happy Factor of so compleat a Cargo?

Lady Wary You talk like a Merchant, come hither on some design of purchase or Exchange . . . [13]

One further aspect of the commercial basis is worthy of note here; that is the parallelism established between love and usury. Mr. Beverley uses this approach to his mistress, Matilda, in D'Urfey's The Virtuous Wife: "By heaven thou hast like a Usurer, hoarded up my Love for this halfe year, without allowing me wherewith to defray Occasional Expences" [2]. The hoarding image applied to love is not novel; what is new is the expansion of the image. The extension of terms is typically Restoration.

The commerce idiom is applied to marriage itself. Charlot, in Behn's The City Heiress, makes the application quite deliberately:

No, since Men are grown so cunning in their Trade of Love, the necessary Vice I'll practise too,

And chaffer with Love-Merchants for my Heart.
 Make it appear you are your Uncle's Heir,
 I'll marry ye to morrow. [223-4]

In the same author's The Younger Brother, Teresia tells Olivia, "my Fortune's my own . . . and with that Stock I'll set up for my self, and see what Traffick this wide World affords a young beginner". Olivia, too, has "eight thousand Pounds to let out on any able Security, but not a Groat unless I like the Man" [341-2]. The man's case is put by Leandro, in Arrowsmith's The Reformation, for he is "forc'd to monopolise for all the sweets and treasures of the place . . ." [50].

Thus, far, because of the conglomerate nature of the imagery, I have been working from the referent, for example, love, to its imagistic analogue of money and commerce. For the remainder of this part of the discussion, it is more convenient to reverse the procedure. The image is more easily separable, and its referents are more widespread. In the following paragraphs, I shall trace imagery based on gambling, the estate or real property, coinage, commons and enclosure, and law-suits. All these are elements of the financial and economic scene. Although law appears tangential to the topic, it is of course ancillary to the world of mortgages, transfer of property, capital investment, and marriage arrangements.

Earlier, the poet's profession was likened to

commerce. However, D'Urfey's A Fool's Preferment adds an additional element in its prologue:

A Poets Trade, like Hazard, does entice;
He's the unlucky Caster, you the Dice.

Here to the image of poet as trader is added that of the poet as gambler. Sedley's prologue to The Mulberry-Garden presents the gambling aspect in more extended form:

Amongst great Gamesters, when deep play is seen,
Few that have money but at last come in:
He has known many with a trifling sum,
Into vast Fortunes by your favours run . . .

The gambling umbrella is also used for sex, love and marriage. In Etherege's comedies, the sexual references run all the way from the faint "I now have a huge mind to venture" [128] and the suggestive "You need not talk, for I am sure the losses of an unlucky Gamester are not more his meditation" [168], both from She wou'd if she cou'd, to the fairly explicit "because some who want temper have been undone by gaming, must others who have it wholly deny themselves the pleasure of Play?" and "I have been us'd to deep Play, but I can make one at small Game, when I like my Gamester well" [235], of The Man of Mode. The game of love is invoked in Sedley's The Mulberry-Garden:

. . . the great pleasure
Of Gaming were lost, if we saw one
Others hands; and of love, if we knew one
Others Hearts: there would be no room
For good Play in the One, nor for Address
In the Other; which are the refin'd part of both. [10]

Lady Barter, in Scott's The Mock-Marriage, berates Willmot

for his philandering: "This 'tis to be such a covetous Gamester, to venture so many Stakes at once . . ." [29].

Loveby, in Smyth's Win her and Take her, comments on the gallants who flaunt their widespread venturing in love:

True Madam; fortune may wheel about at last; but the prize we get is often too mean to defray the Expences we have been at, in the prosecution of it; and were it worth our concealing, like a politick winning Gamester, we shou'd go off without the least mention of our success. [24]

To the gallant, of course, courtship is a gamble, a gamble that the woman is chaste, that she has real love for him, and that she has a sufficient fortune. Sir John Swallow, in Dryden's Sir Martin Mar-all, reveals the uncertainties regarding love: "That's the worst Game you could have play'd at, scarce one Woman in a hundred will play with you upon the Square . . .". In the same passage, Sir John goes on to express the uncertainties attending a search for true love by extending the gambling reference to include the lottery: "... you venture at more uncertainty than at a Lottery: for you set your heart to a whole Sex of Blanks" [6].

The implications of the imagery in the matter of love and marriage appear to be that it is better to conduct these affairs on the reciprocities of trade than to venture in them as a gambler. The imagery thus reminds us of the importance attached to the business of marriage.

The estate or real property provides the basis for

another dimension of relationships. Willmot, in Scott's The Mock-Marriage, attempts to justify to Bellfont his opinion that a married man should retain mistresses;

Willmot . . . but where there is a full stock of Love, others surely may put in for the overflowings; 'Tis true, none but the elder son shou'd lay claim to the Inheritance, and yet the younger may reasonably expect some, by Gifts and Legacies.

Bellfont And you, I fear, are for disposing of so many, that your main Estate will be scarce responsible. [5]

Significantly, marriage is the mortgaging to acquire an estate, in Etherege's She Wou'd if she cou'd [174], Newcastle's The Triumphant Widow [42], Cowley's Cutter of Coleman Street [54], and D'Urfey's A Fond Husband [16]. Freeman, in Powell's The Cornish Comedy, puts the matter of marriage simply: "'Tis a Mortgage for Life, without Equity of Redemption" [9]. Rent provides the reference in Newcastle's The Humorous Lovers [8]. To the schemer, people themselves may be their estate: "Fools, half Fools, and such like, are Cunnington's Real Estate", in D'Urfey's The Richmond Heiress [2]. In other comedies, people are properties, as in D'Urfey's A Fond Husband [6, 7, 43], Sir Barnaby Whigg [30] and The Virtuous Wife [57], Dover's The Mall [53], Dilke's The Lover's Luck [10], Maidwell's The Loving Enemies [64], and Smyth's Win her and Take her [32]; and a woman is merely a utensil, as in Rawlin's Tom Essence [10], and D'Urfey's Squire Oldsapp [3].

