

**RESTORING BRITAIN: PERFORMANCES OF STUART SUCCESSION IN DUBLIN,
EDINBURGH, AND LONDON**

by

Deirdre O'Rourke

BA, Washington University in St. Louis, 2006

Masters of Arts, University of Pittsburgh, 2008

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This dissertation was presented

by

Deirdre O'Rourke

It was defended on

April 2, 2014

and approved by

Dr. Attilio Favorini, Professor Emeritus, Theatre Arts

Dr. Bruce McConachie, Professor, Theatre Arts

Dr. Jennifer Waldron, Assistant Professor, English

Dissertation Advisor: Dr. Lisa Jackson-Schebetta, Assistant Professor, Theatre Arts

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Though much worthy scholarship exists about English Restoration theatre, few studies examine the intersections between theatrical activity in London and its British “sister” cities of Dublin and Edinburgh and the stakes of Stuart restoration and British union for all three kingdoms expressed through theatre and performance. This dissertation is a historiographical reconfiguration of the Restoration period that analyzes how theatre and performance in Dublin, Edinburgh, and London contributed to Charles II’s reestablishment of Stuart rule and British union. My project brings together new British history and performance studies to uncover the British theatrical and cultural performances that re-defined union during Charles II’s restoration.

I examine Stuart succession through three case-studies: beheadings, Shakespeare adaptations, and the actress. I analyze beheadings as performance events that map a history of Stuart succession through the triple beheadings of Charles I and his Irish and Scottish viceroys. Through their speeches on the scaffold, Charles I and his viceroys made themselves enduring symbols of Stuart monarchy. Charles II then reestablished execution as a royal power, executing and publicly displaying the corpses of the regicides. He highly regulated performances of execution in the theatre, however, especially plays that restaged royal executions from British history. I then examine the ways in which Shakespeare adaptations interrogated past and present British union through plays that betrayed the tensions between the three kingdoms. I consider adaptation a practice shared by Charles II and playwrights, both invested in restoring Britain’s

cultural past. Through their adaptations, theatre artists created Shakespeare into an origin myth of the English theatre. Lastly, I argue that Charles II's introduced the professional actress on the public stage as a surrogate of two past traditions of female performance, the boy actor and the female courtier, who served his agenda to provide his British subjects with public access to himself and his court. Charles II revived Britannia, the female personification of Britain, to capitalize on the popularity of public female performance and create public support and ownership over the reunited Britain.

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PREFACE

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

A curious painting sits on display in the Museum of London. The anonymous *Charles I after his Execution with his Head Stitched On* holds a surprisingly unassuming place in the *War, Plague, and Fire* collection. The museum documents London's lengthy history and the portrait, exhibited alongside countless artifacts and informational placards, does not necessarily draw focus. Unassuming is an accomplishment considering the striking scene it portrays. The portrait depicts the posthumous Charles I accompanied by female personifications of the three kingdoms he ruled, England, Scotland, and Ireland. The stitches reuniting the king's head and body are as visibly pronounced as the agony of the three women whose crowns flee at the sight of the crownless Charles I. This portrait epitomizes the gauntlet thrown down for the king's heir, Charles II, in his restoration: re-attach Britain's head to its bodies. A print of *Charles I after his Execution with his Head Stitched On* now hangs in my living room and, indeed, the portrait hangs together this dissertation.

The anonymous portrait clearly articulates the British dimension of Stuart rule so often overlooked in seventeenth-century scholarship in history and theatre studies. When the first Stuart, James I, came to rule the dual thrones of England and Scotland in 1603, he began the project of British union ultimately actualized under the last Stuart, Anne II, in 1707. James I's desire to be recognized as the king of "Great Britain" met with serious resistance from both kingdoms and the continued strain of this union and its impact on the formulation of identities

manifested itself in the reigns of his Stuart successors. Despite a transparent preoccupation with British union throughout the period, the scholarship focuses predominately on England, and principally London, which reinforces an idea of the kingdom's superior position in the union. The singular emphasis on London in theatre histories creates a narrative that, with some exception, mostly ignores theatrical activity outside the city, in the other British kingdoms or even elsewhere in England. What the history of the three kingdoms bears out, however, is England's scramble to create and maintain a separate identity within Britain, an identity that is far more developed in the scholarship than in the primary evidence. Scotland and Ireland, furthermore, share in the negotiation of identity complicated and compelled by union, or in Ireland's case, colonization.

My dissertation examines the theatrical tactics Charles II used to suture the dismembered Britain depicted in *Charles I after his Execution with his Head Stitched On*. It is a British historiographical reconfiguration of the Restoration period that analyzes how theatre and performance in Dublin, Edinburgh, and London contributed to Charles II's reestablishment of Stuart rule and British union. My project brings together new British history and performance studies to uncover the theatrical and cultural performances that re-defined Britain in all three kingdoms. This approach prompts a reconsideration of the scholarship's singular focus on London. With the exception of Odai Johnson's *Rehearsing the Revolution* and Patrick Tuite's *Theatre of Crisis*, the scholarship's limited scope restricts the kinds of histories written about England and precludes rigorous study of Ireland and Scotland. Situating London's theatre and performance within Britain illuminates an English preoccupation with establishing its culture and identity as distinct from the other British kingdoms and the continent through, for example, reappropriations of beheading, Shakespeare adaptations, and the cultivation of the professional

actress. Analyses of theatre and performance in Dublin and Edinburgh reveal comparable negotiations of identity and British union practiced through what is, in fact, a cultural history shared by all three kingdoms, articulated in my study as beheading, adaptation, and female performance.

1.1 NEW BRITISH (THEATRE HISTORY)

New British history, heralded by historian J.G.A. Pocock, calls for a revisionist approach to historicizing the British Isles that accounts for England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales as a collective rather than as individual nations. The British dimension is often overlooked in Restoration theatre history, which focuses disproportionately on London. With some exception, notably Sybil Rosenfeld's *Strolling players and Drama in the Provinces, 1660-1765*, scholarship privileges London as the site of the Restoration and the theatre that accompanied it. This emphasis on London problematically accepts the city as representative of greater England and isolates it from its geographical and socio-cultural surroundings. It also limits the kinds of histories being written about the period. Seventeenth century London was part of a British world that it shared with England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, but this context is often absent. The field of new British history emerged in the 1970s intent on exposing London-centric biases in favor of histories made more accountable to their historical circumstances, but the approach has yet to take hold in theatre and performance studies.

Studies of the Restoration demand a British approach because, from start to finish, it was a British moment. Jim Smyth in *The Making of the United Kingdom 1660-1800* claims that British history “works better” for the Restoration because “The entire crisis [...] can be viewed

as a successful revolt of the peripheries against the centre” (3). New British historians, like Smyth, reframe the Restoration and the events leading up to it within a British context. Suddenly the English Civil War looks more like “The War(s) of the Three Kingdoms,” articulated in John Morrill’s eponymous essay, and the Restoration more like a moment spread out geographically and temporally in England, Ireland, and Scotland. Despite the British context of the Restoration, Clare Jackson, whose work focuses on Restoration Scotland, detects a lack of British Restoration historiography. She asserts “Historiographically, there has been less evidence of attempts to construct a ‘British’ history for the Restoration than for any other period in the seventeenth century” (“Restoration to Revolution” 93). My dissertation not only seeks to recontextualize English theatre within Britain, but also takes the re-formation of British union as a central preoccupation of Charles II and of the theatre and performance from the period.

1.2 RESTORATION PERFORMANCE STUDIES

Performance studies informs the project in two key ways. First, I consider a broad range of cultural performance including beheadings, royal ceremonies, and portraiture alongside plays staged in theatres. Second, I use Joseph Roach’s performance theory of surrogation to unpack Charles II’s assumption of the triple crowns. Surrogation is the process by which cultures reproduce themselves in moments of transitional leadership, such as the succession of kings. Roach understands this process as inherently performative. In my dissertation, I interpret, for example, the king’s royal entry, the public beheadings of the regicides, and his institution of the professional actress, as staged moments whereby Charles II enacted his role as successor. I

synthesize the king's performances of surrogation throughout the period with plays staged in Britain's theatres that both bolstered and challenged the restored king and his re-union agenda.

1.3 RESTORING THEATRE (AND) HISTORY

Two contentions about the seventeenth-century British theatre underpin this dissertation. First, theatrical patronage was a defining characteristic of the Stuart monarchy. Second, plays were a form of historical writing and the theatre a historical institution. *The History of the English Stage* (1741), attributed to actor Thomas Betterton, but most likely written (and plagiarized) by Charles Gildon, offers a retrospective assessment of the Stuart influence on the theatre's development. The text's introduction lays out a theatrical progression halted in the reign of Charles I:

[The drama] met, indeed, with some kind of Establishment in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; but flourished in That of King *James* I. Arts were cultivated, till the Beginning of our Intestine Broils in the reign of *Charles* I, when the Dramatic Muse was banished, and all the Arts degraded (1).

James and Charles patronized the public theatre and their courts frequently sponsored masques and entertainments spearheaded by the queens-consort. Their investment in the theatre encouraged artistic advancement. Charles I's patronage, however, also increased Puritan objection to the theatre. When Cromwell and his supporters executed Charles I, they emphasized the king's affinity for the theatre by staging his beheading outside of the Banqueting House, which served as a venue for masques during his reign. They made a public show of the king's execution and then permanently shut down the public theatres. When Charles II regained the throne in the Restoration, he reopened the theatres and increased court attendance at the public

theatres. He also put his father's supporters, Thomas Killigrew and William Davenant, in control of the theatres and introduced the professional actress, which demonstrated a familiarity with the European convention, but also remembered the Stuart tradition of female court performance. The restored king reinforced the symbiotic relationship between the theatre and the Stuart monarchy and the theatre became a microcosm for Britain, or "Mimic state," that reflected the tensions and challenges of union Charles II struggled with in his surrogation (Gildon, *Life of Mr. Thomas Betterton*, 10).

The plays written and staged in the public theatre historicized past and present Britain and theatre itself was an institution with an interest in preserving a specific history. In her essay, "History and its Uses," Paulina Kewes argues that the disciplinary boundaries between history and literature were not solidly established in the seventeenth century. She articulates the shared narrative strategies used by plays and histories and makes the case for plays as historical writing. In my dissertation, I study plays that rehash Britain's past history in order to comment on its present circumstances. This tactic is particularly manifest in the Restoration adaptations of Shakespeare I investigate in my second case-study. Plays in the period restaged Britain's history, but the theatre was also interested in remembering its own history after its closure under Cromwell. The first histories of the British stage emerge from the Restoration, including Richard Flecknoe's *A Short Discourse of the English Stage* (1664), James Wright's *Historia Histrionica* (1699), and John Downes's *Roscius Anglicanus* (1708). In addition to these histories, biographical accounts of theatre artists from the period express an impulse to situate their artistic moment within theatre history. For example, in his autobiography, Colley Cibber provides a historical overview of the theatre in order to contextualize the theatre in which he operated. The plays and players of the Restoration theatre ruminated on British history.

1.4 PUTTING HUMPTY DUMPTY BACK TOGETHER AGAIN

I examine surrogation in three case-studies that focus respectively on 1) beheadings, 2) Shakespeare adaptations, and 3) the actress. All three analyze performances, theatrical and cultural, that demonstrate the dual impulses of remembering and forgetting that characterized Charles II's surrogation. The Restoration required a recuperation of Britain's past mediated through its inclusion in new or adapted practices. Beheadings recalled Charles I as both tyrant and martyr. Adaptations reconnected the theatre with its past, which included its past struggles with British union. The actress combined the traditions of the boy actor and the female courtier to create a new representation of British union. I use these case-studies to support a larger argument about the role of theatre and performance in Charles II's restoration of Britain.

I analyze beheadings as performance events that map a history of Stuart succession. Charles I's beheading was accompanied by the executions of his Irish and Scottish viceroys. I argue that, through their speeches on the scaffold, Charles I and his viceroys made themselves enduring symbols of Stuart monarchy in the face of its demise. Charles II then reestablished execution as a royal power, executing and publicly displaying the corpses of the regicides. He highly regulated performances of execution in the theatre, however, especially plays that restaged royal executions from British history. I then examine the ways in which Shakespeare adaptations staged in Dublin, Edinburgh, and London interrogated past and present British union through plays that betrayed the tensions between the three kingdoms. I consider adaptation a practice shared by Charles II and playwrights, both invested in restoring Britain's cultural past. Through their adaptations, theatre artists created Shakespeare into an origin myth of the English theatre. Lastly, I argue that Charles II introduced the professional actress on the public stage as a surrogate of two past traditions of female performance, the boy actor and the female courtier,

who served his agenda to provide his British subjects public access to himself and his court. Charles II revived Britannia, the female personification of Britain, to capitalize on the popularity of public female performance and create public support and ownership over the reunited Britain.

1.4.1 BEHEADINGS

Considered within the frameworks of new British history and performance studies, beheadings, both actual and theatrical, emerge as repeated performances that map a British history of Stuart deposition, restoration, and surrogation. By analyzing the beheadings of Charles I and his Irish and Scottish viceroys, the Earl of Strafford (1641) and the Marquis of Montrose (1650), as multilayered performance events, I demonstrate that their beheadings symbolized and enacted the dismemberment of Britain itself, politically, ideologically, and figuratively. However, because of the performative circumstances of beheadings, Charles I and his viceroys used their executions as opportunities to uphold monarchy and British union in the moment of its dismemberment. When Charles II retook the throne, he used actual and symbolic severed heads in public executions and his coronation procession to reintroduce them as negative symbols of tyranny and not symbols of the fallen Stuart monarchy. To control the cultural representation of beheadings, Charles II censored plays that featured the act, specifically John Banks's plays, which dramatized four royal beheadings from Britain's past.

1.4.2 ADAPTATION

In this case-study, I examine the (re)writing, or adaptation, of histories as a practice shared by Charles II and Restoration theatre artists. Charles II adapted history to reunify Britain and

employed theatre artists in court positions to assist with adaptation. The theatres, which Charles II attempted to make uniform through the masters of the revels, produced Shakespeare adaptations that functioned as histories. These adaptations staged England's theatrical history by reconnecting audiences with pre-Commonwealth plays and restoring England's interrupted theatrical tradition. Shakespeare adaptations, in particular, allowed playwrights to participate in the (re)formulation of England's past and present cultural history, which illuminated tensions between the three British kingdoms. Through the practice of adaptation, Shakespeare emerged in the Restoration as a divisive figure. Within him and his work, Shakespeare's adapters located an origin for the English theatre, which they cultivated despite the fact that Shakespeare lived and worked in James I's Britain. By making Shakespeare English, his London adapters attempted to codify and hold onto a distinct English theatrical culture in order to set themselves apart from Britain and the continent. Shakespeare adaptations, specifically William Davenant's *Macbeth* and John Lacey's *Sauny the Scot*, demonstrate English anxieties about the impact of British union on the preservation of England and its theatrical tradition. Adaptations of *Macbeth* produced in Ireland and Scotland and Nahum Tate's *Lear*, however, also evidence the British ubiquity of the playwright's work and competition over its cultural ownership.

1.4.3 ACTRESSES

Charles II professionalized the actress through the union of the two traditions of female performance under his Stuart predecessors: the public boy actor and the private female courtier. The professional, public actresses amalgamated the private female court performance tradition, developed and overseen by European queens consort, and the public boy actor, England's traditional approach to female representation onstage, creating a British female performance

tradition that promulgated British union. Charles II made female performance public in order to promote his British union and encourage public access to him and his court to prevent the fissures exacerbated under his father's reign. Charles I created distance between himself and the people, which ultimately tore the union into pieces. In contrast, Charles II enlisted the actress in bringing British union to the public and used the popularity of female performance to resurrect Britannia, the female embodiment of Britain, as a symbol of his union. Anne II, the last Stuart to rule, embodied Britannia as royal princess and queen to promote British union and connect her reign with Elizabeth I and Charles II. Britannia, I suggest, is a product of increased interest in female performance and a promulgation of the British union the actress represented.

1.5 HUMPTY DUMPTY'S PIECES

Charles I after his Execution with his Head Stitched On haunts all three case-studies. It informs Charles II's attempts to reforge Britain by remembering and forgetting Charles I's reign. Charles II controls the triple crowns and the memorialization of those who died upholding them by reclaiming the monarchical power of beheading rather than losing his head. He, unlike Charles I, promotes theatre in all three kingdoms and appoints "theatrical viceroys" to oversee its production. Finally, Charles II, too, appears alongside a female personification, but he chooses to share a coin with united Britannia who unifies the separate representations that accompany Charles I and his divided kingdoms. In this dissertation, I assert that Charles II prioritized the reunification of Britain as a primary objective and means of his restoration. His investment in Britain, therefore, necessitates a reconfiguration of how we analyze and historicize theatre and performance in the Restoration period.

2.0 REATTACHING BRITAIN'S HEADS

Charles I lost his head on the chopping block in London on 30 January 1649. After years of civil war, Charles I was tried and convicted of treason at the hands of his opponents in the English Parliament. The king's beheading took place on a temporary scaffold erected outside the Banqueting House. Parliament, appropriating the power of execution from the king, chose the site because of its affiliations with Stuart monarchy. At the Banqueting House, the only extant part of the expansive Whitehall Palace, Charles I hosted court entertainments (such as theatrical masques), royal ceremonies, and ambassadorial visits; the excessive cost of such entertainments garnered the Stuart king criticism from the Puritan Parliamentarians. The regicides who orchestrated Charles I's execution presented the king's beheading as public entertainment. They selected a venue proscribed for performance rather than an established execution site (like Tower Green or Tower Hill, for example). They draped the scaffold in black. His executioners wore vizards and costumes. Charles I wore plain clothing and no crown. The scaffold faced a public road, which invited an audience. To behead the king, Parliament staged a seventeenth-century tragedy, a form that Franco Moretti argues in *Signs Taken for Wonders* "disentitled the absolute monarch to all ethical and rational legitimation;" the tragic "deconsecration" of the king allowed for his decapitation (42). With the king's beheading, England literally and figuratively separated itself from monarchy. Parliament passed legislation making it illegal to declare anyone king of England or Ireland. England, headed by members of the House of Commons in London, became

a Commonwealth by executing its king. Using a scaffold set, costumes, and an audience, the king's opposition utilized the elements of theatrical performance to bring monarchy in England to an end. Eleven years later in 1660, the year of Charles II's restoration to the throne, Charles I's beheading was dramatized in the anonymous play, *Cromwell's Conspiracy*.

Written by a "person of quality," the "tragedy-comedy" of *Cromwell's Conspiracy* depicted Cromwell's lust for kingship and the failure of Cromwell's son to maintain rule after his father's death. The play's title page announced the two events that bound *Cromwell's Conspiracy*: "Beginning at the Death of King CHARLES the First, and ending with the happy Restauration of KING CHARLES The Second." The play contained a masque that featured masquers named "Ambition, Treason, Lust, Revenge, Perjury, [and] Sacrilege (sic)" (7). Cromwell reveled in the masque of usurpation in Act 2 scene 3. In the next scene, the play staged the execution of Charles I outside the Banqueting House. The stage direction, "Enter K. Charles, as on the Scaffold...with men in Vizards," emphasized that the staging recalled the actual, particular, and theatrical circumstances of the king's beheading. The play's anticipated London audiences may well have witnessed the historical event and remembered the details. The language of the stage direction suggests the playwright's awareness of an informed audience and an interest in recreating the event accurately; the king entered not only on the scaffold, but "*as on the Scaffold*," as he had on the day of his beheading. By having the character of Cromwell attend a masque before staging the execution, the playwright paralleled the Stuart performance culture to which Cromwell and his supporters objected with Charles I's beheading, an event in which his objectors purposely employed theatrical devices. While no evidence exists of any performances of the play, the print edition, circulated in London, called for the re-staging of the historical and theatrical event of the king's beheading as, I argue, a necessary precursor to Charles II's

restoration. Considered within the frameworks of new British history and performance studies, beheadings, both actual and theatrical, emerge as repeated performances that map a British history of Stuart deposition, restoration, and surrogation.

When I say “British,” I am referring to the three kingdoms of England, Ireland, and Scotland united under one king, James I. By surrogation, I mean Joseph Roach’s performance theory of succession, the process by which individuals assume and recreate vacated cultural positions (like a king). When viewed as a British event, the beheading of Charles I functions as a point on the trajectory of contested Stuart succession preceded by the beheading of his Irish viceroy and followed by the hanging and beheading of his viceroy in Scotland. In this chapter I argue that the examination of the repeated performance of beheading breaks down monolithic understandings of English cultural and theatre history to construct a British performance history of Stuart surrogation. *Cromwell’s Conspiracy* in tandem with multiple, iterative stagings of beheadings both actual and material demonstrate the key place of beheading in the history and realization of Stuart succession.

In this chapter, I map a British performance history of beheading. Though the beheadings of Charles I and his viceroys signaled the unraveling of British union, the victims used the scaffold to publicly perform the endurance of Stuart monarchy and created themselves into symbols of sovereignty. When Charles II inherited the throne, he replaced the Stuart imagery of beheading with iterative public beheadings of regicides, which reasserted the act’s prior authority as a monarchical power exercised against traitors. The king re-membered Britain by burying its beheaded past, literally collecting Montrose’s dispersed remains and laying them to rest in Edinburgh. While Charles II used beheading himself, he disallowed its representation in the theatres that he controlled. When the theatre, however, threatened to resurrect royal beheading

imagery, as John Banks's four historical beheading plays did, Charles II prohibited live performance, fearing the consequences of re-playing the Stuarts' beheaded past.

2.1 PERFORMING BEHEADING

Historically, executions have long been analyzed as performance. For my purposes, I will discuss the theatrical conventions utilized by beheadings and the theatre. I will also examine beheadings' and theatre's shared investment in the creation and communication of symbolic meaning through performance. In *Losing our Heads: Beheadings in Literature and Culture*, Regina Janes historicizes beheading and aligns the beginning of the practice with the human ability to symbolize. Janes defines a symbol as "[either] an object, mark, or action [that] stands for or represents something beyond itself" (3). Her study extrapolates the meanings represented by the decollated head over time. Janes makes a clear case for the importance of symbols and symbolism to beheading. In considering the performative qualities of the act of beheading and its representation in the theatre, symbolism emerges as a key concept. Symbolism, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, is "the practice of representing things by symbols, or of giving a symbolic character to objects or acts."¹ For my argument, drawing on Jones, beheadings, both actual and theatrical, *symbolize* through the act of performance. The power to play through symbols is a function shared by beheadings and the theatre, one I will return to throughout this study.

¹ Though I am aware of symbolism's relationship to semiotics, I am using the term more broadly and do not wish to engage in a semiotic argument.

Early modern executions were constructed and understood as performance events and performance analyses of them elucidate their conditions and symbolic meaning. Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* and Pieter Spierenburg's *The Spectacle of Suffering: Executions and the Evolution of Repression*, for example, are core texts in the study of executions as performance. Both works craft broad histories of execution in Europe in which beheadings in seventeenth-century Britain are considered within the larger European context and the respective arguments of the authors about changes in capital punishment. These works lay the foundation for my concentrated analysis of beheadings as performance in Britain. In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault entitles his chapter on execution and torture "The Spectacle of the Scaffold." Foucault emphasizes that the spectacular nature of the execution, committed in full view of an audience, is what reinforced the king's power. The public punishment of a criminal demonstrated the consequences for disobedience and instilled the fear of punishment in those that witnessed it. "The public execution" for Foucault was a "ceremonial" in which "the main character was the people, whose real and immediate presence was required for the performance" (57). Foucault considers public executions spectacular performances of power. Pieter Spierenburg expands upon Foucault's work, framing executions as "dramas" (43), reflected in the chapter titles which are "The Actors," "The Stagers," "The Watchers," and "The Victims" (v). Foucault and Spierenburg effectively borrow terminology and an understanding of the audience from theatre and performance to interpret executions. They began the work undertaken by scholars from various disciplines, including those who have specifically studied the execution of Charles I within the context of performance.

The theatre provides a useful metaphor for understanding executions; the theatricality of executions, in turn, informed theatrical culture, writing, and performance. In England, theatres

operated in close proximity to executions. Charles Mitchell, in *Shakespeare and Public Execution*, notes that Lincoln's Inn Fields, public fields that housed William Davenant's Restoration patent theatre, also functioned as a "temporary location for executions" (8). Andreas Höfele adds a third space to the conversation, the baiting arena. In *Stage, Stake, and Scaffold*, he contends that both theatres and bear- and bull-baiting rings mimicked in performance the brutality and animalization practiced in capital punishment. Höfele, like Mitchell and Margaret Owens (*Stages of Dismemberment*), analyzes the capital punishment happening on the streets and onstage as referential performance: "When the playwrights drown the stage in blood...such excesses of violence incorporate and are sustained by the competitive co-presence of the other spectacular blood rituals of the period" (64). The early modern theatre shared space with executions and the location, staging, and means of their performances reverberated.

Beheadings and theatrical performance drew on the shared theatrical conventions of stages, plots, scripts, performers, and audiences. Beheadings took place on a scaffold, reminiscent, as Janes points out in *Losing our Heads*, of "traditional Tudor staging" (41). The scaffold originated as the playing space for medieval theatre and became the thrust stage in early modern purpose-built theatres. The similarities in staging also included the steps leading to the scaffold, the victim's procession. The accused was often transported to the execution location on a cart, which recalled the pageant wagons of Tudor England. Like the theatre, stages for executions were erected in permanent and temporary sites. Some places, like Tyburn, the Tower, and Tower Hill in London, were permanent sites of execution and specifically sites of beheadings. But executions also appropriated court spaces, like The Great Hall at Fotheringhay Castle for the execution of Mary Queen of Scots and the Banqueting House of Whitehall Palace for Charles I's. Beheadings used the scaffold as a performance space, but they also borrowed

theatrical dramaturgies to stage and dramatize the act. While Janes recognizes the intersections of beheadings and theatre in terms of space and dramaturgy in England, I argue that these intersections are characteristic of British beheadings, staged not only in England, but in Ireland and Scotland as well.

Theatrical elements tied to the staging of actual executions were the established plot, or order of events, and the script enacted by performers. The criminals processed to the execution site. They gave scaffold speeches, in which they repented and asked forgiveness, denied the charges, or owned the charges and extolled their reasons for committing the offense. These scaffold speeches were often published and circulated for public consumption. After the speech, they were often given the opportunity to pray. Their executioner asked their forgiveness then, following the act, the executioner spoke an established line either “God save the Queen [or King]” or “Behold the head of the traitor.” The performers involved in beheadings, such as the victim and the executioner, were evaluated on the quality of their performances, not unlike actors. Some victims put on better shows than others through their speeches. Accounts of executions, written presumably by witnesses or fabricated for print audiences, often critiqued the performances, giving detailed information about how the victims presented themselves through their speeches and their composure in their final moments. The accounts also critiqued the work of the executioner, especially when beheading was the means of death. For example, the expectation was that he would remove the head in one blow. If it took him more than one, the crowds voiced their displeasure. The crowd, or the audience, was a crucial element of the performance of execution. Most executions were publicly performed and the public witnessing of the execution was part of its effectiveness as a deterrent and a display of power.

Beheadings and theatrical performances, thus, employed shared conventions to produce cultural meaning. Janes argues that the symbolism of the act was the reason for its use. She traces the evolution of human beheading and concludes that live beheading only emerged at the point in human history when they possessed the capacity to symbolize. The earliest evidence of beheading suggests that it was “a non-violent act, performed on the already dead” for symbolic purposes (4). The only practical function of the severed head was the “skull’s ability to hold drink”, but it was not used for this purpose until the head became a symbol for humanity (4). The ancient “Issedonians” writes Janes, “preserved their fathers’ heads as skull cups for use at the annual festival of the fathers” (14). These heads were removed from already dead bodies to symbolize the presence of deceased elders at a ceremony. Joseph Roach’s analysis of royal effigies also articulates the utility of symbolism to performance. Effigies, often made of cloth, were inanimate objects created to symbolize the deceased body of a monarch. Through their use in funeral processions, effigies became symbols of the deceased that performed absence.² Just as a prop, set piece, or character trait might appear in a play because of its cultural significance, beheadings held power in Western cultures because of the symbolic meanings carried by the act and its mise-en-scène. Of course, beheadings and theatrical performance both required humans to create and understand symbolism.

The decollated head in Britain symbolized class, as it had in Roman culture, but the act acquired additional meaning in Britain as a performance of the monarch’s authority over tyranny. The decapitation of the live human did not become common practice in Western human history until the head took on symbolic meaning under the Romans. The head became a symbol used to distinguish citizens, who had “head” from slaves who didn’t: “reserved for citizens, who had

² For more on effigies, see Roach p.36 and Odai Johnson’s discussion of the Restoration burnings of pope effigies in *Rehearsing the Revolution*.

heads to remove, decollation was a privileged form of execution” (34). Beheading carried classed meaning in Britain as well. Beheading was a form of execution reserved for those of a certain class, members of the royalty and the gentry. If done properly, beheading was a faster and less painful way to die than other modes of execution.³ The act of beheading transformed the decollated head into a symbol utilized in Britain in similar ways to Roman uses. The head symbolized the status of the victim, but it also conveyed the power of the sovereign and the victim’s disobedience. Historical evidence of the public display of decapitated heads on spikes demonstrates the symbolic utility of the detached, executed human head. Britain’s first use of this practice purportedly originated with the hanging, drawing, and quartering of the infamous William Wallace, a Scot who fought for Scottish independence against the English King Edward I. Wallace’s head was mounted on a spike on London Bridge and his body parts were displayed in northern England and Scotland. The dismemberment and display of Wallace created and reinforced him as a symbol of rebellion and tyranny brought to justice by the king of England. British beheadings symbolized status, royal power, and tyranny.

The symbolism of the head and the act itself, however, changed throughout its history. Heads and beheadings accumulated meaning through the iterations of beheading, but their symbolism was contingent on the intentions of those who controlled the performances. The beheading of the king, Charles I, in 1649, the head of three kingdoms, prompted a change in the symbolic meaning of the act. By beheading Charles I, Parliament declared the king a traitor and appropriated royal authority to execute him. Parliament’s execution of Charles I, the first reigning English monarch to suffer beheading, extinguished the actual and symbolic powers of

³ I define a proper beheading as one that took place in one fall of the ax, intended to minimize pain. Many of the beheadings I will discuss were not “proper” and the victim withstood multiple blows before the severing of the head was complete.

the monarch, disunifying Britain. When Charles II succeeded his executed father in 1660, he attempted to reestablish beheading as a royal power exercised against traitors to the king. Charles II, however, competed against the symbols and images of beheading in circulation in print and performance throughout Britain that recalled the “beheaded king,” his father.

2.2 BRITAIN’S PERFORMING HEAD(S)

In this section, I will detail the beheadings of Charles I, the Earl of Strafford (viceroy of Ireland) and the Marquis of Montrose (the viceroy of Scotland). The king inhabited and ruled England. His viceroys personified the king’s rule in Ireland and Scotland. Together, the three bodies represented the unified kingdoms of Britain. By analyzing their beheadings as multilayered performance events, I will demonstrate that their beheadings symbolized and enacted the dismemberment of Britain itself, politically, ideologically, and figuratively. Consequently, decollation and its jurisdiction in the streets and the theatre could not but figure prominently in Charles II’s restoration and re-memberment of Britain.

In the moment of Charles I’s beheading, his head symbolized the crowns of England, Ireland, and Scotland that sat upon it. His decapitation meant the eradication of the monarch as well as his kingdoms and his control over them. After his beheading, Charles I’s head was supposedly reattached and he “sat” for a portrait. This portrait, entitled *Charles I after his Execution with his Head Stitched on*, foregrounds the posthumous king at the left forefront in humble dress with a cap covering his head (rather than a crown), the stiches from the (re)capitation exposed and his eyes closed. Occupying the background of the portrait are three female figures personifying Charles I’s three kingdoms, in order from left to right, England,

Scotland, and Ireland. The women hold shields emblazoned with symbols of their respective kingdoms. These women, full of anguish, are bareheaded, their crowns suspended in midair.⁴



Figure 1. Charles I After his Execution with his Head Stitched On ©Museum of London

The portrait, I argue, expresses the symbolic and spatial relationship of the monarch to his kingdoms. Through the crown, Charles I, though he lived in London, ruled all three kingdoms, symbolically represented by women in the portrait. The three kingdoms are depicted, through the women, as corporeal. Though not an uncommon practice in art, the personification of the kingdoms emphasizes the corporeal reality of the recently beheaded king. In seventeenth-century England, the king was thought to possess two bodies, a body natural and a body politic, the former mortal and the latter immortal. Charles I's beheading symbolized not only the mortality of the person of the king, but also the instability of the office of the king, previously thought to endure beyond the king's physical death.⁵ With his decapitation in London, Charles I lost his symbolic status as "head" and the crowns of England, Ireland, and Scotland fell with him. By beheading the king, Parliament fractured Britain into parts, separating king from

⁴ Though all three are present and bear crowns, the portrait conveys the inequitable relationship between the kingdoms. England's crown is far superior to Scotland or Ireland's and her dress is much richer, a bright red with golden accents. She is also closest to Charles I, despite his Scottish heritage. Though England and Scotland were supposedly "equal" kingdoms under the Stuarts, Ireland was subjugated and though it was a kingdom (unlike Wales), it was beholden to English rule.

⁵ For more on the theory of the king's two bodies, see Ernest Kantorowicz's *The King's Two Bodies*.

kingdoms, head from body, England from Scotland. The dismemberment of Britain played out in the triple beheadings of Charles I and his viceroys, members of his court appointed to represent him in Ireland and Scotland. Like the women in *Charles I after his Execution with his Head Stitched on*, Charles I and his viceroys, Strafford and Montrose, personified England, Ireland, and Scotland and their actual beheadings symbolized the beheading of the three Stuart kingdoms of Britain. The Earl of Strafford was beheaded in London on 12 May 1641. Eight years later, after the civil wars sparked by Strafford's beheading, Charles I was beheaded in London on 30 January 1649. His Scottish viceroy, Montrose, was named viceroy in the year of the king's death; Montrose lost his own head in Edinburgh on 21 May 1650.

Charles I and his viceroys represented Stuart power in Britain. Though the Stuarts were Scottish kings, they spent little time at Scottish courts. From James I on, they made London their primary residence and seat of power. In the king's absence, he appointed members of court to see to the official business of the kingdoms. These viceroys resided in Dublin and Edinburgh, the centers of royal power and the locations of the king's extended court in Ireland and Scotland. The equivalents of Whitehall Palace, the king's residence in London, were Dublin Castle and the Palace of Holyrood in Edinburgh. The viceroys oversaw parliamentary proceedings as proxies for the king. Through them, the kingdoms maintained contact with Whitehall, often through written exchanges between the viceroys and the king. The viceroys provided a necessary link between the king and his kingdoms, but the position did not remedy the challenges posed by ruling a "composite monarchy." Charles I practiced "personal rule" as monarch, meaning that he made most decisions by royal prerogative and not through parliaments. Kevin Sharpe, in *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, discusses the difficulties of personal rule in multiple kingdoms, like Britain. He observes, citing early modern Spain and Italy as examples, that "In a system of

personal monarchy when government worked through a network of personal relationships, the absence of the ruler was a major source of weakness” (772). The Stuarts, especially Charles I, struggled to rule the British kingdoms, experiencing frequent rebellion and opposition within and beyond the primary centers of power in England, Ireland, and Scotland. The king’s viceroys faced resistance from competing factions within their viceregal kingdoms that reflected their participation in both internal conflicts specific to the kingdoms (like, for example, the reception of Strafford’s treatment of Irish Catholics) and the kingdoms’ changing relationship to Stuart rule (Scottish officials’ fluctuation over the coronation of Charles II).

Dublin and Edinburgh were the centers of royal power in Ireland and Scotland, but even within them, the policies of Charles I further splintered the competing identity groups represented in the cities. In Dublin, there were deep-seated tensions between the three major identity groups that inhabited the city: the Old Irish, the Old English, and the New English. Tensions were both cultural and religious. The New English were Protestant and many of the Old Irish and Old English were Catholic.⁶ Historically, Stuart policies favored Anglo-Protestant interests. Charles I and his viceroy, Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, promoted Anglo-Protestantism at the expense of the Old Irish and Old English nobility. Within Dublin, loyalties to Stuart rule were divided. Beyond Dublin, in greater Ireland, which was mostly populated by “native” Irish who still identified according to clans, Charles I’s hold was considerably less stable. In Edinburgh, Charles I encountered serious resistance when he tried to institute the Anglican faith; the king wanted to establish Anglicanism throughout Britain, but Edinburgh, which was essentially run by the kirk (or the church), was strongly Presbyterian and objected to the Anglican faith due to its link to Catholicism. A group of Presbyterians, called the

⁶ For my purposes, I have greatly simplified the relationship between these three groups. For a more thorough reading, please see Patrick Tuite’s *Theatre of Crisis*.

Covenanters, rose up against Charles I to defend their Scottish religion and the National Covenant.⁷ The king faced significant resistance in Edinburgh and beyond the city, particularly in the northern highlands. Greater Scotland, like Ireland, was far less Anglicized and operated within a clan system. Charles I struggled to maintain personal rule over his kingdoms and his viceroys carried the burden of the discontentment.

Charles I and his viceroys lost their heads as a result of civil, political, social, and religious tensions exacerbated by the conditions of multiple monarchy. Their beheadings symbolized the actual separation of the king from his kingdoms, the head (and sub-heads) of Britain from the body. The beheading of Strafford, Ireland's viceroy, represented the fractured relationship between the king and his kingdoms fully realized in the beheading of the king. The execution and beheading of the Marquis of Montrose resulted from internal religious and political conflict in Scotland rooted in the Covenanter uprising against Charles I. The beheadings of the king and his viceroys represented the growing pains of Britain and the tensions within and between the kingdoms vis-à-vis Britain and the Stuart monarchy. The beheadings further articulated England's resistance to Stuart Britain and the bifurcated nature of Britain, two kingdoms (England and Scotland) united under a dual crown and a third subjugated kingdom (Ireland) under England's control. The predominantly English Parliament tried and executed Charles I and Strafford. Both were beheaded for warring in the kingdoms. Strafford's supposed threat of military interference in Edinburgh on behalf of Charles I caused Parliament to act. Charles I was convicted of treason for the civil wars fought in the three kingdoms in the 1640s. Montrose, viceroy of Scotland, was tried and executed by the Scottish Parliament for his military

⁷ The Covenant was "based on the old confession of faith signed by...James I in 1581, a textual ancestry that tried to proclaim the committee's loyalty to the Stuart monarchy. It vowed to uphold the true religion of the Church of Scotland, and to oppose popery and superstition" (Purkiss 77).

assistance of Charles II. The beheading of viceroys was not common practice.⁸ The public beheadings of the king and his viceroys, the primary representatives of Stuart Britain, symbolized the beheading and dismemberment of Britain itself.

Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, viceroy of Ireland, was beheaded on Tower Hill on 12 May 1641; his execution fanned civil war in Ireland. Old Irish Catholics rebelled because they feared that Strafford's beheading and the Covenanters' uprising were indicative of the king's loss of control over Britain; they feared intensified religious persecution. From his appointment as Lord Deputy to his final moments, Strafford, an Englishman, modeled his authority off the sovereign who invested him with power, Charles I. To demonstrate, establish, and perform power, Strafford created royal spaces "worthy" of the king's in London. Prior to his viceregal service, Strafford served as president of the Council in the North, a council established in 1472 to "strengthen royal authority" in the north of England (Merritt 111). Strafford initiated "a public campaign which drew attention to the symbolic representation of royal power" (111). In York, and later in Dublin, Strafford used space as a means of establishing respect for his authority: "[He] built a palatial new wing on to the Manor House at York, as befitted the official residence of the king's deputy" (111). When Strafford took office in Dublin in 1632, he strove to create a mimic court space in Dublin that articulated the royal ties between Dublin and London. In the introduction to *The Dukes of Ormonde*, editor Toby Barnard documented Strafford's efforts to improve Dublin's court: "to match the legal and theoretical assertions in Ireland of the Stuart's sovereignty, greater formality and ceremony [were] introduced and a massive country residence

⁸ In Ireland's recent history (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), only two viceroys suffered execution, one of which was the Earl of Essex. In Scotland, the viceregal office was established under the Stuarts; the position gained more prominence in the Act of Union in 1707. Prior to Montrose's execution, Sir John Gordon, 1st Baronet was beheaded in Edinburgh in 1644 for his support of Charles I against the Covenanters.

constructed” by Strafford during his tenure (4).⁹ By modeling London space in Dublin, Strafford also pursued his efforts to “Anglicize” Ireland. Like James I, Strafford supported plantations and planned to institute them throughout Ireland.¹⁰ The royal spaces Strafford created in Dublin were Anglicized as were the people in control of those spaces, specifically Strafford and, despite their Scottish heritage, the Stuarts.¹¹ Strafford established Dublin as the central command of Stuart Britain and himself as the king’s representative by creating royal space to exercise authority. By fashioning Dublin in the style of London, Strafford solidified the city as an Anglicized, Stuart space allied with the king.

Strafford’s beheading symbolized brewing tensions regarding the king’s (and his representatives) control over British space. Strafford was closely aligned with the king and his personal rule, which led to Strafford’s beheading. In 1637, when Charles I faced resistance in Scotland from the Covenanters, Strafford, allegedly, offered the king the support of the Irish army to quell the Scottish rebellion. The English House of Commons objected to military intervention in Scotland and tried to impeach Strafford through charges of treason (Purkiss 116). Though the impeachment failed to pass due to lack of proof, Parliament passed a Bill of Attainder through majority vote in both houses, which allowed them to proceed with execution in spite of the failed impeachment attempt and forced the king’s signature of the death warrant

⁹ In his essay “The Viceregal Court in Later Seventeenth-Century Ireland,” Barnard further describes Strafford’s renovations (and his motivation for those renovations) to the Dublin Court: “Wentworth...worried as he contemplated the casual arrangements in Dublin Castle lest ‘the king’s greatness, albeit but in the type, become less revered than truly it out to be.’ To remedy these defects he sought to improve the setting and ceremonial of the viceregal establishment” (258).

¹⁰ For more on Strafford and Anglicisation, refer to Nicholas Canny’s essay, “The attempted Anglicisation of Ireland in the seventeenth century: An exemplar of ‘British History,’” in *The Political World of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, 1621-1641*, edited by J.F. Merritt.

¹¹ Though the Stuarts were Scottish rulers, their inheritance of both crowns distanced them from Scotland. After 1603, Scotland was without a king in residence and the Stuarts ruled from and through England. As James Travers notes in *James I: The Masque of Monarchy*, “[James I’s] only return to Scotland, in 1617, came with an agenda to impose Anglican services” (93). Charles I assumed both thrones in 1625, but he didn’t travel to Scotland for his coronation until 1633 (Sharpe 775). Once Charles II ascended to the dual thrones, he never set foot in Scotland.

(117). Charles I attempted to plead for mercy on his viceroy's behalf. The day before Strafford's execution, Charles I composed a letter to the Lords requesting that Parliament revise Strafford's sentence; he used his son Charles as his courier (Knight 406). His efforts failed and his signature assured Strafford's execution. The beheading of Strafford was a power play by Parliament that paid off; the king was not willing to jeopardize his reign by resisting the Bill of Attainder, but, by doing so, he strengthened Parliament, the same Parliament that would send him to the scaffold eight years later. The English Parliament expressed its dissatisfaction with Charles I's rule through the beheading of Strafford who, as Terence Kilburn and Anthony Milton write, had "become the emblem (and in many ways the explanation) of the Personal Rule: kill Strafford, and the Personal Rule died with him" (234). Parliament executed its power by executing Strafford, the king's representation of power in Dublin.

Just as Strafford created royal space to perform his authority, his opponents demonstrated their power, over him and his king, through the public performance of beheading. The execution of Strafford took place on Tower Hill in London. Located just outside the walls of the Tower of London, Tower Hill was established as a site of execution in the fourteenth century during the reign of Richard II (Mears 47, Wilson 53-54). Though executions also took place within the perimeters of the Tower itself, more commonly the Tower housed prisoners that later met their ends on Tower Hill (Mears 58). Executions within the Tower, reserved for "nobles," were private whereas those on Tower Hill were public (Mears 70, Wilson 85). At times, the sovereign paid the courtesy of privacy to victims of high status, as was the case for the execution of the Earl of Essex in 1601 under Elizabeth I (70). The executioners of the Earl of Strafford paid him no such mercy. His beheading was decidedly public. A print of the execution by Wenceslaus Hollar entitled *The true maner of the execution of Thomas Earle of Strafford*, housed in the

archives of the British Library, conveys how immensely public and well-attended it was. Scores of people witnessed his beheading, an estimated 20,000, represented in Hollar's depiction as spilling out from the scaffold on all sides. In the image, the visibility of Strafford himself is almost compromised by the outpouring of humanity surrounding him. The English Parliament staged the execution of the king's Irish viceroy, not in Dublin and not within the Tower where he was lodged as prisoner, but in full view of the London public. Through Strafford's beheading, the English Parliament (re)established its authority over British space by executing the king's representative on a public, English scaffold.



Figure 2. Hollar's The true maner of the execution of Thomas Earle of Strafford ©Trustees of the British Museum

Parliament's beheading of Strafford on Tower Hill demonstrated its increased power at the expense of the king's sovereignty. Practiced in the creation and manipulation of space, however, Strafford used his public beheading as a final opportunity to perform as the king's representative. He gave a scaffold speech that maintained his innocence and allegiance to Charles I.¹² He publicly acknowledged Charles I's attempts to prevent his execution: "It is a great comfort for me that his Majesty conceives me not meriting so severe and heavy a

¹² Competing versions of his speech were published after his death in Ireland and England. For more, please read Terence Kilburn and Anthony Milton's "The public context of the trial and execution of Strafford" in *The Political World of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, 1621-1641*, edited by J.F. Merritt.

punishment...I do infinitely rejoyce in mercy of his” (*Royall and Loyall Blood* 24). Through this reference to Charles I, Strafford emphasized and maintained his association with the king and publicly communicated the king’s displeasure with the decision of Parliament. He insisted “since I had the honour to serve his Majesty, I never had anything in the purpose of my heart but what tended to the joint and individual prosperity of King and people” (24). As a representative of the king, Strafford argued he acted in the interest of the king and the people, reminding those present that the two were “joint and individual” interests. Through his scaffold speech, Strafford painted himself as the dutiful servant of the king, using his beheading as an opportunity to promote the authority of Charles I in spite of the fact that his death was an example to the contrary. He thanked the king for his mercy and prayed that mercy might be returned “into his [Charles I’s] own bosome that he may find mercy when he stands most in need of it” (24). In this line, Strafford suggested the king might face a similar situation to the one befalling his representative.¹³ Through his performance on the scaffold, Strafford asserted his status as a royal representative performing his allegiance in the royal space of Tower Hill.