Apparent in most of the imagery that I have discussed so far is an attempt to provide a matrix for lucid and rational explanation of human relationships. The nature of the imagery reflects the restrictions of the language itself. Inevitably, one is reminded of Sprat's strictures: "a close, naked, natural way of speaking; positive expressions, clear senses; a native easiness; bringing all things as near the Mathematical plainness, as they can . . .".⁹ Such a style is effective, but it precludes tentativeness, discrimination and imaginative leaps, and, with them, the opportunities for experiment of more "poetic" language. This use of language linked with the nominalism of Hobbes's approach limits the intensity of expression and confines metaphor to the routine and logical rather than the explorative and fanciful. The movement in imagery, as we have seen, is to the immediate and direct correspondence.

This judgment applies equally to three other minor groups of analogues which have some relation to the economic condition of the times. One is to do with coinage. Boyle's Mr. Anthony presents an "Eleven-pence - half-penny Squire" [IV, 1], and D'Urfey's Sir Barnaby Whigg offers "that Tool of Knighthood, that Copper-farthing with the Kings stamp on't" [43]. Mr. Beverley, in D'Urfey's The Virtuous Wife, thinks "a Woman's like a false Guinney,

that at first being little worn, might perhaps pass current, but once tryed by the Touchstone-Mariage, is found damnably counterfeit, and good for nothing" [5]. Hernando, in Powell's Imposture Defeated, finds that even "the Imployment of a Thief here brings as small Gains, as that of a Clipper does in England" [1]. Another minor group of imagistic references has to do with common land and the enclosure movement. A wedding is being discussed in Rawlins's Tunbridge Wells:

Sir Lofty Vainlove I've made an enclosure of her,
brought her within the pale of Matrimony.

Fop I love you for that, some envious
Knave may still pretend a right of common, and
make a gap to graze a Nag, or so. [46]

There are similar examples in Fane's Love in the Dark [55], Payne's The Morning Ramble [17], Behn's The Town-Fopp [2], and Rhodes's Flora's Vagaries [6]. There is also a group of images where the poet presents sex as a law-suit, in, for example, Etherege's She wou'd if she cou'd [150, 153] and The Man of Mode [208].

Hunting and fishing imagery was referred to earlier in this chapter. The context there was the love chase. There are economic aspects of this chase which bear directly on our inquiry. Orontus, for instance, in Bulteel's The Amorous Gallant, says:

And to bring Lyset to my Lure, this Spell
Of Gold and sparkling Jewels promise well. [10]

The more common fishing image is used by Mrs. Crafty, who, in James Howard's The English Monsieur, is seeking to trap a husband, "I am confident I know a rare way to tickle this Trout" [11]. Examples of this, where cheating or monetary gain rather than sexual enticement is the aim, occur in Leaned's The Counterfeits [38], Ravenscroft's The Anatomist [29], Shadwell's The Miser [38], and Etherege's The Comical Revenge [11]. Both the sexual and the gulling aspects of this type of imagery bear directly on our introductory statements on the exploitative nature of the society presented in the comedies.

Two interesting features emerge from the use of imagery. One, noted earlier, is the establishment of relationships on pragmatic grounds, for instance, in terms of trade. The other is the indirect lashing of the citizen or merchant. He is, of course, attacked directly in the comedies, but in the imagery he is almost always the analogue to the immediate referent when it involves any sort of base dealing or underhand practice. The typical procedure may be illustrated from a comment in Boyle's Mr. Anthony: "I did as Crafty Merchants use, ask double Rates to get half for their Commodity" [III, 1]. Several plays use this reverse procedure to expand upon the practices of usurers. In Behn's The Town-Fopp, Nurse refuses to stop railing: "No more, than the Usurer would, to whom he has

mortgag'd his best part of his Estate, would forbear a day after the promis'd payment of the money" [9]. Surprisingly, the term "Jew" is only rarely connected with usury. Medley, in the first act of Etherege's The Man of Mode, wants to know why a "man of credit" would "go and deal with Jews". Even here, the term is used metaphorically. In the few other places where the word occurs it is used as a metaphor for individual miserliness. The term is usually mildly pejorative, as in Carlile's The Fortune-Hunters, ". . . he's the gripingest old Jew living" [4], and in D'Urfey's Squire Oldsapp where the Squire is greeted as Old Jewstrump [6].

This chapter began with a statement, by Dr. F.R. Leavis on the imagery of Dryden's All for Love. Another statement on the same topic may help us towards some perspective of the economic basis of the imagery of the comedies in general. Kenneth Muir finds that, in All for Love, Dryden's "images do not spring naturally from his theme, as the leaves from a tree; they are improvised; and though they may illuminate separate ideas, feelings, and even characters and scenes, they serve to destroy rather than to create the unity of the whole".¹⁰ At issue, in both Leavis's and Muir's criticisms, is the lack of controlling or expanding imagery, growing out "as leaves from a tree".

As I suggested at the beginning, the nature of the language enforces the impression that society is fixed and patterned on certain absolutes. One of the major absolutes appears to be interest or gain. This, in the imagery, is what receives "illustrative, point-by-point correspondence"; and this is what makes one wary of applying Kenneth Muir's judgment to the comedies. That "the images do not spring naturally from . . . the theme" may seem just when applied to individual plays, but, when the preceding examination of the imagery is put in the context of this whole study, it is apparent that there is a controlling theme existing as background for most of the comedies written in this period. This "background theme", the frame of reference or tradition or convention, within which the comedies were written, is expressed throughout the comedies in its most fundamental terms: Money is the evaluative yardstick in the developing commerce; money and its correlates in trade and land become explanation, absolute, ultimate and incapable of further analysis, of human conduct and human intercourse. In an age when important changes were taking place in such basic ideas as "truth", "explanation", and "the real"; in an age when Hobbes and Machiavelli were important influences,¹¹ and in an age when the manipulation of capital was accepted as routine and the procedures of commerce were

re-ordering traditional notions of society, the common denominator in all men's actions was cynically accepted as money. Money could be seen, touched, counted; it was concrete, unchanging. It was the one dependable factor in a banknote world where everything was bought and sold. Interest supplanted religious oaths; commerce and finance influenced governments and controlled kings. Money was both god and king.