The beheading of Strafford, the king’s viceroy, “set the stage” for Charles I’s. In 1649, Charles I surrogated Strafford on the scaffold. As Janes argues “Charles I’s struggles with Parliament had played out partly as a battle over who controlled decollation. Every four years, Parliament impeached another of Charles’s minsters and took off his head, until finally they struck off Charles’s own: 1641, Strafford; 1645, Laud; 1649, Charles” (46-47). Though the

¹³ Through his performance on the scaffold, Strafford asserted his status as a royal representative, which left a lasting impression on his opponents and his supporters alike. In one satirical “anti-papist” pamphlet entitled *Newes from Rome*, published in 1641, the pope decried the death of Strafford, lamenting, “My Irish King is dead” (4). Anglo-Protestants in Britain greatly feared the influence of the Catholic Church in Europe and the prominence of Catholicism in Ireland. A Catholic “Irish King” would be subservient to the Pope, not the people, and the Pope’s influence in Ireland threatened England’s control over Ireland. Calling Strafford an “Irish King” is a criticism, but a misplaced one. Strafford wasn’t the pope’s servant; he was the king’s servant, the presence of the king in Ireland. His allegiance to the king, however, was also a serious threat, particularly because of his military control in Dublin.

execution of Archbishop William Laud holds significance, Charles I had less of a hand in his death. By 1645, the king and his kingdoms were in outright civil war. Parliament need not seek his approval for Laud's death, not even for the sake of pretense. The beheadings of Strafford and Charles I, rather, demonstrate the transference of execution from the king's representative, acting on his behalf, to the king himself through the repeated performance of beheading. Parliament designed a beheading for Charles I that emphasized the theatricality of the act.

Parliament chose the Banqueting House, on the immense grounds of Whitehall Palace, as the venue for the beheading, suggesting that they, too, were aware of and invested in the theatrics of the event and their chosen execution site, the Banqueting House. James I commissioned theatre architect and designer Inigo Jones to design and construct the Banqueting House (completed in 1622). A grand, Italianate hall, the Banqueting House hosted banquets, state and court ceremonies, visits from foreign ambassadors and royalty, and masque performances (Charlton 1). Masques, or dance-dramas with ornate design and spectacle, gained popularity under James I and flourished in the court of his son, who performed in them himself with his Queen and courtiers. They performed masques in the Banqueting House until the installation of the Rubens ceiling paintings. Completed in 1636, Peter Paul Rubens' ornate canvases "depict The Union of the Crowns, The Apotheosis of James I and The Peaceful Reign of James I."¹⁴ The paintings reinforced James I's belief in the divine right of kings, which Parliament was complicating, though not necessarily refuting, through the execution of Charles I. The masques and the paintings that replaced them established the Banqueting House as a site dedicated to the performance of Stuart culture. Parliament had its choice of execution sites, such as the Tower,

¹⁴

<http://www.hrp.org.uk/learninganddiscovery/Discoverthehistoricroyalpalaces/explorethecollections/Rubensceiling>.

Tower Hill, or Tyburn, but it appropriated the king's space to carry out execution, a power traditionally held by the sovereign.

Regina Janes points out that "Parliament adopted the sovereign's procedures. The king was marched, as his subjects had been, to a special location, his own palace of Whitehall, and there the masked executioner" beheaded him" (47). Like Janes, I recognize Parliament's strategy, but I argue that, though the act leveled Charles I's status to that of a mere body, he was unlike any other subject and Parliament went out of its way to make a spectacle of his execution. If the objective was to follow the king's "procedures," the members of Parliament would not have staged the beheading on a scaffold, erected just for the occasion, "which faced the public highway of Whitehall in front of the Banqueting House" (Fulmerton 6). They chose a location surrounded by public traffic associated with the king and his court. They secured a warrant to use the space, draped the scaffold and its railings in black, and costumed the executioners (Muddiman 132). Patricia Fulmerton elaborates on the dress of the axeman and his assistant. They "wore fantastic disguises of black masks, wigs, and false beards...costumes...of sailors or of butchers" (7). *The True Characters of, the Educations, Inclinations and several dispositions of those Bloody and Barbarous Persons Who Sate as Judges...*, published in 1660, features an image of Charles on the scaffold with his executioners captioned "A lively Representation of the Manner how his late Majesty was beheaded upon the Scaffold."



Figure 3. The True Characters...

It depicts the axeman wearing a mask that resembles a commedia mask, perhaps of a zanni or Pantalone, and a fake beard (the string attached to the beard is visible); a wig is difficult to decipher, but his hair looks unlike that of any other the other men represented in the image. The costumes concealed the identity of the executioners, which remain unknown to historians.¹⁵ Parliament employed theatrics in its beheading of Charles I. The king used the theatrical circumstances to deliver his final performance of British kingship by taking responsibility for the beheading of his Irish viceroy away from the English Parliament and symbolizing king and viceroy as martyrs for monarchy.

¹⁵ Much debate surrounds the man who beheaded Charles I. Richard Brandon, who beheaded Strafford, is presumed to be the executioner, but there's evidence that he refused. Brandon supposedly "practised [sic] by decapitating dogs and cats" (Abbott 111). According to Lord Liecester's diary, quoted in J.G. Muddiman's *Trial of Charles the First*, Brandon "the common hangman of London, refused absolutely to do it and professed that he would be shot or otherwise killed rather than do it" (Abbott 147). *The Confession of Richard Brandon*, was published in the supposed year of Brandon's death, 1649, the same year as Charles I's execution. Muddiman understands it as the product of Royalist propaganda. In the document, Brandon, in conversation with a neighbor, reports on the effects of the execution on his person. He states "That even at the very point of time when he was to give the blow, a great pain & ache to took him round the neck, and hath ever since continued, and that he never slept quietly in mind saying, that his Majesties denying to forgive him...and that he was afraid to walk along the streets, or go to bed and sleep without a candle burning" (6). Brandon's account suggests that the executioner experienced "sympathy pains" at the moment of the act of decapitation. He symbolically experienced the act he was to perform.

Charles I performed a scaffold speech that united himself, as monarch, with Strafford, his viceroy, in the face of Parliament's theatrical undoing of monarchy. To support this argument, I need look no further than Charles I's words on the scaffold. Though not officially named, it is speculated that Charles I referenced Strafford's beheading and his complicity in it in his scaffold speech, framing his own beheading as his punishment for failing to save the earl from death. Many versions of the king's scaffold speech printed in 1649 recall the king naming Strafford. In *His Majesties speech on the scaffold at White-Hall...* within the section titled "The substance of his Majesties Speech," it states that the king declared "*that Hee was never guilty of the spilling of any bloud, except the E. of Straffords*" (6). In *King Charles His Speech Made Upon the Scaffold at Whitehall Gate...* the line "I will only say this. That an unjust Sentence that I suffered for to take effect, is punished now by an unjust sentence upon me" (5) and next to the first "unjust Sentence" is an asterisk and Strafford; it is simulated exactly in two other versions published by the same printer in London, Peter Cole, and an additional version published anonymously. In the 1662 publication, *Royall and Loyall Blood*, Strafford's name is inserted in parentheses: "I...acknowledge this unjust Sentence to be a just punishment from God upon Me, who had not the courage to deliver an innocent man (*Strafford*) from an unjust sentence" (B2). By recalling him in his scaffold speech, Charles I resurrected the beheaded Strafford as a symbol of sovereignty and loyalty. In doing so, he fashioned himself as a similar symbol. In his performance of the beheading, Charles I died as penance for Strafford and not for the allegations brought against him by the English Parliament.

Charles I made Strafford's execution the reason for his own. Parliament's reason for Charles I's execution was punishment for all the bloodshed he was responsible for during the civil wars. They found him "guilty of all the treasons, murthers, rapines, burnings, spoyles,

desolations, damagae and mischeefe to this nation, acted and committed in the said wars” (Muddiman 127-128). Rather than accept the sentence, Charles I used his scaffold speech to both deny the charges issued by Parliament and acknowledge responsibility for the death of Strafford. In this move, Charles I attempts to reclaim his beheading as punishment for Strafford’s execution, taking the power for Strafford’s beheading (and his own) away from the English Parliament. Parliament expressed its control and interest in England through the beheadings of Strafford and Charles I. Through their performances on the scaffold, however, the king and his viceroy obfuscated Parliament’s power and agenda by making themselves symbols of the Stuart monarchy and its endurance.

The beheadings of Strafford and Charles I demonstrate the *slipperiness* of performance. In the case of the king, Parliament produced a performance event with a particular production in mind. Parliament could not, however, control the performance because performance itself is unstable. As a collaborative, embodied experience, performance is, in some ways, unpredictable and has radical potential. The theatrical nature of the beheading of Charles I demonstrated, in the same moment, the power and vulnerability of both the king and Parliament. Parliament executed Charles I through a public performance of the appropriation of his power. It also, however, gave Charles I a public performance space to give his own performance of the event that outlived his death through its witnesses and its immortalization in print and theatrical performance.¹⁶ The

¹⁶ In the same year as the king’s beheading, John Taylor published *The Number and Names of all the Kings of England and Scotland, From the Beginning of their Governments to this Present* in London. Taylor’s work does just as its name suggests; it chronicles and categories the deaths of all the kings of England and Scotland. Charles I, though not the only king to be deposed and/or murdered, is the only English king, according to Taylor, to die by beheading. Taylor provides evidence for three other Scottish monarchs beheaded, including Mary Queen of Scots. I argue that the beheading of Charles I and the English displacement of monarchy prompted Taylor’s text, which cobbles together a historical genealogy of royal death. Taylor concludes his work with an interesting equivocation on current events. He uses history as evidence of the “slippery” nature of “the top” and accredits the rise and fall of governments and governors to God (31). Taylor is reluctant to take anyone’s side other than God’s. He ends his study with this statement on the political sea change: “And since it [is] the Almightyes unresistable will to change the

king used his moment of execution to reclaim his Irish viceroy and frame both their beheadings as sacrificial acts of British sovereignty performed in resistance to the polarizing English Parliament.

The king and his Irish viceroy (Strafford) utilized the theatricality of the act of beheading to perform the endurance of British monarchy in the face of its unraveling. This performance was repeated by the British head of Scotland, Charles I's Scottish viceroy, the Marquis of Montrose, at his execution in Edinburgh in 1650. James Graham, Marquis of Montrose and Lieutenant Governor of Scotland under Charles I and his son, suffered hanging, quartering, and beheading in central Edinburgh on 21 May 1650. The beheadings of Strafford and Charles I symbolized the English Parliament's destabilization of British union. Montrose's execution, conducted by the Scottish Parliament, evidenced the splintering of England and Scotland, expressed in the civil wars and fully realized in the beheading of Charles I. Montrose was executed by the Scots in the "city centre" of Edinburgh, reinforcing Edinburgh as a contentious site. Edinburgh housed both the central government of Scotland and the seat of British power in Scotland; the two were at odds under Charles I. Montrose was executed near the Cathedral of St. Giles, where Charles I attempted to institute the Anglican faith in Scotland. The hanging occurred at Edinburgh Cross and his head was displayed at the Tolbooth (or jail) in the center of the city.¹⁷ The cross and the

Nations Rule and Government, from a 5...times changed Monarchy, into a Republique I will not repine against divine providence,...as I was a faithfull servant and subject 45 years to two Kings, (who were good Masters to me) so now I must obey the present Government, else I must not expect that I should live under it, or be protected by it" (32). Taylor's inquiries into England and Scotland's pasts seem to weigh heavily on his present; they demonstrate that changes in governance result in death and though satisfied with the Stuart kings, Taylor doesn't have a death wish.

¹⁷ The Tolbooth was also a site in which representative bodies gathered. The "lords of the articles" met there under the Stuarts. For more, see *The Scottish Parliament 2: Parliament and Politics in Scotland, 1567-1707*, edited by Keith M. Brown and Alastair J. Mann.

Tolbooth sandwiched the Cathedral of St. Giles. All these landmarks are situated on the Royal Mile (also known as the High Street), Edinburgh's main road. The cross, the Tolbooth, and St. Giles stand in the middle of the Royal Mile, anchored by the Palace of Holyrood on one end and Edinburgh Castle at the other. Scottish officials executed Montrose in Edinburgh to demonstrate the autonomy of Scotland.

Montrose represented the conflict between the Scottish Covenanters and the Stuart monarchy and his execution assumed the bad blood. Though the Covenanters recognized the king in their National Covenant, written in 1638 in response to Charles I's attempt to impose the Anglican religion, it refused the power of Westminster to dictate religious practice and strove to remind the king of his ancestral, Stuart commitment to the Church of Scotland and Scotland's support of the king was contingent on his upholding of the Presbyterian faith. As Diane Purkiss explains, "if the king failed to defend the reformed tradition in the Kirk [Church of Scotland], the people were morally required to resist him because to do so was to keep faith with God" (77). Montrose signed the Covenant and supported its cause; for doing so, Charles I declared him, and the other Covenanters, traitors. In negotiations between England and Scotland, Montrose, though still a supporter of the Scottish faith, reaffirmed his commitment to Charles I and became his Lieutenant Governor, raising and leading troops in the Scottish Highlands and Ireland for the king's cause. Montrose greatly opposed the leader of the Covenanters, Archibald Campbell, the Marquis of Argyll. Montrose led armies for Charles I and his son and published his *Declaration*, his commitment to Charles II after the beheading of Charles I in 1649.¹⁸ In the year of the king's

¹⁸ In his *Declaration*, printed in July 1649, Montrose stated his absolute support of Charles II and his vow to "fight with, kill, and slay all that [he] shall find armed or acting in rebellion against His Majesty" (4-5). He further aligned himself with Charles I, remembering his execution and stating his intention to rectify it, to "with all violence and fury pursue and kill [the Rebels] as Vagabonds, Rogues, & Regicides, not sparing one that had any hand in that horrible & barbarous Murder committed upon the Sacred person of our late dread Sovereigne" (5). As he hanged, he

death, Montrose was appointed Scotland's viceroy. Montrose embodied the internal conflicts in Scotland between allegiance to the king, allegiance to the Covenant, and alliance with the English Parliament.

Through his execution, Montrose, like Strafford and Charles I, performed the endurance of Stuart monarchy and upheld Scotland's responsibility to its sovereign through the act of beheading. Montrose's performance embodied Charles I's execution; through his scaffold speech, like Strafford and the king, Montrose framed his death as a symbolic monument to the monarchy.¹⁹ The evidence of Montrose's performance indicates that he was able to equate his manner of execution with Charles I's and ensure his status by representing himself as the servant of both Charles I and Charles II. Montrose was sentenced to execution by hanging unlike Strafford and Charles I who were beheaded.²⁰ In his speech, however, Montrose said "he was willing and did much rejoyce that hee must goe the same way his Majesty did" (*Relation of the Execution*). Even though Montrose's beheading was subsequent to his hanging, he likened his execution to Charles I's beheading. Montrose also explicitly identified himself as the king's, meaning Charles II's, representative, which affirmed the succession of Charles II even though his official coronation was in jeopardy of not taking place. When responding to his sentence, "*He*

wore *The History of the King's Majesties Affairs in Scotland, under the Conduct of the most Honorable James Marques of Montrose* and his *Declaration* around his neck, another stipulation of his sentence. These documents attested to Montrose's treasonous support of Charles against the Scottish government; they also, from Montrose's perspective, spoke to his service to his Majesty and his commitment to violence against the king's regicides.

¹⁹ The Scottish government, like the English Parliament, embraced the performance elements of execution in their choice of location and procedure, but Montrose, too, took advantage of the radical potential of performance. They set Montrose "upon an high Cart, and tyed with a Rope...he was brought up through the Towne" (*Relation of the Execution* A2). The processional emphasized the public nature of Montrose's execution on the Royal Mile. They sentenced him "to be hanged...30 foot high three houres, at Edenburgh-crosse, to have his head stricken off and hang'd upon Edenburgh Towlebooth, and his arms and legs to be hanged up in other publique towns in the Kingdome" (ibid). The symbolic meaning of Montrose's execution, his treason, was designed to accompany his limbs in their travel throughout Scotland.

²⁰ Edward Cowan in *Montrose: For Covenant and King* surmises "[Montrose] may have flinched on realizing he was to be hanged; a man of his rank would have expected decapitation" (297).

said: *He would willingly obey, He was only sorrie that through Him, His Majestie whose Person he presented, should be so dishonoured*" (*True and Perfect* 2). Through his speech and execution, Montrose recognized the succession of Charles II to his beheaded father's throne and performed his allegiance to both monarchs.

Montrose's execution enabled the coronation of Charles II. Montrose framed his dismemberment as a testament to his unified loyalties to king and country, which, at the time of his execution were viewed in opposition, but were ultimately affirmed through Montrose's death. Montrose was sentenced to heading and quartering, his head affixed on the Tolbooth and his arms and legs dispersed throughout Scotland for public display. He assured his executioners that through their sentence of quartering they made him a symbol of the inherently shared allegiance of king and country: "*And (least his Loyalties should be forgotten) they had highly Honoured him, in designing lasting monuments to foure of the cheifest Cities, to beare up his memorial to all posteritie. Wish he had flesh enough, to have sent a peece to Every Citie in Christendome to witnesse his Loyaltie to his King and Countrie*" (*True and Perfect* 4)²¹. Montrose fashioned his beheading and dismemberment as proof of his loyalty to king and country, upholding Stuart Britain in Edinburgh, a city in which interests were divided.

Montrose's execution enabled the compromise between Charles II and Scotland that united king and country through Charles II's official coronation and succession. In 1651, the year after Montrose's death, Charles II accepted the Covenant and was anointed king at Scone, the crown placed on his head by Argyll, the official who orchestrated Montrose's execution. Charles II sacrificed Montrose for his Scottish succession. On hearing the news of Montrose's execution,

²¹ Montrose's expressed loyalty to king and country is not unlike Strafford's commitment to the "joint and individual prosperity of King and people." Both viceroys, in their scaffold speeches, emphasized their investment in the union of the king and the kingdoms they represented.

Charles II reportedly said in the anonymous *A speech or Declaration of the Declared King of Scots upon the death of Montrose*, “he had lost one of his best servants...[but] if he should shew any distast at what had past, it was in the power of the Parliament of Scotland, to make the Treaty null and void,” leveling his chances at a Scottish coronation (*A Speech or Declaration 2*). Reactions to Montrose’s execution speculated that Charles II might suffer the same treatment as his servant. The writer that introduces *A speech or Declaration* asks “why may not he [Charles II] fear the same sentence with Montrose; if Montrose acted by his Commission” (2). There was no reason to believe Charles II was exempt from execution; in some ways, it seemed his legacy. Charles II, through his failure to intercede on Montrose’s behalf, negotiated his succession and saved his own head. Argyll and the Scottish Parliament executed the “traitor” Montrose and he served as a scapegoat, consuming the tensions between king and country. Scotland and Charles II both participated in the *sparagmos* of Montrose, which allowed first for the reunification of the Stuart monarchy and Scotland and later, in the Restoration, the symbolic re-membering and reunification of Scotland and England under Charles II.

By killing Charles I, Parliament disrupted Britain’s tradition of succession, or, surrogation. They outlawed declarations of kingship and fractured the continuity of “The king is dead. Long live the king.”²² The office of king prior to Charles I’s beheading enfolded succession into itself and therefore endured despite death or transitions in ruling monarchs.

²² In *An Act For the Abolishing of the Kingly Office in England, Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging*, crafted and published in 1649, the English Parliament forbade its people from acknowledging not only the Stuarts, but anyone as king: “The Office of a King in this Nation, shall not henceforth reside in, or be exercised by any one single person; and that no one person whatsoever, shall or may have, or hold the Office, Stile, Dignity, Power, or Authority of King” (3). This act applied to those residing in England, Ireland, and its dominions, but not Scotland. It further stipulated that those involved in the reinstatement of kingship would be tried for treason, like Charles I before them. They would suffer “the same Pains, Forfeitures, Judgements and Execution, as is used in the case of high Treason” (3). Those who advocated monarchy would be executed like their king; in a way, this parliamentary act reinforces the link between monarchy and execution, but it does so as a deterrent and not an opportunity to perform the endurance of monarchy as I argue Strafford, Charles I, and Montrose attempt.

Charles I was not the first king of England (or Scotland) to be deposed, murdered, or even, beheaded; it was, however, their first break from monarchy since its ancient establishment and the English Parliament announced its death in *An Act For the Abolishing of the Kingly Office in England, Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging*, issued in 1649.²³ Through their beheadings, however, Strafford, Charles I, and Montrose reestablished the process of surrogation through beheading itself. Beheading became its own means of Stuart succession, the means of the continuation of British monarchy in the moment of its termination. As they each met their ends, they evoked the beheading of those who preceded them in the act, creating a genealogy of beheaded royalists in the absence of reigning monarchs; Charles I recalled Strafford and Montrose, both his sovereigns, Charles I and Charles II. The viceroys acknowledged the sovereign they represented in their moment of execution and the British union of king and country engendered by British Stuart kingship. If Strafford's beheading anticipated (and, according to the king, caused) the beheading of Charles I and the Stuart kingdoms, then Montrose, through his execution performance, assumed the bad blood and rebellion that passed between Scotland, Charles I, and Charles II; his death contributed to their resolution and the Scottish coronation of Charles II. Beheading maps a counter-performance of Stuart succession enacted by royal representatives in England, Ireland, and Scotland in resistance to England's abolition of kingship.

Despite royalist support throughout Britain, the beheading of Charles I prompted a renegotiation of British space. The kingdoms, united under Stuart rule, fractured over the change in government. The English Parliament established a Commonwealth with Cromwell at the helm,

²³ For more on this, again see John Taylor's *The Number and Names of all the Kings of England and Scotland, From the Beginning of their Governments to this Present* (London, 1649). *Early English Books Online*.

but royalists in all three kingdoms advocated the succession of Charles II and the reestablishment of his kingdoms. The English Parliament published its act to abolish kingship in 1649 and it affected England, Ireland, and its dominions. In the same year, Ireland and Scotland both officially recognized Charles Stuart as their king and his father's rightful heir.²⁴ Charles II also published a document, targeted at England, claiming his crown and the allegiance of the English people. Charles II and Cromwell, who refused a crown in 1657, were both, as the Beaumont and Fletcher play title muses, kings and no kings.²⁵ The documents produced in 1649 by representatives of all three kingdoms articulated the divisions and redeterminations of British space stimulated by the king's beheading. England's abolition of kingship excised Scotland, while the royalist statements from Ireland, Scotland, and Charles II attempted to reunite the three kingdoms of Britain as royal space.²⁶

²⁴ It is unclear if the act was published in response to Ireland and Scotland or if it preceded their acknowledgements of Charles II.

²⁵ Beaumont and Fletcher's, *King and No King*, first staged in 1619, was republished and performed (according to the title page of the print editions) in 1655 and 1661.

²⁶ The creators of *Ireland's Declaration*, written in Dublin in 1649, are identified at the bottom of the document as the "many thousands of good people and honest soldiers of the Kingdom of IRELAND."²⁶ The *Declaration*, composed in Dublin, committed the city and the kingdom at large to four major agendas. The document first denounced the beheading of the king, an act the authors "disown, abhor, and deplore." Secondly, the writers announced their "disown[ment]" and "oppos[ition]" to "all Authorities whatsoever as usurp'd and sacrilegious, but that of King and Parliament;" in other words, they refused to accept and obey the Commonwealth government. Thirdly, they recognized Charles II as king "rightfully, by both the Laws of God, and the three Nations, undoubted king of England, Scotland, and Ireland," claiming him not only as their king, but as the king of the three nations of Britain. Lastly, the authors committed themselves to the "restauration" of Charles II to the "Right and Enjoyment of the three Nations" and appealed to the "those in England and Scotland" to recognize his succession and authority. Though the authors of the *Declaration* were situated in Dublin, they used the document to reach beyond Ireland to reunify the three kingdoms of Stuart Britain by announcing the succession of the king.