NOTES TO THE TEXT

INTRODUCTION

"MONEY, THE LIFE-BLOOD OF THE NATION"

¹For example: "But it is only for the sake of profit that any man employs a capital in the support of industry, and he will always, therefore, endeavour to employ it in the support of that industry of which the produce is likely to be of the greatest value, or to exchange for the greatest quantity either of money or of other goods . . . He generally, indeed, neither intends to promote the public interest, nor knows how much he is promoting it . . . he intends only his own gain, and he is in this, as in many other cases, led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention . . . By pursuing his own interest he frequently promotes that of society more effectually than when he really intends to promote it. I have never known much done by those who affected to trade for the public good . . ." [Adam Smith, An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, IV, 11].

²Charles Lamb, "On the Artificial Comedy of the Last Century", Works in Prose and Verse, ed. Thomas Hutchinson (1908), I, 648-65. For a re-examination of Lamb's position, see Walter C. Houghton, "Lamb's Criticism of Restoration Comedy", E L H (1943), X, 61-72.

³Felix E. Schelling, English Drama (1914) 268; Bartholow V. Crawford, "High Comedy in Terms of Restoration Practice", Philological Quarterly, VIII (1929), 346.

⁴John Palmer, The Comedy of Manners (1913), 22.

⁵Bonamy Dobrée, Restoration Comedy: 1660-1720 (1962), 171.

⁶H.F.B. Brett-Smith, The Dramatic Works of Sir George Etherege (1927), I, lxxxii.

⁷See Shakespeare Studies (1927), chapter 11; "Literature and Life Again", PMLA, XLVII (1932), 283-302; "Belial as an example", MLN, XLVIII (1933), 419-427; "The Beau Monde at the Restoration", MLN, XLIX (1934), 425-432; "The 'Real Society' in Restoration Comedy: Hymneal Pretenses", MLN, (March 1943) 175-181.

⁸Letter quoted in Brett-Smith, Etherege, I, lxiii.

⁹Gerard Langbaine, An Account of the English Dramatick Poets (1691), 164.

¹⁰John Dennis, A Defence of Sir Fopling Flutter (1722), 18.

¹¹Pepys, 8 May 1668.

¹²Crowne's City Politiques, ed. J.H. Wilson (1967), xiii.

¹³Allardyce Nicoll, A History of English Drama 1660-1900: Volume I Restoration Drama 1660-1700 (1967), 8; and Bonamy Dobrée, Restoration Comedy 1660-1720 (1962), 226-30. See also Kathleen M. Lynch, The Social Mode of Restoration Comedy (1967), 4; and Joseph Wood Krutch, Comedy and Conscience after the Restoration (1961), 7-9.

¹⁴See Nicoll, 75; Dobrée, Restoration Tragedy 1660-1720 (1929), 13.

¹⁵L.C. Knights, Drama and Society in the Age of Jonson, (1962), 16-17.

¹⁶John Loftis, Comedy and Society from Congreve to Fielding (1966), 3.

¹⁷A number of other published works provide information on specific aspects of the social situation which are relevant to this study: C.L. Barber's The Idea of Honour in English Drama 1591-1700; Alexandre Beljame's Men of Letters and the English Public in the Eighteenth Century; Thomas H. Fujimura's The Restoration comedy of wit; Norman N. Holland's The First Modern Comedies; Elizabeth Mignon's Crabbed Age and Youth: The Old Men and Women in the Restoration Comedy of Manners; John H. Smith's The Gay Couple in Restoration Comedy; P.F. Vernon's "Marriage of Convenience and the Moral Code of Restoration Comedy". Details of these works are given in the Bibliography. Dale Underwood's Etherege and the Seventeenth Century Comedy of Manners provides an excellent examination of the language of the comedies; and Ronald Berman's "The Comedy of Reason", in Texas Studies in Literature and Language, VII, 2 (Summer 1965), 161-8, offers an analysis of transactional elements in Farquhar's The Beaux' Stratagem. There are several unpublished doctoral dissertations which deal with matters related to my study or provide useful background information. They are: Thomas Ewing Ferguson,

The Seventeenth Century Wit and Fop. A Study of Restoration Comedy in its Relation to Life and Fashion (Texas, 1930); Allen C. Morrill, Restoration Leisure. The Background of English Drama, Prose and Poetry between 1660-1688 (Harvard, 1937); Virgil J. Scott, Typical Nonconformist Satire in Restoration Comedy 1660-1685 (Ohio State, 1946); Charlene Mae Taylor, Aspects of Social Criticism in Restoration Comedy (Illinois, 1965); Carl A. Thomas, The Restoration Theater Audience. A Critical and Historical Evaluation of the London Playgoers of the Late Seventeenth Century, 1660-1700 (Southern California, 1951); and Fairfax Proudfoot Walkup, Restoration Manners and Customs. A Source Book (Utah, 1952). I have been unable to consult two other dissertations which appear to be concerned with aspects of my study: they are Nancy R. Tatum's Attitudes towards the Country in the Restoration Comedies 1660-1728 (Bryn Mawr, 1960) and R.J. Jordan's The Libertine Gentleman in Restoration Comedy (London, 1965).

¹⁸See Christopher Hill, The Century of Revolution 1603-1714 (1969), 178-189, 233-236; Daniel Defoe, A Plan of English Commerce (1730); Sir Josiah Child, A New Discourse of Trade (1751), 42; William Petyt, Britannia Languens, or a Discourse of Trade (1680), 11-12.

¹⁹Tom Brown, Amusements Serious and Comical, ed. A.L. Hayward (1927), 21.

²⁰Sir William Petty, The Economic Writings of Sir William Petty, ed. C.H. Hull (1963), I, 263-4.

²¹Oliver C. Cox, The Foundations of Capitalism (1959), 8.

²²Paul A. Samuelson, Economics: An Introductory Analysis (1958), 45, 39, 55.

²³Jonathan Swift, "The Run upon the Bankers" (1720), in The Poems of Jonathan Swift, ed. Harold Williams (1958), I, 238.

CHAPTER I

"DANCERS ON THE ROPE": THE POETS AND THEIR PLAYS

¹James Ralph, The Case of Authors By Profession or Trade (1758), 29, 23.

²John Harold Wilson, The Court Wits of the Restoration (1967), 144.

³See the handlist of Restoration plays, in Allardyce Nicoll, Restoration Drama (1967), 386-439; The Dictionary of National Biography; V. Sackville-West, Aphra Behn (1927), and G. Woodcock, The Incomparable Aphra (1948); R.H. Barker, Colley Cibber (1939); A.F. White, Crowne (1922); R.S. Forsythe, D'Urfey (1916); R.G. Ham, Otway (1931); R.N. Cunningham, Motteux (1933); A.S. Borgman, Shadwell (1928); T.W. Dodds, Southerne (1933); W. Connely, Wycherley (1930).

⁴See John C. Hodges, Congreve (1941), *passim*; J.W. Saunders, The Profession of English Letters (1964), 106; A.S. Collins, Authorship in the Days of Johnson (1927), 117.

⁵Nicoll, 369, 378.

⁶See pages 305-306 below.

⁷William Van Lennep, The London Stage (1965), I, lxxx1.

⁸Van Lennep, The London Stage, I, lxxx11, lxxx111.

⁹Edmond Malone, The Critical and Miscellaneous Prose Works of John Dryden (1800), I, 443-8.

¹⁰Charles Gildon, Laws of Poetry (1721), in Malone, Historical Account of the English Stage (1821), 191.

¹¹A.M. Nagler, A Source Book in Theatrical History (1952), 232.

¹²See also Alexandre Beljame, Men of Letters and the English Public in the Eighteenth Century, 1660-1740, ed. Bonamy Dobrée (1948), 108.

¹³The Works of Thomas Shadwell (1927), ed. Montague Summers, I, lxxxiv.

¹⁴Daniel Defoe, Vindication of the Press (1718), 14.

¹⁵John Dennis, Original Letters, Familiar, Moral and Critical (1721), 215-7.

¹⁶The Complete Works of William Wycherley (1924), ed. Montague Summers, I, 54ff.

¹⁷Jonathan Swift, On Poetry, A Rhapsody, in Works, XIV, 336; cited Beljame, 118, note.

¹⁸Beljame, 115.

¹⁹Malone, Historical Account, 178, note 5.

²⁰"Lintot's Accounts", Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century, ed. John Nichols (1814), VIII, 296; cited Farquhar's The Recruiting Officer, ed. Michael Shugrue (1965), ix.

²¹A.R. Humphreys, The Augustan World (1964), 93-4; see also J.W. Saunders, The Profession of English Letters (1964) and A.S. Collins, Authorship in the Days of Johnson (1927).

²²Charles Gildon, The Lives and Characters of the English Dramatick Poets (1698); cited Ghosh, The Works of Thomas Otway (1932), I, 12.

²³Ghosh, I, 12-32.

²⁴Shugrue, xiii.

²⁵Summers, Shadwell, I, ix.

²⁶Summers, Shadwell, I, cxciii-cxvii.

²⁷Dryden's complaint follows:

You have been solicitous to supply my neglect of myself; and to overcome the fatal modesty of poets, which submits them to perpetual wants, rather than to become importunate with those people who have the liberality of kings in their disposing, and who, dishonouring the bounty of

their master, suffer such to be in necessity who endeavour at least to please him; and for whose entertainment he has generously provided, if the fruits of his royal favour were not often stopped in other hands.

²⁸The Dramatic Works of Sir George Etherege (1927), ed. H.F.B. Brett-Smith, I, xviii-xix.

²⁹G. Woodcock, The Incomparable Aphra (1948), 169-170.

³⁰George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, Miscellaneous Works; cited by Beljame, 125. But see Harold Love, The Penguin Book of Restoration Verse (1968), 294-6, for the version attributed to Robert Gould.

³¹The Poems of Samuel Johnson, ed. D.N. Smith and E.L. McAdam (1941), 53.

³²Defoe, Vindication of the Press, 22.

³³The Critical Works of John Dennis, ed. E.N. Hooker (1939-43), II, 277-8.

³⁴A Defence of Dramatic Poetry (1698), 89.

³⁵Poems of John Oldham, with an introduction by Bonamy Dobrée (1960), 234.

³⁶7 January; 2 and 23 July; 15 and 27 August; 7 September; 28 October.

³⁷See, for example, Pepys, 25 September 1667 and 19 October 1667.

³⁸Colley Cibber, An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber, ed. B.R.S. Fone (1968), 93-4; John Downes, Roscius Anglicanus, ed. Montague Summers (N.D.), 21, 27-8; Pepys, 8 May 1663. Pepys, 11 December 1667. Prologue at Court to Sir Samuel Tuke's Adventures of Five Hours; the dedication for Crowne's Sir Courtly Nice; the dedication for Dryden's Aureng-Zebe. The dedication for Dryden's Albion and Albanus. Nicoll, 292. J.H. Wilson, All the King's Ladies (1958), 17, 148; Arthur Bryant, Charles II (1931), 200; Pepys, 11 January 1668.

³⁹Pepys, 6 February 1668.

⁴⁰Hooker, II, 277.

⁴¹Clarendon, Life (1761), I, 354-5.

⁴²The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell, ed. H.M. Margoliouth (1927), II, 329.

⁴³Letter to H. Savile, 22 June 1674, Rochester-Savile Letters, ed. J.H. Wilson (1941), 33.

⁴⁴Vivian de Sola Pinto, Restoration Carnival (1954), 231.

⁴⁵Dryden, "The Secular Masque" (1700).

⁴⁶Dryden, Essays, ed. W.P. Ker (1900), I, 177.

⁴⁷Gerard Langbaine, An Account of the English Dramatick Poets (1691), 81.

⁴⁸Woodcock, 160-3.

⁴⁹Crowne, City Politiques, ed. J.H. Wilson (1967), xii.

⁵⁰Preface to the 1682 edition.

⁵¹City Politiques, ix.

⁵²Hotson, The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage (1962), 232-8.

⁵³Nicoll, 16; 340, note 7.

⁵⁴State Papers, Domestic, Entry Book V, 158; quoted Hotson, 400.

⁵⁵State Papers, Domestic, Charles II, viii, I; quoted Hotson, 199-200.