The Scottish Parliament issued a similar document in Edinburgh in the same year. Dated 5 February 1648/9, the act "proclaiming CHARLES Prince of Wales, King of great *Brittain, France, and Ireland*" was orally presented at the Market Cross in Edinburgh and printed for distribution "through all the Market places" in Scotland (1). Like the Irish *Declaration*, the Scottish act originated in Edinburgh, but incorporated all of Scotland, the Stuart kingdoms, and indeed the "World" in the recognition of Charles II's succession. Like the Irish document, the Scottish proclamation began with an acknowledgement of the passing of Charles I who was "removed by a violent death" (13); the Scots, however, do not commit to the same flagrant denouncement of the act as the Irish. The Parliament then "unanimously and cheerfully" announced the "undoubted succession" of Charles I's heir, Charles II, as king of "Great Brittain, France, and Ireland." The Scottish Parliament demands that the Scottish people "obey, maintain, and defend" the king according to their obligation. The proclamation includes instructions for its dissemination so that "none may pretend ignorance" (14). The Scottish Parliament, through this document, commits to both a local (within

Under Cromwell, the unity of the three Stuart kingdoms was disbanded and England identified itself as a Commonwealth. Charles II and his supporters warred with Cromwell and the English Parliament after Charles I's beheading, but Cromwell ultimately defeated the "king" and his forces. The Stuart heir was exiled and Cromwell ruled over England as Lord Protector. Though fractured by the civil wars and the beheading of Charles I, Cromwell reunited the Stuart kingdoms under himself in what he called The Protectorate. In the Protectorate, London remained the central command of Britain overseen by Cromwell who was assisted by Parliament and his own English Council. He established Irish and Scottish councils to govern respectively, but the councils had little power of their own and took their orders from Cromwell and the English Council.²⁷ During the Protectorate, Cromwell was, as Roy Sherwood's book title suggests, *King in all But Name*.²⁸ The death of the "king and no king" Cromwell weakened the

Scotland) and global (they "declare to all the World") acknowledgement of Scotland's commitment to Charles II. In 1651, Charles II attended his official coronation (as king of "Scotland, England, France, and Ireland") in Scone, Scotland.

Ireland and Scotland produced documents, conceived in Dublin and Edinburgh, which declared the succession of Charles Stuart to the crown of the three kingdoms. While no such document exists for England²⁶, Charles II penned a proclamation directed to his English subjects claiming his right to kingship and their allegiance. After Charles I's beheading, Charles II fled England. When he established himself safely in Jersey, an island off the coast of France, Charles Stuart wrote his *Declaration to all his subjects in the Kingdom of England*, published in 1649. He makes a point to acknowledge his spatial location as "England" and thereby his presence in England as its ruler. He writes that he wanted to wait to write a message to his English people until he was bodily inhabiting England once more after his exile. He, using the royal "We," says "We have thought fit rather from hence, where Our Kingly Authority takes place, than from any forraigne Country...publickly to Declare...firmly resolved...to be a severe Avenger" of Charles I's "Innocent blood." He claims his "cleare and undoubted right of Succession" and calls on his English subjects to do the same. Like the Irish document, Charles II appeals to the English people and demands their support against the Commonwealth. He says "We doe professe that We cannot perswade Our selfe, that the Body of the English Nation hath degenerated from their antient Loyalty and Virtue, as to consent to these horrid proceedings against Us." Charles II, like his supporters in Ireland and Edinburgh, situated himself within one kingdom assert his succession to the crown of all three British kingdoms.

²⁷ For more, please see Patrick Little's "The Irish and Scottish Councils and the Dislocation of the Protectoral Union" in his edited volume, *The Cromwellian Protectorate*.

²⁸ Two Anti-Cromwellian texts published in 1660 espoused that Cromwell "represented the real Tragedy of a King and no King; whose mouth water'd after that Title, but that he durst not assume it, having fought so long against it, and was sworn to the deposition of all Kingship for the future." The same language is found in both *The English devil: or, Cromwell and his monstrous witch discover'd at Whitehall*. London 1660. *Early English Books Online*, p. 3 and *The sage senator delineated: or, A discourse of the qualifications, endowments, parts, external and internal, office, duty and dignity of a perfect politician. With a discourse of kingdoms, republicques, & states-popular. As also,*

Commonwealth. After his death in 1658, his son, Richard, whom he named his heir, failed to successfully surrogate his father. General Monck of Scotland, the leader of the Protectorate Army, assumed control and orchestrated the return of Charles Stuart who was also “king and no king.” He returned to London 29 May 1660, but did not receive his coronation in London until April 1661. England was the last of the three kingdoms to name him as its king.

Charles II's succession in London was preceded by his recognition in Ireland and Scotland, but it was also preceded by the repeated performance of beheading through which Charles II reestablished the symbolic meaning of the act as the punishment of traitors to the king. Under Charles II, it wasn't the Stuarts or their subordinates on the chopping block. On the anniversary of Charles I's execution, 30 January 1661, Charles II ordered that the bodies of Oliver Cromwell, John Bradshaw, and Henry Ireton be exhumed, hanged, and beheaded. Charles II's primary task was to “erase” the Interregnum, which he made policy through the Act of Oblivion. Another tactic to achieve this erasure was reclaiming power over execution. He used actual and symbolic severed heads in public executions and his coronation procession to reintroduce them as negative symbols of tyranny. Under Charles II, the executed Stuarts, beheaded symbols of monarchy, were reattached and laid to rest through the performance of the burial of Montrose, the Scottish viceroy executed in Edinburgh in 1650.

Charles II used beheading to reestablish the symbolic meaning of the act as a just punishment of traitors to the king; his choice of venues for beheading and the public display of heads greatly contributed to the symbolism of the performance. Abraham Miles summarizes the performance event in his *The Last Farewell of Three Bould Traitors*, which contains a brief account and the lyrics to a ballad created to narrate the events perpetrated on “the same day of

of kings and princes: to which is annexed, the new models of modern policy. By J.G. Gent. London 1660. *Early English Books Online*, p.199

the moneth as they murdered” Charles I. Their corpses hanged at Tyburn “for six or seven hours, in the view of thousands of people, then was their heads cut off...their bones buried under Tyborn, and their heads set where the Kings Majesty pleaseth.” As their bodies hanged, apologetic scaffold speeches were imagined for them in print, like the anonymous *The Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, and John Bradshaw*, published at the Old Exchange and Westminster Hall in London, 1660. Tyburn was a common site of execution in the period. Many of those executed at Tyburn “were from the poorest and most debased sections of society” (Brooke and Brandon x). In the fields of Tyburn stood a row of elm trees, which G. Abbott argues, were associated with justice: “among the Normans this tree was the tree of justice, and elms are also shown on ancient maps of Tower Hill” (70). Once buried like a king, Cromwell shared his resting place with common criminals.²⁹ The heads of Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton sat atop spikes on Westminster Hall (Fitzgibbons 31). In his essay on the trial of Charles I, Sean Kelsey described the significance of the site, Westminster Hall, using a text from the period called *Perfect Occurrences*. It was chosen for Charles I’s trial “because it was a place of public resort...the place of publick Courts of Justice for the Kingdome” (qtd in Kelsey 80). Charles II again capitalized on a space associated with “Justice” to assert his own on his father’s murderers; Cromwell’s head remained displayed until it fell down in 1685, the last year of Charles II’s reign. The king’s public display of Cromwell’s head made the decollated head a symbol of tyranny once again in Britain and the act of beheading into a performance of justice. Charles II restored justice and his kingly authority over execution, specifically beheading, through the posthumous beheadings.

²⁹ His initial tomb in Westminster Abbey was reappropriated for Stuart use, “for the internment of illegitimate descendants of Charles II [like the Duke of Monmouth’s children and Charles Fitzcharles, one of Charles’s illegitimate sons], and then for various notables, beginning with the Duke of Ormonde [Lord Lieutenant of Ireland] and his family in the 1680s” (Dodson 101).

Charles II followed up the posthumous executions with live ones, prosecuting those not exempted by the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion.³⁰ The live and posthumous executions, both through live performance and imagistic representations, replaced the symbolism of the beheaded king and his viceroys with the beheaded traitor to the king. The symbolic transition of beheading is seen in the reportage of the executions and Charles II's coronation procession. Two anonymous accounts of the live executions published in London in 1660 contain graphic representations of the executed bodies. They both also juxtapose the image of the "traitors" with an image of Charles I on the scaffold. The broadside, *A True and Perfect Relation of the Grand Traytors Execution*, presents two images, Charles I on the left and the executions on the right, with a narrative of both events in the text below. As I've already discussed, the image of Charles I on the scaffold depicts the king with his disguised executioners, their faces black. The image anticipates, but does not illustrate the act of beheading. In the textual description of the event, the author pens the beheading of the king and contends "Thus fell King Charles and thus fell all

³⁰ Charles II negotiated his return to power and the reassembly of his kingdoms through a balance of pardon and punishment, which he took from his father's constructed legacy. In June 1660, Charles II proposed "An Act of Free and Generall (sic) Pardon Indempnity (sic) and Oblivion" to both houses of Parliament. The act pardoned those who acted out against the Crown, reversed legal action taken under Cromwell (like the redistribution of property), and threatened punishment for those who continued to drudge up past offenses. With the notable exception of the regicides, those directly involved with the beheading of Charles I, Charles II excused his people their disobedience, dating back to 1637³⁰, so that "the Memory of the late Differences" might "putt into utter Oblivion Be."³⁰ The act contributed to the public erasure of the Interregnum years and restored the process of succession, collapsing the time between the reign of Charles I and his heir and "undoing" official business conducted in those years. The act further connected Charles II to the late king because it recalled Charles I's instructions to heir before his death. In his writings, published in *Royall and Loyall Blood*, Charles I instructed his son "I have offered Acts of Indemnity and Oblivion...I would have you [as well] whenever it shall be desired and accepted, let it be granted; not onely as an Act of State Policy and necessity, but of Christian Charity and Choice" (A3). Many benefited from Stuart pardon, but the regicides were arraigned and publicly punished; not even death spared them. Charles II again fulfilled the desires of his father. Charles I imagined their punishment, by God, while he contemplated his own: "Nor will he [God] suffer those men long to prosper in their Babel, who built it with the bones, and cement it with the blood of their Kings" (A5). Charles II and his kingdoms acknowledged his father's beheading with a day of fasting to mourn the martyrdom of the sainted Charles I. On its eleventh anniversary, the first since Charles II's return, Charles II used Charles I's beheading to celebrate the destruction of Babel by digging up and publicly displaying the bones of those responsible for his father's death. He mourned his father's beheading with the ritual beheading of the posthumous regicides.

Britain with him.” Framing the beheading of Charles I as the fall of Britain, the author then turns his attention to the executions of the king’s opposition. The image contains six decollated heads. Four mounted on spikes adorn the tower gate in the upper lefthand corner of the image. One lays blindfolded on the chopping block freshly severed from its body. The sixth is held aloft by someone proclaiming “A Traytors head.” Another body is hanging amid the panoply of executed bodies. In contrast to the depiction of Charles I’s beheading, none of the victims survive the graphic representation unharmed; they are represented in bits and pieces. In the narrative account, the author attributes the executions to the demand for “Justice” initiated by Irish and Scottish members of the English Parliament. The author, too, recognizes the executions as just. In placing the two images of execution side by side, the author overlaid the beheading of Charles I with the execution of his opponents. The king’s head remains intact, while the heads of his opponents, the “traitors,” dominate the image.

Images of these two events adorn the title page of another account of the executions and they produce a comparable effect.

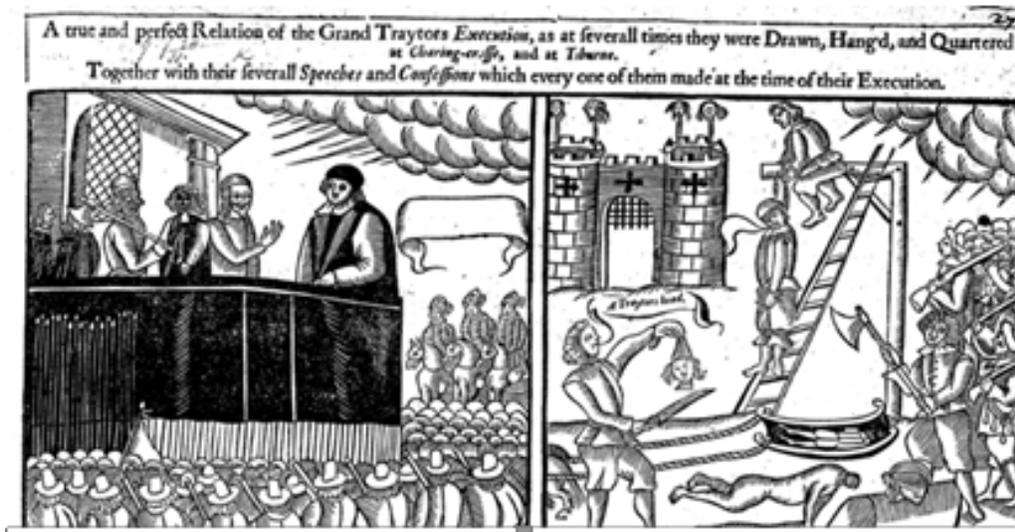


Figure 4. A true and perfect relation



Figure 5. The True Characters

In *The True Characters of the Educations, Inclinations and several Dispositions of all and every one of those Bloody Barbarous Persons, Who Sate as Judges...of...Charles I*, two “representations” share a page. On top sits the execution of Charles I and below it the executions of the regicides. The images are tagged with headings. As in *A True and Perfect Relation*, Charles I is portrayed on the scaffold awaiting execution with his executioners; it is similar in composition to the image in the broadside. It is entitled “A lively Representation of the manner how his late Majesty was beheaded...” Like the other image, however, it does not depict the king’s beheading, but rather evokes it by presenting the moment before. Below it is “a representation of the execution of the Kings Judges.” In this image, a man just right of center

holds high a head recently severed from its body. The left side of the depiction features a man hanging. In contrast the anticipatory “representation” of Charles I’s beheading, the “representation” of the contemporary executions does so by reproduces the acts pictorially. In both instances, the images of the executed traitors, which both depict severed heads, replace or surrogate the beheading of Charles I.³¹ The live and posthumous executions of the king’s opponents, authorized by Charles II, symbolically replaced the beheading of the king and his viceroys.³²

After Charles II beheaded his father’s “murderers,” he orchestrated the posthumous re-heading of Scotland’s viceroy, Montrose. Through this act, the king recalled a viceregal

³¹ It should be noted that images of the beheading of Charles I did not receive much circulation in England, but there were representations of his beheading produced in Europe that the authors of the 1660 documents would most likely have access to if they were interested. The National Portrait Gallery in London contains an image entitled *The Execution of King Charles I* that shows the blood exploding from the king’s neck. The image and a description of it are available on the Gallery’s website: <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw35443/The-execution-of-King-Charles-I>.

³² Cromwell’s head adorned Westminster Hall. Heads colored the narrative and pictorial accounts of the live executions of the king’s “traitors.” Under Charles II, the beheaded king and the heads of his multiple kingdoms were restored. The reestablishment of the decollated head as traitor is seen in the images previously discussed, but it also takes effect in the scenery created for Charles II’s London coronation. His procession, which occurred in between Cromwell’s execution and Montrose’s burial, which will be discussed shortly, featured multiple heads. In *The Relation of His Majesty’s Entertainment Passing Through the City of London, to His Coronation with a Description of the Triumphall Arches, and Solemnity*, John Ogilby’s published account of the processional, he details two images of heads. The first was a painting of the King with “USURPATION flying before him” (5). Usurpation, the center image in the visual depiction provided, is anthropomorphized as “a Figure with many ill-favoured Heads...one head “shooting out of his shoulder, like Cromwells (sic).” This painting depicted Charles II “pursuing” the many-headed Usurpation and specifically the head of Cromwell. Cromwell’s head bookended the city of London, with this painting near the Tower and his actual head at Westminster, near the point of termination of the procession, Whitehall. In this painting, the heads were “ill-favoured,” multiple, and un-human. They are also accompanied by an image at the bottom right-hand side of the arch that depicts heads on spikes. This representation demonstrated the unruly nature of heads, but also the means of controlling them—decapitation and public display.

Towards the other end of the procession route near Wood Street “over the great Painting upon the *Arch of the Cupula*, represents a large GERYON, with three Heads crowned...the three Escutcheons [emblems with coats-of-arms] of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*; before him the King’s Arms with three imperial Crowns” (19); the statue sits at the base of the dome in the depiction provided. Beneath the figure was the inscription “in great Letters, CONCORDIA INSUPERABILIS,” which translates to “unconquerable harmony” (Stone 145). In this image, the heads, specifically the three heads of England, Ireland, and Scotland, unlike the heads of Usurpation, exist together in harmony. The three heads, the three crowns that fell when Charles I was beheaded, were united again in this image, under one king, Charles II. The king used imagery in his coronation procession to publicly reproduce the decollated head as a symbol of tyranny and the symbolic unity of his tri-headed Britain.

beheading (and Strafford's and Charles I's by association) to replace it with a ceremonial reunification of the king, his viceroys, and his kingdoms. In January 1661, Charles II instigated efforts to relocate and restore the body of the Marquis of Montrose. According to period material cited by Clare Gittings in *Death, Burial and The Individual in Early Modern England*, on 7 January 1661:

after an exact search of his Lordship's bones from amongst the corrupt matter contained in the coffin they washed in aqua vitae, afterwards being scraped and made clean they were a second time washed...and then being dried bone by bone they were anointed with odoriferous oils and balsams..and the coffin filled with aromatic and specific powders (qtd in Gittings 71)³³

More bones were discovered, and documented in the diary, on February 4 and May 10 of 1661; a funeral ceremony occurred on May 10th. *A Relation of the True Funeralls of the Great Lord Marquess of Montrose* recounts the event, detailing a processional initiated at the abbey at Palace of Holyrood and ending at St. Giles. St. Giles, the site where Montrose was hanged and the site of tension between the Covenanters and Charles, became the site of re-memberment for Montrose and, through him, Stuart Britain.

Through the burial of Montrose, Charles II enforced the redemption of Montrose, the tyranny of the regicides, and the erasure of his inaction at the time of Montrose's execution. The author of *A Relation of the True Funeralls* recounts the funeral as a time of "great jollity" because of the restoration of Charles II and the "Honour payed" to the "memories" of those who died, like Charles I and Montrose, "when we see Traitors for their villanie has their carcasses raised and hung, upon Gibbets, as was the late *Cromwel* and others" (B2). The document

³³ Gittings does not provide a citation for this quotation. After Google and EEBO phrase searches, I have been unable to identify the source.

contains funeral elegies and poems written to recuperate the honor and memory of Montrose. One, “A reflection on the first and second Funerals of the great Montrose,” laments “He’s dead, the shame of all our *British* story/He’s dead, the grace of all our *Scottish* glory” (22). Another suggests the agenda of the funeral, perhaps as part of the indemnity and oblivion deemed necessary by Charles II. The poem reads, “Speak nought of cruel rage, hate, or envy,/Learn only this, ‘tis malice to reveal/Our Countreys shame, but duty to conceal” (24). It was magnanimous of Charles II to forgive his peoples’ past offenses, but he also benefited from the erasure of his inaction on the behalf of Montrose. As historian Edward Cowan frames it, “Charles II attempted to purge his own guilt by ordering Montrose the most splendid funeral that Scotland had ever seen” (299). The final touch in the celebration of Montrose was the replacement of his head, displayed at Edinburgh Tolbooth since 1650, with the Marquis of Argyll’s. Argyll, Montrose’s primary opponent, was beheaded for his corroboration with Cromwell and his efforts to prevent the restoration of Charles II.³⁴ Charles II staged the symbolic reassembly of his kingdoms through the beheading of “traitors” and the re-heading of the Scottish viceroy, Montrose.

2.3 BANNING BEHEADING IN PERFORMANCE

The beheading of Charles I and his viceroys enacted the literal and figurative death of Stuart kingship. When Charles II regained the throne, he not only had to restore the Stuart line, but he also had to restore monarchy to the British Commonwealth. In other words, Charles II, as king, had to put the head back onto the body of Britain. His reign, however, was haunted by the Stuart

³⁴ He was beheaded by the Scottish Maiden, a decapitation machine that predated the French guillotine. Its name was derived from “the Celtic *mod-dun* meaning the place where justice was administered” (Abbott 91).

legacy of beheading. He renegotiated the symbolism of beheading through repeated public acts of beheading, restoring its meaning as a royal punishment of tyranny. In addition to the restoration of beheading as a punitive authority of the king, Charles II restored the theatre, which was closely associated with Charles I and Stuart culture by supporters and opponents alike. While Charles I patronized private court performances, Charles II created a royal monopoly over theatrical performance in all three kingdoms that was overseen by members of his court. The streets and the theatre continued to be sites of performance in which the meaning of beheading in Stuart Britain was arbitrated.

In this section, I will analyze performances of beheading in the theatre, a space literally and symbolically governed by Charles II. Royalty and members of court were the primary audiences for theatres in Dublin, Edinburgh, and London and theatre companies were managed by officials in the king's court. Within the royal space of the theatre, performances deployed and created symbols. During the reign of Charles II, the theatre staged characters and plots that interrogated the symbolism and imagery of British history, including beheading, usurpation and kingship, and the conflicts, past and present, within and between the British kingdoms. The theatre, like the public scaffold, was a space in which competing symbolisms of power, monarchy, and Britain were interrogated through performance. I will investigate four plays that demonstrate the shared and disparate symbolisms of beheading, Britain, and Stuart monarchy circulating in the streets and theatres of Charles II.

Charles II restored the royal British meaning of tyranny to the severed head and the executed body through the live performance and imagistic representation of beheading. In the theatre, however, the severed head was alluded to, but rarely (if ever) staged. *Cromwell's Conspiracy*, the play that staged Charles I's beheading is exceptional for three reasons. First,

unlike its contemporary plays, it deals directly with the event of Charles I's execution. Most others, as we will see, reflect on it allegorically through adapted histories and plays. Second, Restoration plays rarely staged executions; they dramatized the trial, the sentencing, the scaffold speeches, but not the actual execution. In rare cases, an executed body was brought back onstage after death, but the event itself was seldom so directly staged as was intended by the author of *Cromwell's Conspiracy*. Thirdly, as I discussed previously in the introduction to this case-study, the playwright gave clear instructions to stage the beheading of Charles I "as on the Scaffold" in real life, drawing an explicit and transparent connection between the performance of actual and theatrical beheadings, with the expectation that the representation of the act in performance could recreate the act itself. *Cromwell's Conspiracy* is evidence of the theatre's potential to stage a beheading "accurately" so that audiences might remember the actual event by seeing it in performance. The stage directions of the playwright further suggest that he or she believed that theatre could represent an event, not merely allegorically, but as it happened. If theatrical performance possessed the ability to restage history "as it happened" in the case of *Cromwell's Conspiracy*, perhaps it had this power in other plays as well, other plays that dramatized historical beheadings, like the work of English playwright John Banks.

Many plays written and adapted in the Restoration reflected contemporary anxieties about beheading³⁵, but the act was rarely if ever performed onstage. I argue that the multiple iterations of beheading in the theatre were at odds with Charles II's efforts to replace the beheaded Stuart as a symbol of martyrdom and monarchy with the traitor. The theatre, and particularly theatrical performance, afforded too much ambiguity. Theatrical performances, like

³⁵ Plays like Katherine Phillips's translation of Corneille's *Pompey* (staged in Dublin and London) and Nahum Tate's adaptation of Shakespeare's *King Lear* (in which he famously replaced the word "bareheaded" with "beheaded," are two of many. For more discussion of Shakespeare adaptations that reveal anxieties about beheading, please see my second case-study.

beheadings, offered the fictional victims an imaginary scaffold upon which they staged their beheadings. Just as Charles I and his viceroys managed, through (and, in many ways, in spite of) their beheadings to symbolize themselves as innocent, enduring representatives of monarchy, the historical figures sentenced to beheading in certain plays from the period, namely the history plays of John Banks, threatened to come to life onstage as symbols of innocence and monarchy, embodied by actors and witnessed by audiences. Charles II, as I've argued, was at pains to replace that symbolism with the "original" meaning of beheading as a punishment of traitors to the king. John Banks wrote four plays that restaged historical royal beheadings, which solidified the place of beheading in England's royal historical narrative. Banks's plays threatened Charles II's symbolic agenda for beheadings and were therefore suppressed from performance in theatres that the Stuart king invested as royal spaces.