⁵⁶Thomas Otway created Malagene in Friendship in Fashion for Anthony Leigh; William Congreve used Anne Bracegirdle as a model for his heroines [William Van Lennep, The London Stage (1965), I, cvi]. John Dryden wrote describing his preparation of Love Triumphant: "This morning I had their chief Comedian whom they call Solon [Dogget] with me; to consult with him concerning his own character . . ." [C.E. Ward (ed), The Letters of John

Dryden (1942), 54]. Tate, preface to Cuckolds-Haven (1685), complained that Nokes, "for whom he had designed the leading role, had been unable to play it". Other plays were designed for a specific member of the cast: for example, Southerne's Sir Anthony Love (Mrs. Mountfort); Southerne's The Fatal Marriage (Mrs. Barry); and Cibber's Woman's Wit (Thomas Dogget). See J.H. Wilson, All the King's Ladies (1958), 94-6.

57John Dennis, Reflections Critical and Satyrical, in Works, I, 418.

58Hugh Macdonald, John Dryden: A Bibliography of Early Editions and of Drydeniana (1939), 54, note.

59Hotson, 252.

60Van Lennep, I, 408.

61John Wilson's The Cheats, ed. Milton C. Nahm, from the ms. in the library of Worcester College, Oxford (1935), 125-6.

62Nicol1, 79, note 1.

63Gilbert Burnet, History of his Own Time (1883), 183; John Evelyn, Diary (1955), ed. Bray, III, 151.

64Jeremy Collier, A Short View of the Immorality, and Profaneness of the English Stage (1698), 175-6.

65Sir John Vanbrugh, Short Vindication of the "Relapse", etc. (1698), 46.

66Hooker, I, 182.

CHAPTER 2

" . . . THERE IS NO LIFE BUT IN LONDON": LONDON
AND THE COUNTRY

¹Isaac Disraeli, The Curiosities of Literature (1849), III, 402.

²The Economic Writings of Sir William Petty, ed. C.H. Hull (1963), II, 469.

³E. Waterhouse, The Gentleman's Monitor (1665), 295.

⁴Henry Muddiman (1629-92), for example, sent newsletters to hundreds of clients who paid a minimum fee of £5 per annum for the service; see also Etherege's The Man of Mode, III, 11.

⁵G.S. Thomson, The Russells in Bloomsbury, 1669-1771 (1940), 238-9.

⁶W.G. Hiscock, John Evelyn and his Family Circle (1955), 144.

⁷G.E. Mingay, English Landed Society in the eighteenth century (1963), 205.

⁸Charles Knight, London (1851), 378.

⁹Thomson, Russells in Bloomsbury, 238-9; see also M. Beloff, Public Order and Popular Disturbance, 1660-1714 (1963), 29.

¹⁰W. Suffolk, R.O.: E. 18/660/1, quoted in Mingay, 157.

¹¹Autobiography of Sir John Bramston, Camden Society (1845), xxxii, 220.

¹²Gladys Scott Thomson, Life in a Noble Household 1641-1700 (1965), 204-8.

¹³Elizabeth Lamond (ed.), A Discourse of the Commonweal of this Realm of England (1893), 81.

¹⁴This can be seen, for example, in Evelyn, Diary, 1 March 1686.

¹⁵Joan Thirsk, "The Restoration land Settlement", J. Mod. Hist. XXVI (1954), No. 4, 315-328.

¹⁶W.G. Hoskins and H.P.R. Finberg, Devonshire Studies (1952), 343.

¹⁷Mingay, 26.

¹⁸See, for example, Lawrence Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641 (1965), 403-445.

¹⁹Mingay, 61ff.

²⁰Quoted by Stone, 449.

²¹Joseph Foster, Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn, 1521-1889 (1889), viii.

²²F.J. Fisher, "The Development of London as a Centre of Conspicuous Consumption in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", TRHS, Fourth series, XXX (1948), 39, 41.

²³Sir Richard Wynn, 1666, Wynn, no. 2463: quoted in Stone, 394.

²⁴"To Sextus, from Martial, Lib. 2, Ep, 38", in V. de S. Pinto, Restoration Carnival (1954), 66.

²⁵See J.H. Smith, "Tony Lumpkin and the Country Booby Type in Antecedent English Comedy", PMLA, LVIII (1943), 1038-1049.

²⁶Nahum Tate, Poems (1684), 105.

²⁷K.G. Davies, "Joint-Stock Investment in the Later Seventeenth Century", Economic History Review, Second Series, IV, No. 3 (1952), 283-301.

²⁸Nahum Tate, Poems (1677), 74-R.

²⁹Nahum Tate, Poems by Several Hands (1685), 131-4.

³⁰Nahum Tate, Poems (1677), 132.

³¹See Wycherley, "For Solitude and Retirement against the Publick, Active Life" in Montague Summers, The Complete Works of William Wycherley (1924), IV, 13 seq.; Behn, "The Golden Age", Montague Summers, The Works of Aphra Behn (1915), VI, 397; Otway, "Epistle from Mr. Otway to Mr. Duke", Poems by the Earl of Roscommon (1717), 507-514; Dryden and Rochester in their translations.

³²T.F. Mayo, Epicurus in England, 1650-1725 (1934), 191.

³³Petty, I, 309.

³⁴John Summerson, Georgian London (1969), 45, 41-3.

³⁵An Apology for the Builder or a Discourse showing the Causes and Effects of the Increase of Buildings (1685), 2.

³⁶D. Defoe, The Compleat English Tradesman (1726), I, 312-5.

³⁷M. Dorothy George, London Life in the Eighteenth Century (1966), 408-411.

³⁸Middlesex Records, 6 September 1784: quoted George, 76, 332.

³⁹But see George, 80-2.

⁴⁰Petty, I, 41-2.

⁴¹Arthur I. Dasent, The History of St. James's Square (1895), passim.

⁴²The Foreigner's Guide: Or a Necessary and Instructive Companion Both for the Foreigner and Native, in Their Tour through the Cities of London and Westminster, (1729), 8: quoted in Loftis, Comedy and Society from Congreve to Fielding, 11-12.

CHAPTER 3

" . . . NOW MADE THE TAIL WHO WERE ONCE THE
HEAD": THE HISTORICAL ETHOS

¹Lawrence Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy (1965), 12-13.

²Ephraim Lipson, The Economic History of England (1956), II, cxx-cxxi.

³Christopher Hill, The Century of Revolution 1603-1714 (1969), 196-7, 199-203.

⁴Winston Churchill, Divi Britannici: being a Remark upon the Lives of all the Kings of this Isle (1675), 355.

⁵John Heydon, Advice to a Daughter (1658), 200.

⁶Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan, ed. M. Oakeshott (1946), chapter 13.

⁷Hill, The Century of Revolution 1603-1714, 132-3.

⁸Mary A.E. Green, Committee for Compounding Calendar (1889), 6.

⁹Ibid., 7

¹⁰Ibid., 8

¹¹Ibid., 9

¹²Ibid., 17

¹³Ibid., 23

¹⁴Richard Allestree, The Gentleman's Calling (1660), preface.

¹⁵Committee for Compounding, xxii.

¹⁶Joan Thirsk, "The sales of royalist land during the Interregnum", Economic History Review, 2nd series, No. 2, (1952), 206.

¹⁷Joan Thirsk, "The Restoration Land Settlement", The Journal of Modern History, XXVI (December 1954), 319, 321, 323.

¹⁸John Downes, Roscius Anglicanus (N.D.), 25.

¹⁹Gerard Langbaine, English Dramatick Poets (1691), 81.

²⁰See, for example, George Wilkins, The Miseries of Inforst Marriage (1607).

²¹S.A. Strong, A Catalogue of Documents . . . at Welbeck (1903), 195.

²²See Stone, Century of Revolution, 600ff. for a description of the practice. I am indebted to Professor Stone for the previous two references.

²³Hill, Century of Revolution, 133-4.

²⁴Joan Thirsk, "Restoration Land Settlement", 324.

²⁵H.J. Habakkuk, "Marriage Settlements in the Eighteenth Century", T.R.H.S., (1950), 19, note.

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CHAPTER 4

"CITY TRADE TO THE COURT-END OF THE TOWN";

GLIMPSES OF ECONOMIC CHANGE

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⁴Christopher Hill, Century of Revolution (1969), 236.

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⁶Christopher Hill, 193.

⁷Hill, 204-210.

⁸Hill, 208.

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¹¹R. Davis, 272, note.

¹²Davis, 264.

¹³E.F. Gay, "Sir Richard Temple . . . 1653-75", Huntington Library Quarterly, VI, 270-6.

¹⁴J.K. Horsefield, 73, 81-3, xii; W.A. Shaw, History of Currency (1896), 219-225.

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¹⁶G.S. Thomson, Life in a Noble Household (1965), 365-74.

¹⁷J.K. Horsefield, xii-xvi.

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²³See, for example, Richard Carew, The Survey of Cornwall (1602), 14.

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²⁸Daniel Defoe, Review, 25 June 1709.

²⁹See Firth, Commentary on Macaulay's History, XVII (1932), 208.

³⁰See Hill, Century of Revolution (1969), 180-4, 231-2, 264-5; M. Beloff, 9-13; D. George, England in Transition (1967), 150-1.

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" . . . THE INDUSTRIOUS SORT OF PEOPLE";
MERCHANTS AND CITIZENS

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³Sermon preached at St. Margaret's, Westminster, 13 November 1678; see R.B. Schlatter, The Social Ideas of Religious Leaders (1940), 163.

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¹²Lucy Hutchinson, Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson (1846), 80-1.

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¹⁵R.B. Schlatter, 193, 197, 198.

¹⁶See, for example, Isaac Barrow, Of Industry (1700), 149.

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CHAPTER 6

"THAT AN HONOURABLE PROFESSION SHOULD BE THOUGHT
TO DEROGATE FROM THE ESTEEM OF A GENTLEMAN":

ATTITUDES TO THE PROFESSIONS

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³Petty, II, 507, 530.

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"MEN MUST NOT BE POOR": THE POWER OF MONEY
AND SOURCES OF INCOME

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⁷See, for example, Shadwell's prologue to Bury Fair, Dryden's epilogue to The Man of Mode, and Dryden's MacFlecknoe, II, 151-4.

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¹²H.M.C. Buccleuch and Queensbury MS, Vol. 1 (Edward Pyckering to Lord Montagu, July 31st 1679).

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" . . . OUR GENTLEMEN NEVER GET BUT TWICE IN
ALL THEIR LIVES": THE GENTLEMAN'S RIGHT
TO MONEY AND THE REJECTION OF WORK

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" . . . THE PASSION LOVE IS VERY MUCH OUT OF
FASION": THE BUSINESS OF MARRIAGE

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CHAPTER 10

" . . . YOU MUST EVER MAKE A SIMILE . . . 'TIS
THE NEW WAY OF WRITING": THE IMAGERY
OF COMMERCE

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⁵Thomas Hobbes, Human Nature (1840), IV, 67.

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APPENDIX

A sample marriage contract, reproduced from
The First Part of the Modern Conveyancer, or
Conveyancing improv'd, 3rd ed., corrected,
London, 1725, 30-37.

Articles.

Articles of Agreement indented, made, concluded, and fully agreed upon the Day of Anno Dom. 1696. and in the 8th Year, &c. Between Sir Thomas M. of, &c. of the one Part, and Sir Richard O. &c. of the other Part; as followeth, viz.

Consideration.

Settlement to be made of, &c.

WHEREAS a Marriage is shortly intended by God's Grace to be had and solemnized between T. M. Esq; Son and Heir Apparent of the said Sir T. M. and E. O. eldest Daughter of the said Sir R. O. Now these present Articles witness, That in Consideration of the said Marriage, and of the Sum of 8000 l. to be paid to the said Sir T. M. by the said Sir R. O. for the Marriage-Portion of the said E. as herein after is mentioned, The said Sir T. M. for himself, his Heirs, Executors and Administrators, and for every of them, doth covenant, promise and agree, to and with the said Sir R. O. his Executors and Administrators by these Presents, in Manner following; that is to say, That in case the said Marriage shall take Effect, he the said Sir T. M. and T. M. his Son, shall and will within the Space of six Months next after the said T. M. the Son, shall attain the Age of 21 Years, and at the equal Cost and Charges (except the Cost and Charges of levying the Fines and Recoveries) of the said T. M. and Sir R. O. their Heirs, Executors or Administrators, by good Conveyances in the Law, settle and assure all those the Manors or Lordships of