Charles II, arguably more than prior monarchs, claimed and maintained the theatres throughout his kingdoms as royal spaces because he recognized their meaning-making potential and the connection, leveraged by opponents and supporters, between the Stuart monarchy and the theatre. In the outbreak of the civil wars, the English Parliament passed an ordinance in September 1642 suppressing "public sports" and "public stage plays" in England and Ireland. They argued that the atmosphere and sentiment of stage plays were not conducive to the fasting and "humiliation" necessary to overcome the tumult of civil war and make peace with God. In the anonymous *Actors Remonstrance*, written in 1643, it was suggested that the theatre was receiving the brunt of the ordinance while other public recreations, such as bear baiting, were operating unchecked. The author(s) contest the inequity of the suppression, arguing that the unsavory clientele of bear baiting "dare not be seen in our civill and well-governed Theatres,

where none use to come but the best of the Nobility and Gentry” (5). The author(s) were at pains to distance themselves from the scurrilous activity associated with the theatre (namely prostitution), but they also seem interested in aligning themselves with a particular audience, comprised of the nobility and gentry, and the government.

Despite the *Actors Remonstrance*, the suppression of the theatre was reaffirmed in 1648 in an ordinance that reasserted the suppression of the theatre and threatened penalties for actors and audiences who continued to partake in theatrical activity. Unlike the previous ordinance, this ordinance targeted the theatre, specifically “Acts of Stage-Playes, Interludes, and common Playes” as an activity no longer “governed.” It cited previous statutes established by monarchs, Elizabeth I and James I, as precedence for the legal prosecution of players as “rogues” and invalidated “any License whatsoever from the King or any person or persons to that purpose.” The ordinance acknowledged royal patronage only to overrule it; a year later this same Parliament that outlawed the king’s theatre outlawed the office and authority of the king altogether. The ordinance called for a public punishment to suit the public disobedience of playing. For their first offense, players were “openly and publicquely whipt in some Market Town.” The ordinance also called for government officials to “pull down and demolish...all Stage-Galleries, Seats, and Boxes” used for performance and to fine audiences who continued to attend theatrical performances. The theatre, its spaces, and its audiences (the nobility and the king) were publicly suppressed in the waning days of Charles I’s reign.

Though performance continued sporadically throughout the Commonwealth, the theatre publicly reestablished itself in the Restoration throughout Britain under Charles II as royal space. In 1659 and 1660, theatre artists performed in theatres still remaining from the pre-Commonwealth period, such as the Red Bull and the Cockpit. Charles II quickly issued theatre

patents to royalists Thomas Killigrew and William Davenant, however, who were granted a monopoly over theatrical activity in London. Killigrew and Davenant, influenced by theatrical conventions from the Continent, rejected the “old” theatre spaces and established new theatrical sites. They adopted the French convention of converting tennis courts into theatres. Killigrew converted Gibbon’s Tennis Court, which became known, due to its royal patronage, as the Theatre Royal or the King’s Playhouse (Scanlan 62). Davenant converted Lisle’s Tennis Court, also known as Lincoln’s Inn Fields or The Duke’s Playhouse (ibid). The King’s Men and the Duke’s Men performed in these tennis court theatres until Killigrew and Davenant built new theatres, Davenant’s Dorset Garden (1671) and Killigrew’s Bridges Street Theatre (1663) and its replacement, Theatre Royal Drury Lane (1674) (Langhans 6). When choosing sites for their theatres, both the converted tennis courts and the newly erected theatres, Killigrew and Davenant targeted space located outside the city walls of London, between the City and the palaces and courts of Westminster. Edwards Langhans and Cynthia Wall both suspect that this choice had to do with intended audience. Langhans suggests “Davenant and Killigrew may have selected small buildings in reputable neighborhoods because they anticipated a limited, aristocratic audience” (2). The burgeoning Restoration theatrical scene differed from its past associations with the brothels and bear-baiting gardens that shared its space in London’s liberties.³⁶ Davenant and Killigrew, supporters of Charles II, solicited a likeminded audience comprised foremost of members of the king’s court. This audience did not reside within the city walls. Cynthia Wall, noting the lack of city comedy on the Restoration stage, argues “The City housed the Puritans,

³⁶ It should be noted that this historical sense of the early modern theatre scene refers specifically to the theatres located in the liberties (such as The Globe) and is arguably romanticized in the scholarship. Certain theatres, like Blackfriars, located on the other side of the Thames, had audiences and surroundings more akin to those of Davenant and Killigrew.

the moneymakers, the recalcitrant Commonwealths. What had that City to do with cultivated urban court life” and those who lived it? (152)

The theatres in Dublin and Edinburgh were also located near royalist neighborhoods. Dublin’s Smock Alley Theatre was built by John Ogilby, the Irish Master of the Revels, in 1662. Ogilby, who received a theatre patent before the civil wars, built a new building for his theatre rather than convert an existing space, tennis court or otherwise. In *The Early Irish Stage*, William Smith Clark argues that “the dimensions of Ogilby’s playhouse matched closely those of the Theatre Royal in Bridges Street, Covent garden, opened by Killigrew the next spring” (54). Ogilby, choreographer of Charles II’s coronation procession, circulated amongst royalists. He served as dance tutor for the Earl of Strafford’s children and ran the Werburgh Street Theatre in Dublin during the reign of Charles I. He built Smock Alley within the royal space of Dublin. The Duke of Ormonde, appointed lord lieutenant after Strafford, patronized the theatre and participated in the increased Anglicization of Dublin. Under Ormonde, the city became “more Anglicized, especially more Londonized” (Spencer 22). Smock Alley was a part of this Anglicization, which had a royal agenda. It was built in close proximity to Dublin Castle and other markers of royal culture: near the River Liffey, the “location [was] easily accessible from the Castle, the College, the fashionable districts across the river, and the well-to-do quarters of the old city” (Clark 53). Like its London equivalents, the Smock Alley Theatre shared space with its royalist audiences.

The Tennis Court Theatre in Edinburgh was located on the grounds of the Palace of Holyroodhouse. Holyroodhouse was the official residence of the monarch in Scotland, though

after inheriting the dual thrones, the Stuarts never lived in Holyrood.³⁷ Nevertheless Holyrood, like Dublin Castle, represented the monarch's presence in Scotland and was the site of the Scottish Privy Council meetings (Official Souvenir Guide 15).³⁸ The palace had extensive royal apartments that were inhabited and maintained by the Secretary of State John Maitland, Earl of Lauderdale (ibid). In the 1670s, Charles II renovated the palace. Cromwell's armies, who took up residence at Holyrood during the Commonwealth, inflicted severe damage on the building. Charles II restored the building, which was a project first conceived by James I. The Tennis Court theatre, as the name indicates, was a converted tennis court. There is considerable disagreement about its dates. Some scholars suggest that it existed as early as 1599 and may have ever been visited by Shakespeare, while others offer 1623 as a date.³⁹ The Tennis Court Theatre was most likely located in a "large, oblong building standing immediately to the north west of the king's privy garden" (Dunbar 206). The Tennis Court formed part of a barrier between the palace and the rest of the city; the theatre itself was accessible to those both inside and outside the grounds of the palace.⁴⁰ It served a court audience and most of the records of performances we have from The Tennis Court Theatre document performances held in honor of royal visits.

³⁷ It is significant that James IV, who married Margaret Tudor and created the Stuart claim to the English throne, was the king who made Holyroodhouse the monarch's residence in Edinburgh (*The Palace of Holyroodhouse*, Official Souvenir Guide). Today, the Queen of England spends a week in residence at the palace in the summer.

³⁸ Though Charles II never visited Holyrood, he commissioned portraits of the line of Scottish kings for the Great Gallery. The 111 portraits assert monarchy and Stuart succession. The display is similar to the "Line of Kings" on public display in the Tower of London in the reign of Charles II. The display exhibits royal armor and each monarch is represented by a horse (Kristen Deiter, *The Tower of London in English Renaissance Drama: Icon of Opposition*, p. 217, note 4. Deiter's argues that The Line of Kings was created in either 1660 or 1694, but the general consensus is that it was commissioned by Charles II for public consumption; it was a tourist attract then as it is now.

³⁹ For more, please see John Dunbar's *Scottish Royal Palaces* (p. 206), Bill Findlay's *A History of Scottish Theatre* (p.38-39), and *The Historical Guide to the Palace and Abbey of Holyrood* (p. 149). I will also return to this discussion in my second case-study.

⁴⁰ For a visual, please see <http://maps.nls.uk/towns/view/?id=211>.

Restoration theatres inhabited and created space primarily concerned with court society and the king; the companies and stage content were, in turn, maintained and controlled by the king. Through the conversion of tennis courts into theatres, one courtly activity, tennis, was reinforced through the performance of another, theatre. Restoration theatres not only had a strong affiliation with their target audience, but with the king, who was their most important patron. Though theatrical patronage by monarchs and members of the peerage was not new to England, the naming of theatre buildings as royal space appears to be a trend started in the Restoration.⁴¹ Drury Lane, which housed the King's Company, was called the Theatre Royal or the King's Playhouse. As patent theatres increased in the British kingdoms, "Theatre Royal" became a designation by which their status as royal space was reinforced. Smock Alley Theatre in Dublin, was often acknowledged as Theatre Royal. The Tennis Court Theatre in Edinburgh was called the king's playhouse.⁴² The theatres of the Duke's Men were also referred to as "The Duke's Theatre." Charles II also established the first Scottish Masters of the Revels in Edinburgh so that theatrical activity and performance in all three major British cities (London, Dublin, and Edinburgh) were overseen by officials who reported to the king. Charles II designated and maintained the theatres as royal and British.

Charles II established and governed theatres in all three kingdoms that, along with the royal residences, were spaces of Stuart, British influence in Dublin, Edinburgh, and London. Much like the cities they inhabited, however, the theatres were sites of British tensions, especially during the Exclusion Crisis in London. Though the theatres shared a repertoire, an

⁴¹ Certainly Elizabeth I patronized the Queen's Men and the Stuart kings, The King's Men, but the Restoration seems to be the beginning of the "Theatre Royal" model, in part because purpose-built theatres were just beginning to take hold under Elizabeth.

⁴² Edinburgh was granted its first patent theatre in the late eighteenth century (1769), the Theatre Royal, Shakespeare Square.

audience base, and a king that were representative of Britain, animosity and competition between the kingdoms manifested in theatrical content and management that revealed the cracks in British union. London's two patent theatres fared differently in the Restoration. Put simply, Davenant's Duke's Men thrived and Killigrew's King's Men suffered from financial difficulties and mismanagement. The two became one company, the United Company, in 1682. In 1678, before the King's Men's eventual collapse, some members of the company went to perform in Ireland and Scotland. Additional performers from the Duke's Men traveled to Scotland between 1679 and 1682, when their patron James, Duke of York, brother of Charles II, left London at the behest of the king, to calm the Exclusion Crisis firestorm. An undated prologue written by John Dryden for a performance by a London company at the University of Oxford articulates the nation⁴³- and identity-based tensions between the Stuart theatres.

I quote generously from Dryden's prologue because it is integral to an understanding of the theatre's participation in the British conflicts facing the Stuart monarchy during the Exclusion Crisis. The prologue begins with an acknowledgement of the "discord and plots" defining the times. The Popish Plot, a plot allegedly organized by Catholics to kill the king, was sensationalized by Titus Oates in 1678 and continued to burden the British kingdoms until 1681.⁴⁴ Anxieties over the Popish Plot prompted the creation of the Exclusion Bill in the House of Commons, intended to prevent Charles II's Catholic brother, James, from inheriting the throne. Not unlike the circumstances of the civil wars, tensions in one part of the kingdom riled up tensions in the other. The Scottish Covenanters led their second rebellion in 1679, which was squashed by James, Duke of Monmouth, the king's illegitimate son and the House of

⁴³ The use of the term "nation" in the Restoration period is a technically premature, but by "nation-based," I am referring to the perceived identity differences between England, Ireland, and Scotland.

⁴⁴ We now know the plot was a fiction orchestrated by Oates.

Commons's choice to succeed Charles II. Dryden parallels the departure of the English military to Scotland to quell the Covenanters with the English players' travels to Scotland to perform: "Our House has suffer'd in the common woe, We have been troubled with Scotch rebels too. Our brethren are from Thames to Tweed departed, And of our sisters all the kinder-hearted, To Edinborough gone." He goes on to disparage theatrical taste in Edinburgh stating that players who were of little note or aged out in London star on Edinburgh's stage in lesser costumes for more pay. After expressing his resentment for the "Scotch rebels," he proceeds to insult the Irish Smock Alley players who recently performed at Oxford. "But why should I these renegades describe," he asks, "When you yourselves have seen a lewder tribe? Teague has been here, and to this learned pit, With Irish action, slander'd English wit." In this prologue, Dryden asserts the superiority of the English theatre over theatre in Ireland and Scotland. He also insults the two countries, describing them with incendiary terminology, such as "rebel," "renegade," and "barb'rous Macs," which further demonstrates the volatile nature of the union and the strained allegiances of the three kingdoms. Despite the theatre's associations with Charles II and his supporters, it was not an uncontested British space. The tensions between the British theatres expressed the larger tensions challenging the British union and the Stuart monarch that oversaw it.

Within these royal theatres, Britain's history, past and present, was staged and reinterpreted through plays. In "History and Its Uses," Paulina Kewes situates historical writing in early modern England and identifies a transition from allusive references to the past to direct comparison. Through an analysis of a diverse range of historical narratives, Kewes argues "Broad analogy and oblique allusion typical of Elizabethan and early Stuart historical writings...gave way, by the mid-seventeenth century, to narrowly conceived parallels and

personation...the overall tendency seems to have been toward greater transparency, even exaggeration, of historical correspondences” (14). Kewes recognizes “styles, images, tones, and techniques” shared by the various forms of historical writing, including historical narratives, poems, and plays (5). The change in the “use” of history also changed its audience: “No longer conceived only as advice to princes or education of statesmen, historical writings came to function as propaganda aimed at a mass audience” (19). Kewes considers the plays of John Banks as evidence of the transition from allusion to historical parallelism.

I, too, recognize John Banks’s impulse towards historiography through direct comparison of past and present. Banks “used” history, specifically historical beheadings, to historicize the internal tensions and issues of succession facing his contemporary Britain.⁴⁵ In the moment of the Exclusion Crisis, when Stuart succession was hotly contested, Banks recalled Britain’s history of royal beheading to frame his history plays that dealt explicitly with usurpation, contested successions, and civil war that reflected the past and present realities of Britain and its composite kingdoms. In the first part of this case-study, I mapped a history of Stuart succession through beheadings. I argue that the theatre was mirroring this approach, using beheadings to historicize Stuart succession. This shared approach becomes legible when the plays are examined not through conventional structural or character analyses, but by using the same method I applied to actual beheadings in which I identified and analyzed the iteration of ideas, images, and symbols of Stuart succession produced through the performance of beheading. For each play, I will provide a plot summary, the historical circumstances of its prohibition or performance, and

⁴⁵ In his dedication to *Vertue Betray’d*, Banks presents the maintenance of “local” history as the duty of the playwright. He suggests that, rather than write about “Princes remote,” poets should write about their homes, the histories of which are underwritten because of the “dulness of...Historians, or the Ingratitude or Designs of...Poets.” He wishes to “perswade [poets]...as our *Shakespear* did, to Immortalize the Places where they were Born.” Banks, like Shakespeare, wrote history plays about Britain and like Shakespeare’s, his plays reflect the historical moment in which they were written and the historical circumstances from which they grew.

an analysis of three key aspects of the play's dramaturgy that elucidate how it deploys beheading to map British history and a history of Stuart succession.

2.3.1 *The Unhappy Favourite*

The Unhappy Favourite dramatizes the beheading of Robert Devereux, the 2nd Earl of Essex, who lost his head to the ax on 25 February 1601. The play first introduces the Countess of Nottingham and Burleigh, a lady-in-waiting and an advisor to Elizabeth I, both of whom desire the downfall of Essex. The Earl of Southampton, Essex's ally, refuses to endorse the accusation of treason issued against Essex. Elizabeth I struggles in the middle trying to decipher the truth about her "favourite" Essex with whom the Virgin Queen was sexually linked.⁴⁶ Essex's pride and the resentment he arouses in Elizabeth's court (Nottingham and Burleigh) cause the queen to authorize his beheading. In an effort to encourage Essex to repent, Elizabeth pardons Southampton, who was also sentenced to execution, and then sends Nottingham to communicate a plan. Nottingham is supposed to tell Essex to offer the ring the queen gave him for pardon. It is revealed, however, that Nottingham, once spurned by Essex, purposely conceals the information from Essex and he goes to his death. The play ends with Elizabeth's lamentation over Essex's execution in which she assumes responsibility for his actions and his death.

Through his play, Banks revisits the beheading of Essex and the War of the Roses, two contentious historical events the playwright uses to throw the issues of his contemporary moment into relief; the play favors union over discord, but portrays fault on both sides of the Exclusion Crisis. Banks parallels the Duke of Monmouth with Essex. Elizabeth I appointed Essex the

⁴⁶ Essex and his queen were the subjects of a racy novel, *The Secret History of the most Renowned Queen Elizabeth and the Earl of Essex*, published in 1680.

viceroys of Ireland. She sent him to Ireland to end the rebellion, led by Hugh O'Neill, the Earl of Tyrone. Essex was suspected of arranging an unauthorized truce with Tyrone before returning to London in 1601 without the consent of his queen. Essex was charged and convicted with plotting to overthrow Elizabeth I with his companion, the Earl of Southampton.⁴⁷ The historical Essex was, as Banks's title suggests, a favorite of Elizabeth I and he is one of several men the Virgin Queen has been sexually linked to throughout history. In 1679, during the Exclusion Crisis, Essex emerged as a figure of interest. In this year *The Arraignment, Tryal and Condemnation of Robert Earl of Essex, and Henry Earl of SOUTHAMPTON* was published at Westminster-Hall, (among other places). In the same year, James, Duke of Monmouth, the illegitimate son of Charles II, was sent to put down a rebellion in Scotland. There was speculation at court that Charles II might appoint the Duke of Monmouth as the next viceroy of Ireland. Monmouth's supporters wanted him to be king. Royalists, however, among them the king's brother, James, Duke of York, suspected Monmouth and his motives.⁴⁸ Banks crafts a sympathetic Essex that parallels the Duke of Monmouth, but he dedicates the play to the Duke of York's daughter, asking her to "protect [the] once pitty'd Hero" (A2). Banks appeals to the princess's "Royal Blood" which he characterizes as Plantagenet. The Plantagenets represent strife and unity. It was the primary house from which the two warring houses of York and Lancaster sprung. The Tudor line originated from the Plantagenets as well as the union between Scotland and England; the marriage between Scotland's James IV and Margaret Tudor produced Anne and her ancestors. Banks's play cites and writes a history that proffers a unified kingdom as the solution to Britain's political disharmony.

⁴⁷ Essex allegedly sponsored a performance of Shakespeare's *Richard II* on the eve of his planned rebellion.

⁴⁸ Banks informs his readership in the preface to *The Island Queens* that he had to rewrite *Essex* before it was permitted performance; perhaps the connection between historical circumstances and historical figures (Essex and Monmouth) precipitated the demand for rewrites.

While the stability of British union was once again threatened by the question of succession, the theatres were on the verge of union, a union of financial necessity. *The Unhappy Favourite* reflects the tensions of union between the old guard of actors and the new. Thomas Clarke, recently returned from acting in Edinburgh, performed the role of Essex. Griffin, who played Southampton, also performed in Edinburgh. Clarke and Griffin, who left the King's Men for better roles and better pay, returned when contracted by Charles Killigrew, manager of the King's Men. They were cast as innocent traitors. By contrast, the role of Burleigh was performed by Major Mohun, a former Cavalier and boy-actor. The royalist Mohun embodied the role of the principal royal advisor, whose suspicions and resentment of Essex ensured the earl's beheading. The casting of *The Unhappy Favourite*, performed for only a few performances in the King's Men's theatre, Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, illuminates the conflicts experienced during restructuring and union both within the theatre and in Britain.

Banks's play makes three arguments. First, Essex was an innocent victim of political plots. Second, the monarch must take responsibility for his or her subjects. Third, innocents die when monarchs are controlled by their advisors. Through these arguments, Banks evokes the imagery of the beheaded viceroy that Charles II replaced with the executed tyrant. He also positions the viceroy as an innocent victim caught in the conflicts between the monarch and her advisors and the monarch and her kingdoms, which reanimates the history of viceroys dying for monarchs that Charles II attempted to lay to rest through the burial of Montrose.

Banks's play ultimately affirms Essex's innocence and dramatizes his beheading as the queen's failure to pardon and prevent it. Though it alludes to Essex's rebellious gathering, the play clearly blames the plotting of Nottingham and Burleigh along with Elizabeth for his beheading. Essex's innocence is evidenced by the plotting of Elizabeth's advisors, but

ultimately, his performance on the scaffold offers the best proof of his innocence. In the play, as in real life, Essex is spared the humiliation of a public execution “Upon a Publick Scaffold to the World”, by the queen upon his request (51). Rather than publicly display his limbs, Banks’s Elizabeth laments Essex’s beheading, which occurs hidden within the Tower. His beheading is also hidden from the audience, but described through narration after it occurs by Burleigh. He recounts “At the Block all Hero he appear’d,/Or else, to give him a more Christian Title,/A martyr arm’d with Resolution” (77). In an age of plotters and usurpers, Banks gives his “traitor” a martyr’s death.

Throughout the play, Elizabeth waffles between defending Essex against his accusers and believing him the worst of traitors. In the end, however, she claims responsibility for Essex as his monarch. In response to Nottingham’s condemnation of Essex, the queen reclaims him, barking “I am his Queen, and therefore may have leave;/May not my self have priviledge to mould/The Thing I made and use it as I please?” (32). By her logic, if she made him, she shares the blame in his treason and beheading: “Yet when by Subjects we have been betray’d,/The blame is ours, their crimes on us are laid” (77). Elizabeth claims Essex because she granted him authority in her name. Essex was her Irish viceroy and he reminds his queen of her investment of power in him. He recalls her words: “So much and vast was my Authority,/That you were pleas’d to say as Mirth to others,/I was the first of *English* Kings that Reign’d in *Ireland*” (38). Essex argues that, as viceroy, Elizabeth endowed Essex with royal authority; he was her self-appointed representative in Ireland, a symbol of kingship. Banks portrays Elizabeth I as a monarch who fails to pardon the beheading of her viceroy, whom she invested with royal authority, which recalls the failed or absent royal pardons of the beheadings of Strafford and Montrose. She takes

responsibility for his execution and his actions, traitorous or not, because he is her representative and one of her people.

In *The Unhappy Favourite*, Elizabeth I assumes the blame for Essex's death, but the play also places the burden of beheading on her advisors and their powerful influence on her. Essex, of course, accuses them all. Burleigh, Elizabeth's main advisor, consorts with Lady Nottingham throughout the play. Essex and the Earl of Southampton, who was tried and accused of treason alongside him, decry the treachery of Elizabeth's advisors. Southampton asserts that the charges against Essex are false, "False, as the Rules by which Vile States-men Govern,/False as their Arts, by which the Traytors Rise,/By Cheating Nations and Destroying Kings" (6). In response to his sentencing from Burleigh, for which Elizabeth is not present, Essex says "Give her a Caution of her worst of Foes,/Thy greedy self, the Lands infesting Giant,/Exactng Heads from her best Subjects daily" (21). Both Essex and Southampton, and through them, Banks, indict Burleigh for the sentencing and beheading. Essex also argues, using Northumberland and Westmoreland as examples, that subjects are beheaded so that monarchs keep their crowns. He rails to Elizabeth "The cutting both their Heads off⁴⁹ with an Axe,/That sav'd the Crown on yours," positioning himself as one more victim of this unequal exchange (40). Beheadings serve the interests of advisors and monarchs, stabilizing the crown through multiple executions. *The Unhappy Favourite* questions monarchs who are too greatly influenced by their advisors and asks them to consider their advisors' motivations for beheading.

⁴⁹ Northumberland and Westmoreland, two "Rebellious Earles" associated with the 1569 Rising of the North, a Catholic rebellion in northern England.

2.3.2 *Vertue Betray'd*

In *Vertue Betray'd*, Banks dramatizes the historical beheading of Anne Boleyn. Banks makes Anne Boleyn⁵⁰ an innocent victim of a Catholic conspiracy to seize the throne, orchestrated by Cardinal Woolsey and Lady Elizabeth Blunt, a mistress of Henry VIII ambitious for a crown. The play presents Anne's crown as a burden. Anne's marriage to Henry VIII, encouraged by her father, prevents her from being with her true love, Henry Piercy⁵¹. Cardinal Woolsey convinces Henry VIII that Anne has been unfaithful to him with Piercy, which leads to her sentencing; she and her brother are accused of incest and they are both beheaded. She, like Essex, dies innocent and her beheading leaves Henry VIII suspicious of his court advisers. The king vows to pursue absolutist rule, governing by royal prerogative and without the council of parliaments.

Vertue Betray'd received two recorded performances in March and August 1682. The play was performed by the Duke's Men at Dorset Gardens. It was staged in the same year as the return of the Duke and Duchess of York to London from Edinburgh. Banks again parallels current events with the War of the Roses, choosing to promote unification as opposed to taking a political side. In his prologue to *Vertue Betray'd*, Banks shames his audience with the memory of the war and their participation in the current conflict: "He brings before your Eyes a modern Story,/Yet meddles not with either Whig, or Tory,/Was't not enough, vain Men of either side, Two Roses once the Nation did divide?" By the time *Vertue Betray'd* was staged, the Exclusion Crisis had officially ended. The House of Lords refuted the Exclusion Bill and the succession of James, Duke of York, was secured. Banks desires an end to factionalism and asserts the continued need for unification under the Stuart king: "'Tis not enough if but One Side's his

⁵⁰ This is the historical figure's name. The character's name is Anna Bullen.

⁵¹ The historical figure's name is spelled "Percy."

Friend;/He needs you All, his weakness to defend.” Banks uses the War of the Roses to distribute blame amongst the “vain Men” who perpetuated the anxieties and suspicions of the Exclusion Crisis and as historical precedence for the weakness of a divided Britain.⁵²

Just as London was divided over the Duke of York and the Duke of Monmouth, so too were the theatre artists whom the dukes patronized. Banks dedicated the play to Elizabeth, Duchess of Somerset, an ancestor of Henry Percy, Anne Boleyn’s love interest. Thomas Betterton performed the role of Piercy and Elizabeth Barry was his Anna Bullen. Both actors had direct ties to the dukes that went beyond theatrical patronage. The Duke of York was the company’s patron, but certain actors had an intimacy with the Duke of Monmouth. In his biography of Betterton, David Roberts argues that, if the Duke of York was an “aloof patron,” Monmouth was “one of the gang,” so much so that an “anonymous informant” suspected Betterton of harboring the duke in 1683, a year after *Vertue Betray’d*, when he was in hiding on suspicion for plotting to kill the king (129). Betterton, who played the role of the innocent lover of the innocent Anne Boleyn, was known for his friendly association with the Duke of Monmouth, the rival of his patron. By contrast, Elizabeth Barry and Mary Betterton tutored the Duke of York’s daughter, Anne, in roles she performed at court. The Duke’s Men were the Duke of York’s company, but they also kept company with the Duke of Monmouth. When the Duchess of York attended *Vertue Betray’d* in August she “kept her bed the day after seeing” it (qtd. in van Lennep 311). While I can posit a few plausible assumptions for the Duchess’s reaction⁵³, the fact that she had the reaction at all is important in itself because it speaks to the theatre’s direct

⁵² *Vertue Betray’d* was staged in 1682, the year of the formation of the United Company. From the cast listing, however, it appears that the principal performers were from the Duke’s Men, which suggests that the merger was not complete. It is important to note, however, that the content and material conditions of the production reflect two strained (re)unions, that of Britain and the two theatrical companies.

⁵³ The Duchess, and future queen, was no doubt shaken by witnessing the beheading of a queen. As a Catholic, she may have been disturbed by the portrayal of the Catholic characters, which had the potential to stir up anti-Catholicism in the kingdoms.

connection with its royal patrons and its unavoidable participation in the politics of the royal family, the court, and the kingdoms.

In *Vertue Betray'd*, Banks pursues three key arguments. First, through the repetition of language, Banks reinforces the symbolic relationship between beheadings and royalty. Second, Banks situates Anne Boleyn within a history of executed English royalty. Third, the character of Anna Bullen is innocent and her beheading proves her innocence. Banks's play once again reengages a history of innocent beheaded royals, executed in the service of monarchy, which Charles II worked against through the public executions and display of traitors.

Banks repeats language that reinforces the relationships between beheading and royalty and the decollated head with the crown. Throughout the play, the words "crown" and "head" are inextricably linked, emphasizing the symbolic connection between the head that wears the crown and the means of removing it, beheading. Characters repeatedly discuss the removal of the crown from "Bullen's Head" and the beheading is the ultimate removal of both. Cardinal Woosley speaks of "investing" Blunt's "head" with "Anna Bullen's Crown" (19). He also boasts that he created a "Poppet-Queen" out of Anne who, if she tries to take him down, "pulls a dreadful Tower upon her Head" (31). The Tower is indeed the place where Anne's crown and head are lost. Through his repetition of certain words, Banks presents the loss of a crown and a head as shared realities.

Banks portrays Anne Boleyn as a martyred royal who joins other English monarchs who suffered a similar fate. Anne locates herself within a royal history of execution, among the "Royal Martyrs." After her sentencing, she calls "Then *Richard, Edwards, Henry*, all make room,/The first of slaughter'd English Queens I come;/Let me amongst your glorious, happy

Train,/Free from this hated world, and Traitors Reign”⁵⁴ (61). Anne places herself in a tradition of monarchs deposed through murder: Richard II, Edward II, Edward V, and Henry VI. Banks uses the beheading of Anne Boleyn to recall the history of royals executed in the pursuit of usurpation orchestrated not by foreign agents, but by competing members of the royal families of Britain. Richard II’s deposition sparked the civil strife of the War of the Roses; Henry VI too was a victim of that conflict. The conditions of both of their murders were contentious; they were not publicly tried and executed, but rather, their deaths (or potentially, their murders) were stifled in private. Edward II and Edward V were also allegedly murdered in private by ambitious family members⁵⁵. Banks dramatizes the known trial and execution of Anne Boleyn to publicly acknowledge England’s history of regicide.

Banks asserts Anne Boleyn’s innocence, which is solidified by her decollated head. Banks emplots the conspiring of Woolsey, Lady Blunt, and even Henry VIII against Anne, but the ultimate refutation of her guilt is produced through her beheading. Like all martyrs, it is her murder that confirms the innocence of Banks’s Anne, and specifically the byproduct of her murder, the severed head. As is characteristic of most of Banks’s victims, Anne exits en route to her beheading, which is not staged. The stage direction costumes her “all in White,” reinforcing her innocence (70). In her final words, Anne imparts, though “falsly accus’d...Never Blaspheme...Nor think an undeserved Death is hard;/For Innocence is still its own reward” (75). Banks sends Anne to her death assured of her own innocence; he also assures his audience of it

⁵⁴ The character of Anne Bullen asserts, as a queen, inserts herself into a tradition otherwise reserved for kings or sole reigning queens. John Taylor’s *The Number and Names of all the Kings of England and Scotland, From the Beginning of their Governments to this Present*, for example, excluded executed queens who are not the primary reigning monarch (like Mary Queen of Scots). For more on Taylor’s work, see page 21 note 12.

⁵⁵ The bones of Edward V and his brother, Richard, Duke of York, were discovered in the Tower in 1674. Though current scholarship doubts that the bones belonged to the brothers and is skeptical of Richard III’s hand in their deaths, Charles II created a monument to the murdered brother princes and laid them to rest in Westminster Abbey in 1678, the same year of the Popish Plot and the beginning of the Exclusion Crisis, in which the lives of two royal brothers were threatened. For more, see Aidan Dodson’s *The Royal Tombs of Great Britain: An Illustrated History*.

through the discovery of Woolsey and Blunt's plot. Northumberland narrates the discovery and the thing responsible for Anne's vindication, her severed head. He reports that Anne's head fell at Blunt's knees and "The Trunkless Head with darting Eyes beheld her,/Making a motion with its lips to speak,/As if they meant t'upbraid her Cursed Treason" (78). Anne's disembodied head asserts her innocence and rightly accuses those who plotted against her. Anne's severed head is a symbol of her innocence and the treasonous wrong committed against her.⁵⁶

2.3.3 *The Island Queens*

In *The Island Queens*, Banks continues his examination of beheading choosing to dramatize Mary Queen of Scots's road to the ax. His play is a meditation on the difficulties of the union of the kingdoms and the threat of regicide told through the strained, familial relationship of Mary and Elizabeth I. Elizabeth is an emotionally volatile character whose suspicions of Mary are exacerbated by the perceived fickleness of her people. Mary, like Elizabeth in *Unhappy Favourite* and Anne in *Vertue Betray'd*, is a lover, parted forever from the Duke of Norfolk by beheading. Banks's Mary dies a martyr, betrayed by the scheming of Morton, the Scottish regent. Elizabeth toils over the decision to execute Mary. She eventually yields to the persuasion of her advisors and signs the death warrant. In the end, however, Elizabeth discovers Morton's duplicity and repents the regicide.

⁵⁶ Banks further questions the justice of beheading through a dialogue between Henry VIII and his advisor. Henry VIII enters after the triple beheadings are complete and enquires to his advisor Northumberland "Are all the Traitors dead?" (78). Northumberland responds "Norris, and Rochford, and th'unhappy Queen,/Were all Beheaded in one Fatal Hour;/Yet all the Traitors are not dead" (78). Northumberland then informs the king of Blunt's treason. In this moment, Banks, who aligned monarchs and beheading throughout the play, argues that beheading is not only a punishment for "traitors" and certainly not in the case of his Anne Boleyn.

The Island Queens was prohibited from performance in 1684 by Charles II and his censors because of Mary's contested legacy.⁵⁷ In his Epistle Dedicatory, Banks directly addresses the ban on his play, which he heard "shou'd never be Acted, if they cou'd hinder it." In spite of its ban, Banks printed the play and noted in the dedication that the "Royal Brother" was of the opinion that it should be "permit[ed]...to be acted." James, Duke of York supposedly read and approved of the script that the king prohibited and Banks published that discrepancy for public consumption. Banks insists on the "Loyalty of the writing," which he hopes will come through in print and the king, after reading it, will "be of the same Opinion with his Royal Brother, in permitting it to be Acted." Through the paratextual materials of *The Island Queens*, Banks presents two brothers conflicted over the performance of their grandmother's history and indeed, an English Protestant kingdom conflicted over its Scottish union. M.D.'s *A Brief History of the Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, published in 1681, identifies the contemporary popish plot as the impetus for interest in Mary, who was herself executed for her suspected participation in a popish plot to dethrone Elizabeth I. Mary was a devout Catholic and the Catholicism of James, Duke of York and Charles II's queen continued to arouse anxieties in the English Parliament. Despite suspicions of Mary, Banks dramatizes her innocence and dedicates his play to Mary, Duchess of Norfolk, the ancestor of Norfolk, who was also executed for plotting to overthrow Elizabeth I; Banks identifies Norfolk as "the Hero in the Play." Banks honors the royal lineage of Mary, Queen of Scots, and her heirs (the reigning king and his brother) in an historical moment in which her legacy was enfolded in anti-Catholic sentiments.

⁵⁷ It is worthwhile to point out that, had it been approved for performance, this play about the difficulties of union would have been performed by the United Company, which was an unequal union. Many of the established King's Men either retired or traveled to the other kingdoms after the jointure and the company was dominated by Duke's Men.

The three arguments of *The Island Queens* are as follows: 1) monarchs are weakened by the influences of their advisors and their people; 2) regicide, beheading, and martyrdom are integral to the Stuart legacy; 3) beheading enables Stuart succession and union. All three agendas conflict with Charles II's desire to replace the Stuart history of beheading with the beheading of traitors.

The Island Queens presents a monarch weakened by the influence of her advisors and the English people; their influence leads Elizabeth to commit regicide. Banks locates all the action of the play in London, bringing the figure of Mary, Queen of Scots into the heart of Elizabeth's kingdom. Though this move is historically inaccurate, Banks does it to increase the dramatic tension between the royal cousins. Banks has Elizabeth's advisors narrate the crowd's response to Mary's entrance into the city. The people shout and cheer and children speak their first word "Mary" at the sight of the Scottish queen (19). Elizabeth is unnerved by the people's exceptionally devotional response to Mary and rages "They shou'd have died for Traytors all" (18). Banks took dramatic license to bring Mary to London as further impetus for regicide.

Despite her jealousy and anger at her people, Elizabeth resists her advisors' demand for execution. When Elizabeth is first approached with Mary's suspected treason, she responds skeptically (as in *The Unhappy Favourite*):

Arrest a Crown! Impeach a Sovereign Queen! The Majesty of Heav'n forbid the thought-
/Nay, if I think I never shall consent./ Here, take my Crown, depose me first, or kill
me,/Let Gifford's Dagger do its fatal Office,/Then like a Nest of Tyrants you may
raign,/And under publick Laws do publick Wrongs,/But Royal Power can never be so
cruel (48).

Elizabeth, as a sovereign, deeply understands the transgression of regicide and codes the desire for Mary's beheading as a public interest, not a royal one. She distinguishes between royal power and the "public" power, associated with advisors and Parliamentarians. She expresses concern over the degradation of royal power and declares that, if the people constrict the monarch's power, then they reign and not the monarch: "Who'd be that Monarch, who that wretched thing,/Whose Slaves make Laws, and People are the King?" (48). Elizabeth specifically attributes the lust for beheading to the House of Commons; she repeats "Commons" three times (59). After she orders Norfolk's beheading, she charges "Use no Violence on [Mary]/Make not such haste; too soon you'l break this Heart,/Then glut your selves with cutting off of Heads" (44). Like the "giant exacting heads" in *The Unhappy Favourite*, Elizabeth accuses her advisors of gorging themselves on beheadings.⁵⁸ She eventually consents to Mary's beheading, signing the warrant that Davison, her advisor, writes for her. After Elizabeth receives news of Mary's beheading, she threatens to chop off the hand that signed it. Elizabeth reaches for the ax as a means to claim blame: "And why dy'd *Mary* so? But I'me the Cause...Fetch the Ax...The Ax just reaking with my Sister's Veins,/And lop this hated Member from my Body" (70). Elizabeth wishes to punish herself, a monarch, for regicide through a parallel act of dismemberment. Banks portrays regicide as the desire of the people, not the sovereign, and that sovereign is weakened by the public greed for bloodshed.

Banks contends that martyrdom, through regicide and beheading, defines the past and present history of the Stuart line. Both Mary and the Duke of Norfolk, the two victims of beheading in the play, die martyrs. As Norfolk prepares for beheading, he calls himself a "dying

⁵⁸ She also thinks beheading is a fitting punishment for Norfolk who she believes covets a crown: "Send his ambitious Head/To travel for that airy Crown it lookt for" (42). Elizabeth beheads a queen, but she also beheads someone ambitious of a crown, which further equates beheading, regicide, and the crown.

Martyr” who will “Make the Scaffold but one step to Heav’n” (57). In her moment of beheading, Mary refuses to die, but instead speaks of her “immortal Reign” in heaven (69). Mary’s executioner refuses to behead her because of his conscience, further evidence of her innocence and martyrdom. Mary’s martyrdom remembers the martyrdom of Charles I, whom Charles II canonized. The cult of Charles I, born out of the king’s martyrdom expressed through his beheading and the publication of his final reflections, the *Eikon Basilike*, worshiped the executed king; his martyrdom was recognized under Charles II every year in the three kingdoms on the anniversary of the king’s beheading.

The Stuart line had a history of martyrdom and execution, but Banks also emphasizes its history of regicide. Mary’s beheading is an obvious instance of regicide in *The Island Queens*, but Banks also plots another, the murder of Lord Darnley. Darnley was murdered in 1567 and people suspected Mary’s involvement. Rather than casting it as a black mark on Mary, Banks includes the Darnley murder as a regicide committed by the character of Morton. James Douglas, Earl of Morton was one of the queen’s advisors and the regent in the early years of James’s Scottish rule and Mary’s exile. Elizabeth suspects Morton, who tries to convince her of Mary’s treason, of regicide. Displeased with his saucy behavior towards her, Elizabeth scolds Morton and charges “You had a hand in that vile Regicide” (8). Mary, too, charges Morton with regicide and looks to James to revenge both his parents’ murders. Of herself, she pleads of James “Shoot from my Eyes, and strike my Judges dead” (52). She also asks heaven to help her son revenge the death of his father: “Make my Son revenge his Fathers Murther” (67). The play concludes with the discovery of Morton’s regicide. Elizabeth has him arrested and “sent to *Scotland* to be tortur’d” (69). Banks enlists James to avenge a double regicide, which he arguably accomplishes

through his succession to the dual thrones. The inclusion of Darnley's murder as regicide makes the reigning Stuart inheritor of a triple regicide, Darnley, Mary Queen of Scots, and Charles I.

Banks's Mary uses her beheading to ensure Stuart succession and British union. Mary is a product of the union of England and Scotland, which gave her a credible claim to both thrones. She reminds Elizabeth about the marriage between James IV and Margaret Tudor through which they are related and appeals to the Plantagenet blood they share: "I feel the Blood of our glad Ancestors,/The Spirit of every brave Plantagenet,/Glow through my Cheeks" (38). She has to shed that shared blood for union and succession. Her beheading is the lifeblood of succession. Mary uses her final moments before her beheading to assert the inevitability of her Scottish line's succession to the English throne: "Thou canst not take my Life, but if thou dares,/I'll leave a Race as numerous as the Stars,/Whilst thou shalt fall with Barrenness accurst,/And thy tormented Spirit with Envy burst,/To see thy Crown on *Mary's* Issue shine,/And *England* ever blest with *Scotland's* line" (53). She also instructs James *in absentia*: "Defend your Royal Right" (52). Through Mary's beheading, the Stuarts ascend to the British throne, united by shared Plantagenet blood.

2.3.4 *The Innocent Usurper*

In *The Innocent Usurper*, Banks uses a usurping queen to both uphold royal succession and caution England against repeating its history of civil strife, usurpation, and regicide. Jane Grey receives the crown from her cousin Edward VI on his deathbed. Edward chooses Jane over Elizabeth and Mary Tudor, who both had legitimate claims to succeed him. Jane is uneasy about assuming the throne, but she eventually succumbs to the pressure of her ambitious parents. Shortly after Jane's coronation, Mary Tudor arrives to claim her crown. She offers Jane and her

husband, Guilford, pardon if they agree to convert to Catholicism. Jane, a staunch Protestant, refuses and she, Guilford, and members of both their families are sentenced to execution. In a moment unprecedented in Banks's beheading plays, he stages Guilford's dismembered body for Jane's viewing. The play ends with Jane exiting to her death-by-beheading.

Banks's fourth execution play, *The Innocent Usurper*, was, according to the author, written around the same time as *The Island Queens*. It was suppressed, and not printed until 1693, when it was prohibited from performance. There is no record of *The Innocent Usurper* ever being performed. In his letter to the stationer, R. Bentley, Banks appealed to print, as he often did when performance continued to evade him. *The Innocent Usurper* was apparently in production in 1693 before it was shut down: "This Product of mine, having been foster'd, and kindly receiv'd by the Actors, almost to perfectness, was by a Capricio and hard-heartedness of some of the Civil Powers of the Stage...prohibited the Acting" (A2). Banks uses the letter as an opportunity to remind Bentley of his knowledge of the play's origins stating "You know it was written Ten Years since," suggesting that the play was written immediately after the king's success over the Exclusion Bill. By 1693, however, Banks' play potentially appeared to the reigning monarch (William III), put in power not by succession but by the people, as a pro-James II piece, who was still alive and attempting to regain his throne.⁵⁹ Yet again, Banks's attempts to resist factionalism, his failure to take a side, prevent his plays from being produced because they present ambiguous symbolisms, manifested boldly, in the case of this play, in the title, *The Innocent Usurper*.

Banks makes three key arguments in *The Innocent Usurper*. Though a usurper, Jane is innocent and her innocence lies in her resistance to interfere with rightful succession. Beheadings

⁵⁹ The play complicates alliances, however, because it is the rightful heir to the throne, Mary Tudor, who exacts multiple beheadings. But it also Jane's "fault," her commitment to Protestantism, that prevents their pardon.

accompany succession and are themselves successive. Beheadings form familial and British histories that are linked by the act of beheading.

Banks upholds rightful succession and references the War of the Roses, an instance of extreme civil strife, as evidence of the unraveling associated with usurpation. Jane resists the crown, insisting that disinheriting Mary “‘tis such a horrid Act/That is not in the Power of Hell to do” (16). She further argues that going against succession is an act of man not condoned by God or his ordained monarchs: “None but Mankind from smooth Succession strays/But only Man, nor God, nor King obeys” (19). Banks’s Jane maintains innocence because she invalidates manmade succession. *The Innocent Usurper* was written immediately following the Exclusion Crisis in which the king’s right to choose his successor was threatened by the English Parliament. By the time the play went into production, in 1693, the English Parliament deposed the Catholic James II, the heir-in-question, and replaced him with William of Orange, who was Protestant. Parliament upset Stuart succession, a move that Banks disparages in *The Innocent Usurper*.

Banks’s Jane cites the history of the War of the Roses as proof of the danger of upsetting succession and further frames the interference in succession as nothing short of usurpation. She pleads “Are you so soon forgetful of the Wounds,/Whose Scars you carry flesh about you, like/So many gaping Witnesses against you;/When the Revengeful House of *Lancaster*,/And that of *York*, did from your selves and Fathers,/By Usurpation drain a Sea of Blood” (18). When Jane succumbs to family influence and dons the crown, she is haunted by visions of usurped monarchs, the ranks Anne talks about joining in *Vertue Betray’d*. She confesses to her husband Gilford “When thou art absent, frightful Visions haunt me,/England’s sad Race of Monarchs, some Depos’d,/Some slain with Daggers sticking in their Bosoms,/And others Banisht, glaring in their Shrouds,/All threatening me as Author of their Woes” (27). The crown is a symbol of not

only kingship, but also usurpation. At the time of the play's intended performance, its symbolism was ambiguous. It reinforces rightful succession, but it also presents an innocent and sympathetic "usurper" in the character of Lady Jane Grey, whose staunch Protestantism is lauded by the play. Through Jane, Banks dramatizes both the dangers inherent in the manipulation of succession and a sympathetic, Protestant usurper.