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Articles.

of, &c. in the County of E. And all their and every of their Rights, Members and Appurtenances whatsoever, and all that the Manor or Messuage and Farm, of, &c. with the Appurtenances, set, lying, and being in the Parish, &c. and the Soil and Ground thereof, with the Appurtenances, set, lying and being in the Parish of S. aforesaid, in the said County of E. and also that Park and Ground, &c. and of the Reversion and Reversions, Remainder and Remainders, Rents, Issues and Profits of the said Manors and Premises, and of every Part and Parcel thereof, To and for the several Use and Uses, Ends, Intents and Purposes, and under the Provisoës, Conditions and Agreements herein after mentioned, expressed and declared; that is to say, As to, for, and concerning the several Part to the Messuages, Farms, Lands, Tenements, Tythes Use of the and Hereditaments, Parcel of the said Premises intended in the several Occupations of J. W. E. N. J. P. Husband for C. M. J. W. R. B. Parcel of the said Manors of Life, and after to Trust S. M. B. B. some, or one of them, To T. M. the fees, to present, for and during the Term of his Natural servethecon Life, without Impeachment of Waste. And as-tingent Re- mairders. ter the Determination of that Estate, to Trustees and their Heirs, to be nominated by the said Sir R. O. his Executors or Administrators, to preserve the contingent Remainders: And as for and concerning the Messuages, Farms, Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments in the several Occupations of M W. and J. W. Also Parcel of the Other Part of Manor of S. M. B. B. some or one of them the Premises to the Use, in the said County of E. and as for and concerning the said Copperas Work, and the several Messuages, Farms, Lands, Tenements and Trustees at Hereditaments, Parcel or reputed Parcel of the said Manor of, &c. Now in the several Tenures or Occupation of the said Sir H. C. J. S. J. W.

Articles.

J. W. M. C. F. J. and R. C. their Assigns or Under-tenants respectively, to the Use of the said T. M. for and during the joint Lives of the said Sir T. M. and T. his Son; And from and after the Decease of the said Sir T. M. to the Use of the said T. M. the Son, for the Term of his Natural Life, without Impeachment of Waste, with a Limitation to such Trustees as aforesaid, and their Heirs, to preserve the contingent Remainders. And as to all the said Premisses, so as Husband, to aforesaid, limited to the said T. M. the Son, for the Use of his Life, from and after the Decease of the said T. M. the Son, to the Use and Behoof of the said E. O. for and during the Term of her Natural Life for her Jointure, and in Bar and full Recompence and Satisfaction of her Dower and Thirds. And as for and concerning the said several Manors, Lordships, Lands, Tythes, Hereditaments and Premisses in the said County of E. whereof no Use or Uses is herein before directed to be limited, to the Use of the said T. M. the Son, for and during the joint Lives of him the said T. M. and the said Sir T. M. And after the Decease of the said T. M. to the Use of the said Sir T. M. for and during the Term of his Natural Life, with Limitation to such Trustees and their Heirs, as aforesaid, to preserve the contingent Remainders; And as to the said Moiety of the said Manors of whereof no Use is herein before directed, to be limited to the Use and Behoof of the said Sir T. M. and his Assigns, for and during the Term of his Natural Life, without Impeachment of Waste; And from and after his Decease, to the Use of the said T. M. the Son, for and during the Term of his Natural Life, without Impeachment of Waste, with a Limitation to such Trustees as aforesaid, to preserve the contingent Remainders.

After the Death of the intended Husband, to the Use of the intended Wife for Life, for a Jointure, &c.

The Residue of the Premisses, to the Use of Sir T. M. for Life, with a Limitation in Trust, *as supra.*

Remainder to the intended Husband for Life, without Impeachment, &c.

And

Articles:

and as to all the said Manors, Lordships, Messuages, &c. from and after the respective Determinations of the several Use and Uses thereof herein before directed to be limited, and as the same respectively shall end and determine to the Use of the first Son of the Body of the said *T. M.* on the Body of the said *E.* lawfully to be begotten, and the Heirs male of the Body of such first Son lawfully issuing, with the Remainder to the Second, Third, and all and every other the Son and Sons, and enscent Sons of the said *T. M.* to be begotten on the Body of the said *E.* severally and successively, and the Heirs male of their respective Bodies lawfully issuing, the eldest and first-born of such Son and Sons, and the Heirs male of his Body, to be always preferred before the Younger, and the Heirs Male of his Body. ^{to the First, and other Sons and enscent Sons in Tail Male.}

And for Default of such Issue, as to the said Moieties of the said Manors of *B.* and *P.* to the Use of the Trustees to be by the said Sir *R.* O. his Executors or Administrators named in such Settlement for the Term of 500 Years, without Impeachment of Waste for the raising of Portions and Maintenances of the Daughters, as herein-after is named. ^{For Default of such Issue, to the Use of the Trustees afore-mentioned for raising of Portions and Maintenance of Daughters after the Determination}

And as for and concerning all the said Manors, Messuages, Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments; from and after the Determination of the several Uses and Estates thereof so to be limited, appointed and declared, and as the same shall respectively End and Determine, To the Use of the said Sir *T. M.* and the Heirs male of his Body : And for Default of such Issue, to the Use of the right Heirs of the said Sir *T. M.* for ever. ^{already limited, then to the Use of Sir *T. M.* and the Heirs Male of his Body, the Remainder to the Use of}

And it is further agreed, That Provision shall be made in the said Settlement, or otherwise out of some Part of the Premises for raising 120 *l. per Ann.* to be paid to the said *E.* by Quarterly Payments, for her separate Use.