Banks's dramatizes beheadings as successive and tied to the restoration of succession. When Mary Tudor reclaims the throne, she offers "pardon" and "oblivion," except for those directly involved with the usurpation (25). When restored to the throne, Charles II adopted a similar practice, pardoning some and executed others to ensure the stability of his succession. Likewise, when his brother James took the throne in 1685, he beheaded James, Duke of Monmouth and many of his co-conspirators for their rebellion against him. Jane is offered pardon for herself and her family. Mary Tudor's only condition is that Jane must convert to Catholicism. Jane's refusal to convert is praised by the play, but it is also the action that leads to multiple beheadings of her family members. At least six beheadings occur over the course of the play and it leaves the audience in anticipation of Jane's and presents beheadings as successive, each one leading to the next. Her attendant, Pembroke, acquaints Jane and the audience with the beheadings as they happen. He then adds "Thy Father's Death, *O Jane!*, succeeded" the others. Banks's strategic use of the word "succeed" when articulating a lineage of beheadings suggests viewing the beheadings as successive, like kingship is successive. I argue that the beheadings of Charles I and his viceroys succeeded each other and together, with the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, beheadings became a symbolic performance of Stuart succession. Charles II, however, tried to reclaim beheading to reestablish rightful succession. Banks's plays, however, evoke the

history of Stuart beheading and succession. *The Innocent Usurper* stages beheadings as successive and part of the performance of royal succession.

Banks portrays beheading in *The Innocent Usurper* as a family affair, which emphasizes the familial ties of his contemporary nation to the beheaded victims and the nation's history of beheading. When reporting the beheadings of the Duke of Northumberland, Guilford's father, and his three sons, he wonders at the ax's ability to extinguish families: "I saw the Ax, as Mortal as the Plague,/In one short space sweep Families away" (57). By focusing on a family of beheadings, Banks parallels familial beheadings with the beheadings that fill Britain's history of civil strife between royal families. He uses the family beheadings in *The Innocent Usurper* to lament the War of the Roses and the continued warring for British power plaguing the Stuart royal family. The Exclusion Crisis turned father (Charles II) against son (Duke of Monmouth) and uncle (Duke of York) against nephew (Monmouth); it turned the head (Charles II) against the body (Parliament). At the time of *The Innocent Usurper's* staging, the Stuart family was fractured by beheading and succession. James II beheaded his nephew and was then usurped by his son-in-law, William of Orange. Banks crafts *The Innocent Usurper* as a familial history of beheading that resonates with the familial strife disrupting British union. Banks deploys beheading to perform the ultimate transgression against family, the execution of a baby. Before her beheading, Jane informs the audience of the royal offspring in her womb. In her final resolve, Jane sacrifices her head to "peace" and her "abortive Infant where it lay" (60). Banks concludes his beheading cycle plays with the beheading of a pregnant queen, a critical commentary on the the murder of union⁶⁰ in the service of usurpation and succession.

⁶⁰ Babies are the product of a union between two people.

2.4 BRINGING THE BEHEADED BACK TO LIFE

Charles II suppressed Banks's plays, especially their performance, because they endorsed competing symbolisms. A symbol, according to Janes, is an object, mark, or action that represents something beyond itself. I argue that what the symbol represents and the meaning it conveys is culturally specific and made intelligible through the act of performance. Banks's plays recalled the Stuart symbol of the beheaded victim as sovereign and as martyr perpetuated by Strafford, Charles I, and Montrose. In the Restoration, Charles II attempted to reestablish the severed head as a symbol of the execution of justice on traitors to Britain and its king. Banks's characters threatened to undermine Charles II's agenda: the restoration of royal authority and the re-memberment of Britain.

The destabilizing potential in the performance of beheading as royal martyrdom manifested in James II's beheading of the Duke of Monmouth. Upon his passing in February 1685, Charles II's chosen heir, James, took the Stuart throne. Like his brother before him, James II performed his succession through the repeated act of beheading that had become intertwined with Stuart kingship. The complication in James's case, however, is that the "tyrant" he beheaded was a Stuart with a claim to the throne. In the first year of James II's rule, James, Duke of Monmouth, the illegitimate son of Charles II and a rival heir, travelled to northern England and organized a rebellion against him. Archibald Campbell, 9th Earl of Argyll, son of the executed Marquis of Argyll, organized and led the Scottish arm of the Monmouth Rebellion. James II put down the rebellion and executed Argyll, Monmouth, and roughly 350 others (Clifton 241). *The Declaration of James Duke of Monmouth* lays out Monmouth's claim to the throne and his case against the "usurper" James II. In this document, Monmouth portrays James II as a "papist," guilty of all treasonous activity associated with the Catholics in the period. He

accuses James II of “contriving the burning of London,” arranging the assassination of his opposition, and most offensive, poisoning Charles II (A2). Monmouth never refers to him as James II, refusing to recognize his usurped kingship. However, Monmouth supposedly heard rumors that James II died and that prompted his adoption of the royal title. James II executed “king” Monmouth on July 15, 1685 on Tower Hill, the same public site as Strafford’s execution. Edinburgh executed Argyll in June 1685 by the same means as his father, the Scottish Maiden or guillotine.

Despite Monmouth’s death, “a rash of rumours spread that the Duke had escaped, was alive, and would return” (Clifton 228). Rather than demonstrate James II’s authority, the beheading of Monmouth opened up opportunities for surrogated performances of the duke. Robin Clifton identifies a collection of Monmouth impersonators, tried for their personification: “Charles Floyd was charged...with ‘Pretending himself to be the Duke of Monmouth’, and in October 1686 John Smith was whipped from Newgate to Tyburn for impersonating the dead rebel” (229). James II, through beheading, created another Stuart symbol that refused to die because of performance. The act of beheading created Monmouth into a symbol that revived the symbolism of his beheaded father, Charles I, and the beheaded viceroys who succeeded each other through the performance of beheading. The personations of Monmouth furthered the symbolism and caused rumors to spread that the duke did not actually die at his beheading. The representation of Monmouth in performance challenged the symbolism of the act of beheading exercised by the king. Monmouth, supposedly the illegitimate son of Charles II, inherited the family tradition of beheading.⁶¹ James II’s beheading of Monmouth threatened rather than

⁶¹ There is even a portrait once thought to be the posthumous likeness of the Duke of Monmouth painted, like Charles I, after his beheading. Scholars have since argued that the portrait has been misattributed to Monmouth, but

strengthened his rule because of its representation in performance. By executing the Protestant Monmouth, the man chosen during the Exclusion Crisis by the House of Commons to succeed Charles II, James II alienated himself from British Parliamentarians and Protestants and aligned himself with Catholicism. Only three years after the beheading of Monmouth, James II was forced to flee and his son-in-law William of Orange was selected by Parliament to assume the throne. Once again, a Stuart beheading thrust a British king into exile and Britain into civil war.

2.5 THE PURPOSE OF PLAYING

The act of beheading and its representation in visual imagery and the theatre was prolific in pre-Restoration and Restoration Britain. Its symbolic meaning changed alongside the changing fortunes of the Stuart line. Beheading became an integral part of the means of Stuart succession; it was a tradition shared by viceroys and their king. It was a tradition with historical roots that encompassed the intersecting histories of England, Ireland, and Scotland. Parliament appropriated the power to behead traitors from the king to behead Charles I. When Charles II regained the throne, he reasserted the symbolic meaning of beheading through the public repetition of the act on those alive and dead. With Charles II, the Stuart line was restored and it was no longer necessary or productive to think of royal bodies in bits and pieces. Under Charles II, Stuarts were reassembled, not disassembled. The return of the king also recuperated the theatre and it was reinstated as a royal space. Though Charles II repeated the act of beheading, he and his court advisers censored it in the royal theatre. Banks's peculiar beheading plays recalled

the portrait, at the time of Monmouth's beheading, further connected him to Charles I and the Stuart legacy of beheading.

Britain's history of beheading and threatened to resurrect the symbolism of the beheaded Stuart that Charles II sentenced to death. Though the plays themselves were highly censored, the performance of the plays was particularly threatening to Charles II's agenda because the symbolism created through performance was animate and unwieldy. The live "representation" of Banks's beheaded heroes and heroines threatened to breathe life into the dead symbols of Stuart beheading, Strafford, Charles I, and Montrose. The cultural impersonations of the beheaded Monmouth serve as an example of the symbolic potential of performance that Charles II strategically suppressed.

3.0 ADAPTING SHAKESPEARE'S BRITAIN

Roscius Anglicanus provides an account of theatrical performance in Restoration London recorded by prompter John Downes⁶². More than a log of performances, *Roscius Anglicanus* is a theatrical biography that offers mini-histories of the English stage. Downes's mini-performance history of the role of Hamlet is a particularly salient example of the adaptive history that engendered and sustained, not only the Restoration theatre, but the restoration of Charles II as well. In his discussion of Thomas Betterton's performance of Hamlet, Downes constructs an improbable but irresistible history that forms a continuous theatrical thread from Shakespeare to Betterton that is adopted as "fact" despite its impossibility. According to Downes, Betterton received instruction in the role from William Davenant, the manager of the Duke's Men, who saw Joseph Taylor perform the role in the pre-Commonwealth theatre: "Sir William (having seen Mr. Taylor of the Black-Fryars Company Act it, who being instructed by the author Mr. Shakespear)" (51). Downes creates a performance genealogy that passes (seemingly) directly from Shakespeare to Taylor to Davenant to Betterton.

Downes' continuity, however, is nearly impossible. In her book, *Sir William Davenant, the Court Masque, and the English Seventeenth Century Scenic Stage*, Dawn Lewcock undoes the Hamlet genealogy. Shakespeare died before Taylor assumed the role of Hamlet from the

⁶² Theatre prompter John Downes was preceded by another John Downes (presumably of no direct relation), a member of Parliament who signed Charles I's death warrant.

deceased Burbage: “Joseph Taylor did not join the King’s Men until after Shakespeare’s death and is thought to have joined to replace Richard Burbage after the latter’s death in 1619” (189). Downes, his contemporaries, and his eighteenth-century publishers were either unaware of or unconcerned with the historical data reported by Lewcock over 300 years later. Downes documented a direct transmission of performance, which betrayed no lapses or gaps. Death and time made his history impossible. In the Restoration, however, histories that created continuity were far more valuable to the Restoration project than “accurate” ones. The restoration of the Stuart monarchy and the theatre depended upon the adaptability of memory and history exercised through strategic remembering and forgetting. Like Downes, Charles II contended with the realities of death and time. He reverted the start of his reign to 1649, the year of his father’s execution, and instituted mandatory forgetting of the Interregnum period. Theatre artists and Charles II re-membered Stuart Britain through the adaptation of history.

In this case-study, I examine the (re)writing, or adaptation, of histories as a practice shared by Charles II and Restoration theatre artists. Charles II adapted history to reunify Britain and employed theatre artists in court positions to assist with adaptation. The theatres, which Charles II attempted to make uniform through the masters of the revels, produced Shakespeare adaptations that functioned as histories. These adaptations staged England’s theatrical history by reconnecting audiences with pre-Commonwealth plays and restoring England’s interrupted theatrical tradition. Shakespeare adaptations, in particular, allowed playwrights to participate in the (re)formulation of England’s past and present cultural history. Playwrights frequently adapted Shakespeare’s history plays, which dramatized England’s royal past. They used his histories to weigh in on current politics of English and British interest voiced through their adaptations and the material (including prefaces, prologues, and epilogues) that accompanied

them in print. Through the practice of adaptation, Shakespeare emerged in the Restoration as a divisive figure. Within him and his work, Shakespeare's adapters located an origin for the English theatre, which they cultivated despite the fact that Shakespeare lived and worked in James I's Britain. For his adapters, Shakespeare became the source for a "native" English style constructed through the fabricated remembrance of England and the forgetting of Scotland and Ireland. London theatre artists adamantly claimed Shakespeare as decidedly English, which increased in eighteenth and nineteenth-century configurations of the playwright as England's national poet.

By making Shakespeare English, his London adapters attempted to codify and hold onto a distinct English theatrical culture in order to set themselves apart from Britain and the continent. Charles II's efforts to unify Britain included control over theatre in all three kingdoms, which increased theatrical exchange and competition. The English playwrights were not the only ones in Britain adapting and staging Shakespeare. Shakespeare adaptations demonstrate English anxieties about the impact of British union on the preservation of England and its theatrical tradition. Adaptations produced in Ireland and Scotland, however, also evidence the British ubiquity of the playwright's work and competition over its cultural ownership.

For the purposes of my analysis, I selected three Shakespeare adaptations, William Davenant's *Macbeth*, John Lacy's *Sauny the Scot*, and Nahum Tate's *Lear*, that demonstrate English anxieties about Britain as well as Irish and Scottish perspectives on Britain voiced through the increasingly "English" Shakespeare. *Macbeth*, produced frequently all over Britain throughout the Restoration, deployed Shakespeare to dramatize the restoration of order in all three kingdoms achieved through the primacy and endurance of England. Behind each production, in London and those in Dublin and Edinburgh, however, lay concerns about the

stability of the British union and its impact on each individual kingdom. John Lacy's *Sauny the Scot*, produced in London, used Shakespeare's *Shrew* to dramatize the threat posed to England by the untamed Scottish Covenanters. Irish-born Nahum Tate adapted Shakespeare's *King Lear* to suggest that the privileging of England over Ireland weakened England, Ireland, and the British union.

3.1 CHARLES II'S ADAPTIVE HISTORIES

Just as Shakespeare's adapters manipulated their Shakespeare source texts, Charles II adapted Britain's history. While Shakespeare's adapters used his plays to give voice to the tensions of British union, Charles II made significant cuts and changes to his historical source texts in order to forget rebellion and restore peaceful union. In 1661, Charles II and both houses of Parliament passed the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion. A similar document passed in the king's Scottish privy council in Edinburgh in the same year. Through both acts, Charles II pardoned his people (with the exception of the regicides) for the Interregnum and reincorporated its supporters back into Britain through his forgiveness and the mandated forgetting of past offenses, punishable by fining for three years following the act. The act covered behavior committed between 1 January 1637 and 24 June 1661, encompassing the beginnings of the civil wars in Scotland through to the Restoration. The express purpose stated in the act was "to bury all Seeds of future Discords and remembrance of the former as well in His owne Breast as in the Breasts of His Subjects one

towards another.”⁶³ Charles II tasked himself and his people with the management of forgetting past discord in order to prevent future strife.

To ensure that Britain’s rebellious past was truly forgotten, Charles II issued, what Odai Johnson would term, “amnesty.” Amnesty is a Greek contract in which people make an oath to remember to forget something.⁶⁴ In the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion, the subjects of Britain were compelled to bury discord within themselves and forget it. In case they forgot to forget, Charles II was prepared to fine them for up to three years after the bill was passed. He hoped to eradicate discord by “planting oblivion”⁶⁵ in the hearts of himself and his people.

Charles II and the Scottish privy council concentrated their efforts on the oblivion of the Covenanters. To recall, the Covenanters were the agents of the first rebellious activity in Scotland under Charles I. They resisted his institution of episcopacy in Scotland by signing the National Covenant, which framed Charles I’s failure to uphold the Presbyterian faith as a breach of his responsibility as monarch and therefore grounds for the Covenanters to forfeit their allegiance. Known as the “Bishops Wars,” the Covenanters and the king’s forces went to war and the Covenanters eventually partnered with the English Parliamentarians in 1643; in the “Solemn League and Covenant,” the English Parliament authorized Presbyterian worship in exchange for Scottish military support in the war against the king. In 1651, Charles II took the Covenant and the Covenanters invested him king of Scotland, which ended their partnership with the Parliamentarians. In the Restoration, Charles II distanced himself from the Covenanters and

⁶³ John Raithby (editor). "Charles II, 1660: An Act of Free and Generall Pardon Indempnity and Oblivion." *Statutes of the Realm*: volume 5: 1628-80 (1819): 226-234. British History Online. Web. 17 June 2013. <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=47259>>

⁶⁴ Johnson argues that classical tragedy, which focused on foreign sorrow at a remove rather than address the sorrows of contemporary Greeks directly, was the “memoranda” or the reminder of the Greek community’s amnesty to forget *The Fall of Miletus*, a play that dared to address contemporary issues. Don’t know what the memoranda were in the Restoration.

⁶⁵ Phrase taken from Shakespeare’s poem *Venus and Adonis* by way of Garrett A. Sullivan’s *Memory and Forgetting in English Renaissance Drama* (1).

introduced legislation that attempted to obliterate them. He outlawed the National Covenant, the Solemn League and Covenant, and “decree[d] that all persons in public trust were to endorse a declaration condemning the National Covenant, the Solemn League and Covenant and all other leagues entailing resistance to the crown” (Raffe 68-69). Charles II wished to forget the Covenanters, initiators of civil strife under his father who remained active agents of rebellion throughout his reign.

Charles II legislated oblivion in order to “fit” Britain back together. “Adapt” is defined in Elisha Coles’s 1677 *An English Dictionary Explaining the difficult terms...* as “make fit” (7). He had to make his subjects “fit,” meaning both worthy followers of monarchy and positioned within a restored British whole. “Restoration” is defined in Coles’s dictionary as “a restoring or repairing” (126). He hoped to repair Britain by making his subjects fit and fit together. When Shakespeare’s adapters cut, rearranged, and added to his plays, they did so to make the plays fit, to make them suitable and appropriate for their audiences and their historical moment, which were quite distanced from Shakespeare’s. Similarly, Charles II made some historiographical adjustments to fit himself and his subjects back together, to repair the monarchy and refit Britain for it. Through The Act of Indemnity and Oblivion, thus, Charles II adapted policies and histories to make Britain fit again.

Charles II employed playwrights to craft his adapted histories. In addition to English poet laureates, who were often dramatic poets, Charles II created “Historiographer Royals” in England and Scotland. Many of these historiographers had theatrical ties. There’s considerable debate about the origins of the position and its responsibilities.⁶⁶ At least two official English

⁶⁶ In *The Laureateship*, Broadus designates Dryden as the official poet laureate, but his study considers the service of Davenant and Jonson and even traces the medieval origins of the position. He identifies Bernard Andreas as poet laureate and historiographer royal under Henry VIII (64).

historiographer royals, John Dryden and Thomas Shadwell, were playwrights. The positions were officially created in the Restoration. The English monarchy first employed a court historian under the Tudors. They were a European convention, styled off of “the tendency in Italian courts of the late fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries to employ official apologists” (Hay 16). Hay contends that, though the duties of the historiographer were vague, he or she was “expected to give general support to the government which had put him into office” (22). Historiographers were also given access to archival material. When John Dryden was appointed Historiographer Royal in 1670, he also held the position of Poet Laureate, which he had assumed on the death of William Davenant. Edward Saslow argues that there is nothing significant about Dryden holding both offices beyond “that the official making up Dryden’s patent had before him some document in which the two were coupled” (263).⁶⁷ He argues that Dryden did not write much as the historiographer and that when Charles II desired histories to be written, he sought out others. Saslow hypothesizes that Dryden, recognized for his mastery in poetry as Poet Laureate, was honored with Historiographer Royal to acknowledge his prose writing as well.

While I agree with Saslow that the evidence is scarce, I take issue with his casual explanation for the pairing of the offices. Like Dryden, playwright Thomas Shadwell⁶⁸ went on to hold both offices and Thomas Rymer, his successor as Historiographer Royal, wrote one of the most influential pieces of dramatic criticism in the period, “A Short View of the Tragedy,” the year after he assumed the position. What Saslow overlooks is the connection between playwrights and history being asserted by Charles II in his dual appointment of Dryden. Whatever Dryden wrote, be it play, essay, translation, or otherwise, he did so from the positions

⁶⁷ Broadus observes that the two offices were combined in 1670. Thomas Shadwell succeeded Dryden in both offices.

of poet and historiographer to the king and in fact, many of Dryden's plays, including some of his adaptations of Shakespeare, trafficked in history, foreign and domestic, ancient and current. Offering further impetus to include dramatic writing in the duties of the laureate and historiographer royal, Thomas Shadwell, in the print edition of his 1690 play, *The Amorous Bigotte* is credited as "Poet Laureat, and Historiographer Royal to Their MAJESTIES." The "official" duties of the poet laureate and the historiographer royal were equally vague, but the visibility afforded to playwrights through print and performance increased the visibility of those offices and their association with the monarchy.

Charles II created positions within his court to unify British theatre and employ playwrights to write British history. Even when they weren't serving as historiographers, playwrights participated in the writing and rewriting of history through their adaptations and new plays. In her essay, "History and Its Uses: An Introduction," Paulina Kewes positions plays within the expansive field of historical writing in the seventeenth century. She argues "plays commanded styles, images, tones, and techniques that often shaped those of narrative historiography"; further, "in common with prose histories and historical poems [...] the drama sometimes embodied explicit parallels with public events and anxieties" (5). Restoration playwrights dealt in ancient history and more contemporary British history. We also learn from Thomas Rymer's critique of historiographers that history dealt in its own share of fiction writing. Rymer, who later held the office of Historiographer Royal, issued a criticism of historiographers during Dryden's tenure that articulated the fungibility of history in service to a particular agenda. In a letter published in 1681, Rymer stated "You are not to expect truth from an *Historiographer Royal*: it may drop from their pen by chance, but the general herd understand not their business; they fill us with story accidental, incoherent, without end, or side, and never know the

Government or policy where they write” (68). Rather than truth, the historiographer’s job was to create a compelling story without rousing suspicion about its veracity or bias. Playwrights in the period experienced increased pressure to cite sources and were frequently called out for plagiarism. Dryden was frequently accused of plagiarism. Playwrights were expected to acknowledge their sources, which suggests that their works were being held to certain standards of historicity. In the Restoration period, plays and history were not discrete fields and Charles II recognized the efficacy of employing playwrights to historicize Stuart Britain.

To write historical and historically-inflected plays, Restoration playwrights often turned to Shakespeare’s historical plays. Shakespeare wrote history plays that dramatized English history. Of Shakespeare’s ten English history plays, six were staged in original or adapted form in London and three in Dublin during the Restoration. Even beyond Shakespeare’s history plays about England’s monarchs, his *Macbeth* and *King Lear*, both of which were performed in the Restoration, were rooted in British history. In fact, Nahum Tate entitled his adaptation of *Lear*, *The History of King Lear*. *Julius Caesar* and *Antony and Cleopatra* trafficked in ancient history and Shakespeare adapted primary sources to create them; they were both performed (in some form) in the Restoration. In addition to the plays already discussed, of the seven plays added to Shakespeare’s canon in the publication of the Third Folio, three staged English history: *The History of Thomas Lord Cromwell*, *Sir John Oldcastle*, and *The Tragedy of Lochrine*⁶⁹. In his *The Lives and Characters of the English Dramatic Poets* (1699), theatre critic Gerard Langbaine supplied historical sources for most of Shakespeare’s plots. He praised the playwright’s knowledge of ancient history noting that, though he may not have been well versed in Greek and

⁶⁹ Lochrine was one of the three sons of Brutus, relative of Aeneas who founded ancient Britain. Lochrine inherited England, Albanact Scotland, and Cumber Wales (James I, *Basilicon Doras*, 42).

Latin, he became “Master of their Histories” (126). Restoration playwrights frequently turned to Shakespeare when writing historical plays.