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A Provision Use, during the joint Lives of the said Sir T. M. to be made of and T. the Son; and after the Decease of the said Sir T. for raising and Payment of the Sum of 160 l. *per Annum*, to the said E. during the

Life of the said T. M. in such Manner as that the same may be at the sole Dispose of the said E. exclusive, to the said T. M. her intended Husband. And it is further agreed, That the

Provision for Daughters, if no Sons, by the said Term to be limited to Trustees for that Purpose, shall be as followeth; To wit, If but one Daughter, 6000 l. for her Portion; if two Daughters, 8000 l. for their Portions, to be equally divided amongst them, and payable at her or their

respective Age or Ages of 18 Years, or Day of Marriage first happening; And that Provision shall be made for the said Term, for 60 l. *per Annum*, for the Maintenance of each Daughter, until the Age of 12 Years, and of 70 l. *per Annum* afterwards, until her Portion shall be payable. And it is further agreed, That Provision shall be made in the said Settlement, That in Case there should be a Son, and any other Child or Children, Son or Sons, Daughter or Daughters begotten by the said T. M. on the Body of

the said E. O. then the said T. M. shall have Power by his Last Will and Testament in Writing, or any Deed under his Hand and Seal, attested by two or more credible Witnesses, to charge all or any the Premises herein agreed to be limited to the said E. for a Jointure to take Effect after her Death, for and with the Payment of any Sum or Sums of Money, not exceeding in the Whole, the Sum of, &c. for the Portion or Portions of such younger Child or Children, and to be paid in such Proportion and Manner as the said T. M. shall direct. And it is further agreed, And the said Sir R. O. for himself, his

Heirs,

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Heirs, Executors, and for every of them, doth covenant, promise and agree, to and with the said T. Sir M. his Executors and Administrators, and to and with every of them, by these Presents in Manner following; that is to say, That he the said Sir R. O. his Heirs, Executors or Administrators, shall and will well and truly pay, or cause to be paid unto the said Sir T. M. his Executors, Administrators or Assigns, upon the executing and perfecting the said Settlement so to be made as aforesaid, the Sum of 6000 l. of lawful Money of England, with Interest for the same, after the Rate of 5 l. per Cent. per Annum, from the Day of the Date of these Presents, until such Payment. And also, That he the said Sir R. O. his Heirs, Executors or Administrators, shall and will upon the executing and perfecting such Settlement as aforesaid, well and sufficiently secure by Lands, the further Sum of 2000 l. of lawful Money of England, to be paid to the said Sir T. M. his Executors, Administrators or Assigns, at the Death of the said Sir R. O. or the Marriage of T. O. Esq; Son and Heir apparent of the said R. O. first happening: And if neither of them happen within the Space of 4 Years now next coming, Then the said Sir R. O. his Heirs, Executors and Administrators, shall pay or cause to be paid unto the said Sir T. M. his Executors, Administrators or Assigns, Interest for the said 2000 l. from the End of the said four Years, after the Rate of four Pounds per Cent. per Annum, by Half-yearly Payments, until the same shall be paid. And it is further agreed, That upon Payment and securing the said Portion of 8000 l. as aforesaid, The said T. M. the Son, shall release the said Sir R. O. his Executors and Administrators, of and from all Legacies, Gifts, or Bequests of Money given or bequeathed

The Wife's
Father cove-
nants to pay
the Portion
with Interest
till paid.

Upon execu-
ting the said
intended Set-
tlement.

Covenant for
the Husband
to release
upon Pay-
ment.

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Provision to be made, that in Case the Wife die, the Husband may make a Jointure out of the Premises for a second Wife.

to be made to the said E. O. by Sir T. F. Knight and Baronet, deceased; or by Sir H. T. Knight, deceased, and of and from all Monies arising to the said E. T. deceased, by or out of the Estate of Dame E. T. deceased, or any of them. And it is further agreed, That Provision shall be made in the Settlement to be made as aforesaid, In Case of the Death of the said E. to enable the said T. M. the Son, to make a Jointure for any Wife, he shall then after marry out of any of the said Farms that he shall be then in Possession of, for the Term of her Natural Life, not exceeding the yearly Value of 400 *l. per Annum*, the Mansion-house, and the Farm and Demesnes therewith commonly used, to be no Part thereof. Provided Nevertheless, and it is agreed by and between the said Parties to these Presents, That in Case it shall happen that the said T. M. the Son, shall die or depart this Life before he shall attain the said Age of 21 Years, and before the said intended Settlement shall be made, and if the said E. O. shall him survive, then and in such Case, all and every the Covenants and Agreements herein mentioned and contained for the Making such Settlement, and the Payment of the said 8000 *l.* for the Portion of the said E. O. to the said Sir T. M. aforesaid, shall cease and be void and of none Effect. And then and in such Case the said Sir R. O. his Heirs, Executors or Administrators, shall pay unto the said E. O. within next after the Decease of the said T. M. the Sum of 8000 *l.* which should have been paid to the said Sir T. M. in Case the said Jointure were made, which the said Sir R. O. for himself, his Heirs, Executors and Administrators, doth hereby promise and agree, with the said Sir T. M. his Executors and Administrators, to do accordingly. But in Case the said T. M. the Son shall die before he

In Case the Son dies before 21, and Settlement be not made.

Then the Portion to the intended Wife, if she survives.

And to Daughters, if any, &c.

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he attain his Age of 21 Years without Issue male, born in his Life-time, or after his Decease, and if he shall have any Daughter or Daughters by him begotten on the Body of the said E. living at his Death, or born after his Decease; then the said Sir T. M. shall pay to such Daughter, if but one, the Sum of 5000 l. for her Portion, and if two or more, the Sum of 6000 l. for their Portions, to be equally divided, and to be paid at the Age or Ages of 18 Years, or Day or Days of Marriage of such Daughter or Daughters which shall respectively first happen. And it is further agreed, And the said Sir T. M. doth hereby covenant and promise, to give and deliver unto the said T. M. his Son, immediately upon the making such Settlement, All the Plate, Beds, Bedding and Furniture whatsoever, in and about the Capital Messuage or Mansion-house at S. aforesaid, and the Out-houses thereunto belonging. And in Case the said T. M. and E. shall not think fit to inhabit there immediately, nor take Possession of the Demesnes at present, nor take Care to preserve the Gardens in Order; then the said Sir T. M. will continue in the same, and pay and answer the Rents of the Demesnes and Tythes that are in Hand to his Son, according to the Particular given in upon his Marriage, deducting only the Charge of keeping the Gardens, not exceeding *per An.* And also to satisfy the present Minister, as he now receives for Tythes and Family-duty,

Covenant by the Husband's Father, to deliver up the Capital Messuage and Household Goods to the Son, &c.

Or pay Rent for the same,

In Witness, &c.

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