3.2 BRITAIN’S THEATRICAL VICEROYS

Charles II, like his father before him, cultivated a symbiotic relationship between the monarchy and the theatre; they rose and fell together. Through revised theatrical patents, Charles II rewarded his and his father’s supporters and encouraged continued support of the monarchy from the theatre. In 1659 and 1660, John Rhodes and fellow actors still alive from the pre-Commonwealth theatrical scene staged a few productions, some even under the auspices of the newly restored Master of the Revels, Sir Henry Herbert. Two of Charles II’s staunch supporters, Thomas Killigrew and William Davenant, however, had other ideas for the theatre and their military support of and continued loyalty to the “good ole cause” of Charles I and Charles II earned them a duopoly over London theatre. Killigrew and Davenant, both remnants of the pre-Commonwealth theatre, spent time in exile with Charles II. Together, they experienced what would become the novelties of the British Restoration stage: perspective painting, moveable scenery, and actresses. Charles II granted theatrical patents to Killigrew’s The King’s Company and Davenant’s Duke’s Company. Davenant also resumed his role as Poet Laureate; Killigrew took over as Master of the Revels after Sir Henry Herbert’s death in 1673. As supporters of the king, Killigrew and Davenant used their companies to stage royalist productions that celebrated the return of the king and villainized its undermining and usurpation. When their plays failed to

promote the restoration agenda, they were suppressed.⁷⁰ Charles II took official action to place control over London theatrical activity in the hands of two Cavaliers whose loyalty to the Stuart monarchy was assured.

Charles II oversaw theatrical activity in his British kingdoms through the office of the master of the revels. In London, the position was established under Henry VIII⁷¹, but Charles II appointed masters in Dublin and Edinburgh as well in an attempt to unify and centralize the theatrical operations within the king's court. Masters in Dublin, Edinburgh, and London reported to the king's Lord Chamberlain, the official who managed the king's household. Charles II restored Ireland's master, appointed under Charles I, and created the position in Edinburgh. During his reign, Charles I appointed a Master of the Revels in Dublin. John Ogilby, a dance instructor, also happened to be a member of the Irish viceroy, the Earl of Strafford's household; Strafford was an ally of Charles I who was beheaded in 1641. Ogilby was granted permission to build a patent theatre in Dublin and oversee theatrical activity as the Irish master of the revels. In 1661, Davenant wished to expand his theatrical activity into Dublin. Charles II, however, honored Ogilby's patent and his appointment. Ogilby built a new patent theatre in Dublin in 1662 called Smock Alley, named after its location in the city. Joseph Ashbury, Ogilby's associate, was appointed deputy master and he succeeded Ogilby as master in 1682. Charles II upheld the power of the Irish Master of the Revels to oversee theatrical activity in Dublin. Charles II, after reestablishing the office in London and Dublin, created the revels office in Edinburgh. In September 1671, Edward Fountain Lockhill and James Fountain were jointly appointed Scottish Masters of the Revels (Tobin 65).

⁷⁰ See Matthew J. Kinservik's "Theatrical Regulation during the Restoration Period." *A Companion to Restoration Drama*, ed. Susan J. Owens. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001: 36-53.

⁷¹ The conduct literature of the mid-seventeenth century credits Edward VI with the establishment of the Master of the Revels. For more, please see my third case-study on the actress.

Charles II appointed the masters of the revels as “theatrical viceroys” (not unlike the viceroys who governed in Dublin and Edinburgh in the king’s absence) endowed with royal authority, which demonstrated Charles II’s interest in maintaining unified control in all three of his kingdoms through monarchical authority. Though Charles II, from time to time, participated in the business of the London theatre (he read scripts and made recommendations, he loaned companies royal costumes, he occasionally interceded in legal matters on behalf of actors who wore his livery, and he occasionally punished them as well), he ultimately exerted his power through the Lord Chamberlain and the masters of the revels who reported to him. Charles II entrusted the masters, like his viceroys, with the responsibility to enforce the king’s commands. And like the viceroys, the king created the position in each of his three kingdoms so that he had representatives directly handling theatrical activity in all three major cities of Britain. All eyes were on the London theatre, but Charles II, perhaps recognizing the instability of his newly restored Britain, appointed royal eyes in Dublin and Edinburgh to oversee what he couldn’t from London.⁷²

Like the viceroys, Charles II’s masters of the revels, as royal representatives, faced “local” resistances that paralleled the difficulties faced by the king and his viceroys; as I discussed in the first case-study, multiple monarchy posed challenges to the Stuarts because their administration struggled to enforce legislation crafted in and for England in the kingdoms of Ireland and Scotland, which were divided in their support of the king and the unification of his kingdoms. Without the physical presence of the king to reinforce their authority, masters of the revels in Dublin and Edinburgh relied on the symbolic power of the monarchy to carry out their duties. When the king’s orders abraded local authorities and practices, the masters of the revels

⁷² Aside from his coronation in 1651, Charles II never visited Scotland and “there was no royal visit to Ireland between Richard II and James II” (Southcombe and Taspell 101).

felt the consequences of those tensions. The masters faced resistance from the individual kingdoms that refused to recognize their royal power.

In Dublin, the master of the revels, John Ogilby, appealed to the king's court when his authority was undermined. In response, the viceroy (then the Earl of Essex) and the Council-Chamber of Dublin published a document in 1672 re-asserting the power of the position. The governing body cited instances in which the authority of the "Master of the Rebels and Masques" has been compromised by local leadership. The document informed the readership how the chain of command, in which the master of the revels participated, operated. John Ogilby reported cases to the king in which he had granted performers permission, but his permission was overlooked by various local authorities like "mayors, bayliffs, magistrates, etc." Those same officials then "in contempt of His Maiesties Prerogative, and the Power by his Maiestie, given to the said Master of the Revels"⁷³ granted licenses to the performers that they once denied. The king acted on John Ogilby's behalf through Ireland's viceroy to rectify the trespass against the monarch's authority in Dublin. In the document, the viceroy concluded that the local officials must "take due notice of His Maiesties Royall Will and Pleasure...and do not Infring or Trespass upon any the Piviledges or Authorities granted unto [the Master of the Revels], in and by His Majesties said Letters Patents, as they will answer the contrary at their Perils." The document demonstrated the successful transmission of information between master of the revels and the king's court and reinforced the royal power invested in the master of the revels and the viceroy.

⁷³ *Whereas His Majesty, under his royal signet, and sign manual, bearing date at his court at Whitehall, the sixth day of September 1672, hath signified unto us the lord lieutenant and Council, that His Majestie by letters patents, under his great seal of England, bearing date the eighth day of May, in the thirteenth year of his reign, hav[e] nominated, constituted and ordained his trusty and well-beloved John Ogleby Esq., master of the revels and masques in this kingdom, and by his said letters patents impowered the said John Ogleby, or his lawful deputy or deputies, to ereu [sic] and keep an office, to be known and called by the name of the Revells Office ...Dublin, 1672/3. Early English Books Online. 21 June 2013.*

The Masters of the Scottish Revels faced similar issues with enforcement. Charles II newly created position in 1671. An “advertisement” in the *Edinburgh Gazette*, published in December 1680, reveals the need to reinforce the authority of the masters. It states:

These are to give notice, to all keepers of publick Games, Playes, and Lotteries, within this kingdom; That Edward and James Fountains, Masters of His Majesties Revells, by virtue of His Majesties Gifts, under the Great Seal in their Favours, do resolve to put the said Gift, and Letters of Horning raised thereon to Execution against all persons, concerned. But since some years have enterveened since the publication of said Gift, whereby those concerned may pretend ignorance; they have hereby given notice, that if they come into the saids Masters, and take licenses from them, and give Bond on the Terms of the letters of Horning, that all such benorth the Water of Dundee, shall have forty days for finding the said Caution: And all those on this side shall have twenty days, excepting such as are within six miles of Edinburgh; and they are assured of an reasonable agreement with the masters, If otherwise, this shall be a sufficient Advertisement to them, and an Exoneration for the Masters to put the Law to execution against them, conform to the Gift and Letters of Horning, in all points.

This advertisement, written by the Masters of the Revels, reminds the Scots of the privileges and responsibilities granted to them by the king’s authority. It suggests a failure on the part of Scottish practitioners to comply with the masters of the revels and announces the masters’ right to demand payment as part of their office. Resistance to the masters in Scotland, like in Ireland, stemmed from the position’s usurpation of local authority. Terence Tobin argues that the power to license entertainments “had belonged to the Town Council, which considered the wide powers of the Masters,” he quotes from the Edinburgh Council Records, ““verry hurtfull and

prejudicial to the priviledges of the good toun’’ (66). Charles II chose to centralize power over the theatre through an exertion of his monarchical authority, based in London, which chaffed with local authorities in Dublin and Edinburgh.

By authorizing theatrical activity in each major city, Charles II created competition between the companies, which showed the cracks in theatrical union that also challenged British union. Most theatre histories focus on the trend of actors and playwrights from Ireland and Scotland relocating to the London stage to make careers for themselves.⁷⁴ As I discussed in the first case-study, however, London-based actors also used Dublin and Edinburgh theatres as leverage, which bred resentment in the London companies and presents a different picture of the other viable British theatrical markets in the Restoration, made possible, I argue, by Charles II’s efforts to centralize and unify theatrical practice. John Dryden’s prologue, written for the Duke’s Men’s performance in Oxford, criticized company members for performing in Edinburgh during James Duke of York’s exile. The prologue also disparaged the Irish company, Smock Alley, who not only had their own patent theatre in Dublin, but also managed to tour to Oxford for performance; I will return to Dryden’s prologue in my discussion of Tate’s *Lear*.

William Davenant wished to build a theatre in Dublin perhaps because he recognized the financial potential of performing in both cities. Not only did Davenant miss out on this opportunity, but his company and Killigrew’s lost actors to Dublin over the course of the period. In their notes to Downes’ *Roscius Anglicanus*, Milhous and Hume relate the controversy over actor John Richards. Richards was a member of Davenant’s Duke’s Men, but he defected to Ogilby’s company in 1662. Milhous and Hume report “On 6 August 1662 Lord Chamberlain Manchester complained to the Irish authorities that Ogilby had enticed Richards to Dublin and

⁷⁴ See Adrienne Scullion’s “Forget Scotland”: Plays by Scots on the London stage, 1667-1715.” *Comparative Drama* 31:1, 1997: 105-128 and John Jackson’s *The History of the Scottish Stage*.

asked that he be compelled to return. There is no definitive evidence that he did so until 1676, after which he performed regularly until he went back to Dublin ca. 1683-84” (47 note 115). It is unclear if the Lord Chamberlain possessed the authority to recall Richards, which demonstrates Ogilby’s power as Irish master of the revels and patentee. Killigrew also lost actors to another British theatre, Edinburgh’s Tennis Court Theatre. In 1679, when the King’s Men was on the brink of extinction, three company members, James Gray, Cardell Goodman, and Thomas Clarke, traveled to Edinburgh where James, Duke of York was taking up residence during the Exclusion Crisis. Killigrew lured them back, promising that “all discords were reconciled” (qtd in Hotson 262). When they returned, however, the King’s Men remained poorly managed and financially strained. It soon fell to the Duke’s Men and the two become the United Company. The formation of the United Company led certain actors, like John Richards, to seek out opportunities in Dublin and Edinburgh. Through his efforts to incorporate Britain’s theatres under his monarchy, Charles II helped to legitimize theatre in Dublin and Edinburgh, which created competition for the London stages.

3.3 RESTORING THE THEATRE BY ADAPTING HISTORY

To restore theatrical activity, theatre artists in Dublin, Edinburgh, and London began by staging and adapting older plays from England’s theatrical history, a trend established by their pre-Commonwealth predecessors. These older plays were categorized in the English Master of the Revels’s ledger as “Revived plays” or “Re. plays” for short (Adams 138; Bawcutt 284). Alan Farmer and Zachary Lesser argue in “Canons and Classics” that, based on publishing records, a “classical” canon consisting of plays from the “Golden Age” of 1590-1610 formed in Charles I’s

England alongside a voracious market for new plays; Shakespeare “wrote more than a quarter of these plays, above all other playwrights” (31). The authors argue that these two categories of plays “helped to determine which plays from the Renaissance stage would survive into later generations and which would be forgotten” (35). The “Golden Age” canon that persisted in the Restoration was determined by a shift in the trend away from “favorite *titles* toward favorite *authors*,” among them Beaumont and Fletcher, Jonson, and Shakespeare, though Farmer and Lesser recognize that even Caroline “publishers and readers favored Shakespeare” (36).

Restaging “Re plays” was a performance practice the Restoration theatre artists shared with the pre-Commonwealth theatre. Though new playwrights, both male and female, wrote their way onto the stage and new plays eventually thrived in performance and in print, the repertoire of the Restoration initially consisted of late sixteenth and early to mid-seventeenth century plays, which continued to be revived and reconceived throughout the period.⁷⁵ The work of Beaumont and Fletcher, Jonson, and Shakespeare appeared in original and altered forms on London stages and in Dublin and Edinburgh as well. Dublin’s Smock Alley Theatre performed a considerable amount of “classics,” including Shakespeare. Of the thirty-five known plays staged at Smock Alley, only eleven were entirely new plays (Tuite Appendix 4 197-198). We know far less about the repertoire of the Edinburgh, but of the six plays we can say for certain were performed there, two were “classics” by Jonson and Shakespeare.⁷⁶

In the case of Shakespeare, theatre artists adapted Shakespeare’s plays that were popular in pre-Commonwealth England. Michael Dobson states that, before the civil wars, five of Shakespeare’s plays were still being produced in London: *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *Julius Caesar*, *The*

⁷⁵ It also behooved companies to produce “Revived plays” because their licensing fee was cheaper (Adams 138).

⁷⁶ We know that during the Restoration, the following plays were staged in Edinburgh: Dryden’s *The Indian Queen*, Nathaniel Lee’s *Mithridates*, Thomas Sydeserf’s *Tarugo’s Wiles*, *Macbeth*, Jonson’s *Epicoene*, and *Sir Solomon Single*.

Merry Wives of Windsor, and *I Henry IV*” (2). Restoration theatres produced plays “which had been popular in royal circles when the Caroline theatres closed in 1640” (25). Killigrew’s King’s Men was granted the majority of the “popular” Shakespeare plays: *Othello*, *Julius Caesar*, *Merry Wives*, *Henry IV Parts 1 and 2*, *Midsummer*, and *The Merchant of Venice*, all of which the company produced except *Merchant*. Davenant secured *Hamlet* and *Lear* and the company produced them both in the period. Dublin’s Smock Alley company produced all of the “popular” plays, but *Merchant*. In terms of print, Farmer and Lesser find that thirty-eight plays were printed in their third edition or higher between 1626 and 1641; they determined that third editions and beyond indicated popularity. Of those thirty-eight, nine were Shakespeare’s (31-32). Certain plays that were popular in performance were also popular in print. *I Henry IV* went through between eight and nine editions, *Hamlet* five editions, and *Merry Wives* three.⁷⁷ Gary Taylor cites *The Merchant of Venice*, *Othello*, and *King Lear* as the only three Shakespeare plays reprinted in the Commonwealth years; *Othello* and *King Lear* were produced in London and Dublin in the Restoration (10). *Hamlet*, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, and *Henry IV* appeared in performance in the adapted form of drolls during the interregnum, which were shorter than plays and comprised of selected material from the stage; all three plays were performed, either in “original” or adapted form in Restoration London and Dublin (Taylor, G 11, Bradley 35).⁷⁸

In both London companies, Shakespeare’s plays were adapted more often than they were staged in their “original” form. Based on the available information, The Duke’s Men (and later the United Company) produced nine adaptations and five “original” productions; *Romeo and*

⁷⁷ *Richard III* between seven and eight editions, *Richard II* six editions, *R&J* five editions, *Pericles* between four and five editions, *Shrew* four editions, and *Merchant* three editions. I should note that all of the plays reprinted between 1626 and 1641, with the exception of *The Merchant of Venice*, were performed, in some fashion, during the Restoration.

⁷⁸ Gary Taylor’s primary source for this information is Henry Marsh, ed., *The Wits, or, Sport upon Sport* (1662). For more information on drolls, see R.A. Foakes, *Illustrations of the English Stage* and Dale Randall’s *Winter Fruit*.

Juliet and *King Lear* were produced both ways. *Lear* and *Hamlet*, the two “popular” plays the company received, were given “original” productions. The King’s Men staged three to four “original” productions⁷⁹ and eight adaptations. Three of their “original” productions were of the “popular” plays: *Othello*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Merry Wives*. Restoration theatre artists adapted or “made fit” Shakespeare’s plays for their stage in a variety of ways. Restoration productions ranged from staging the “original” with dances between acts (*Hamlet*) to rewriting the play so much that it was barely recognizable as Shakespeare’s. Some mixed and matched Shakespeare’s plays (Davenant’s *Law Against Lovers*). Davenant added music, turning *Macbeth* and *The Tempest* into “operas.” Many adaptations either conflated characters or expanded or added characters, particularly female characters to take advantage of the novelty of the actress. Most took the plot and made the text prose. Smock Alley worked from the Folio⁸⁰ while also sometimes incorporating bits and pieces of Restoration adaptations. Its *Macbeth*, which I will discuss, is an example of this approach. Restoration theatre artists variously “improved” Shakespeare’s plays, “pruned” them, “altered them,” “added” to them.

By staging and adapting pre-Commonwealth plays, and specifically Shakespeare’s, Restoration theatres restored the English theatrical tradition silenced by the Interregnum. Following Charles II’s agenda, theatre artists remembered their past theatrical traditions and restored the connections between Shakespeare and their contemporary theatre. Killigrew adopted the name The King’s Men, a company that had its origins in the reign of James I who served as its patron. Shakespeare was a shareholder in the King’s Men and by taking the company’s name, Killigrew advertised the history, endurance, and royal favor of the company and its playwright.

⁷⁹ It’s unclear if the company staged *Shrew* unadapted or not in the early 1660s before Lacy’s *Sauny the Scot*.

⁸⁰ The First Folio was published in 1623, the second in 1632, the third and fourth in 1663 and 1664, and the fifth in 1685.

Davenant, too, recognized an importance in articulating his, and by extension his company's, connection to Shakespeare. In addition to claims that Shakespeare was his illegitimate father, Davenant traced the origins of his company's acting style back to Shakespeare himself, which John Downes documented in his discussion of the role of Hamlet in *Roscius Anglicanus*. Michael Dobson argues that the Shakespearean adaptations of the Restoration contributed to the reactionary establishment of a "true," authentic Shakespeare and the canonization of his plays in the mid-eighteenth century. Through their remembrance of Shakespeare, however, Restoration theatre artists also remembered Britain's fractured past that the king bid them to forget. Through their connection to Shakespeare and the adaptation of his plays, Restoration theatre artists crystallized the origins of English theatre, which remembered the tensions and disunity of Britain's past.

Both Killigrew and Davenant made concerted efforts to claim Shakespeare, not only because the playwright was a link to the pre-Commonwealth theatre, but more importantly, because he provided a link to Charles I. In the first case-study, I discussed the theatre's closure and its connections to the Stuart monarchy. Charles I performed in masques, hosted court performances, and patronized companies and playwrights. Gary Taylor further reveals that Charles I took a particular liking to the plays of William Shakespeare. Taylor cites two sources contemporary with the king's beheading that associate Charles I's affinity for Shakespeare's work with his eventual undoing. *Perfect Occurrences of Every Daies iournall in Parliament* attests that "The imprisoned Charles I was indeed perusing Shakespeare's and Jonson's plays in the weeks before his death" (qtd in Taylor 9). John Cook, perhaps picking up on the information in *Perfect Occurrences*, criticized the deceased king for his reading material, suggesting that "had [Charls] but studied Scripture half so much as [he studied] *Ben: Johnson* or *Shakespear*" his

execution might have been unnecessary (qtd in Taylor 9). Taylor argues that the plays of Shakespeare went into relative neglect during the Interregnum and returned in the Restoration because of their connection to the monarchy: “Shakespeare [...], the preferred reading of Charles I, returned from exile with Charles II, like all of the monarchy’s other retainers and favorites” (13). Indeed, even Joseph Taylor, the actor who taught Betterton Hamlet, functioned as a bridge between Shakespeare and Charles I. Before Taylor joined the King’s Men in 1619, he was an actor in the Prince Charles’s Men, the patron company of the future Charles I. According to historian Andrew Gurr, Taylor also enjoyed a good relationship with Charles I’s queen, Henrietta Maria.⁸¹

3.4 ADAPTING “OUR SHAKESPEAR:” SHAKESPEARE AS ENGLISH ORIGIN MYTH

Shakespeare’s Restoration adapters claimed him as their own, which emphasized his Englishness and conflicted with the Stuart project of British unification. In his 1668 essay, *Of Dramatick Poesy*, Dryden considered the literary genealogy of the Restoration stage, analyzing the influence of the ancients (like Horace and Homer) and the playwrights of the early modern stage, namely Ben Jonson, Fletcher, and Shakespeare. What we see in Dryden’s essay and frequently in the prefaces and prologues of the Shakespeare adaptations staged during the Exclusion Crisis is a familiar, possessive, and English claim laid to Shakespeare by his adapters. In *Dramatick Poesy*, Dryden referred to Shakespeare as “our *Shakespear*” and later as “the Homer, or Father of our

⁸¹ Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage*, 80, 111.

Dramatick Poets” (48, 50). In the preface to his 1679 adaptation of *Troilus and Cressida*, Dryden again used “our *Shakespear*” and Betterton performed the prologue in the character of Shakespeare’s ghost. In the prologue to Thomas Otway’s *The History and Fall of Caius Marius*, an adaptation of *Romeo and Juliet*, again spoken by Betterton, the playwright used “our *Shakepear*.”

Both Dryden and Otway positioned Shakespeare as a literary ancestor and themselves as his successors. Betterton as Shakespeare in Dryden’s prologue asked “where are the Successors to my name? What bring they to fill out a Poets fame?” and then criticized the dramatic offerings of the period as “weak” and “dull.” Otway used his prologue to cast Restoration playwrights as outright thieves who owed Shakespeare not only for his plays, which they pillaged, but also for the privilege of the profession of playwright, which Shakespeare established: “And from the Crop of his luxuriant Pen/E’re since succeeding Poets humbly glean/[...]Our this-day's Poet fears h' has done him wrong/Like greedy Beggars that steal Sheaves away/You'll find h' has rifled him of half a Play.” Shakespeare’s Restoration adapters wrote themselves into a constructed English theatrical history, started by Shakespeare and carried on, for better or for worse, by his adapters.

The crafting and claiming of “*Our Shakespear*” by playwrights through adaptation emerged in the Restoration I argue as what Joseph Roach calls “performances of origin.” Roach defines performances of origin as “the reenactment of foundational myths” (42). These myths typically manifest in two categories: diasporic and autochthonous. In the Restoration period, Roach identifies tensions between the diasporic foundation myth of the Trojan settlement of Britain and the autochthonous myth of the influence of the Germanic Saxons on Britain’s origins. Roach calls Britain’s search for its origins “one of the great historical projects of the

century” (108).⁸² Britain’s interest in origins and its performances of origin were stimulated by the surrogation of Charles II. For Roach, “A crisis of royal succession is perforce a crisis of cultural surrogation, necessarily rich in performative occasions and allegories of origin [...]” (44). Shakespeare’s *Othello* was one of the first plays performed in the Restoration and theatre artists continued to stage and adapt his work throughout the period. In the early years of the Restoration, playwrights reached back to older plays in order to repair the rupture experienced by the theatre during the Interregnum. In their reaching and restoration, playwrights found Shakespeare, whom they turned into an English origin. Playwrights were also drawn to Shakespeare during the Exclusion Crisis (1678-1682), a period in which the stability of the Stuart monarchy was uncertain. Michael Dobson, whose project traces the canonization of Shakespeare as England’s national poet from the Restoration through the eighteenth century, locates a definitive turn towards the works of Shakespeare during the Exclusion Crisis: “[Of] the nine alterations produced during the Exclusion Crisis only three do not explicitly and extensively advertise themselves as derived from Shakespearean originals. The accession of Shakespeare to full authorial status gathers fresh momentum here” (62). Playwrights looked to Shakespeare during crises of surrogation and found within him an appealing origin, which, in turn, served to solidify the growing myth of English Shakespeare.

Restoration theatre artists adopted Shakespeare as the origin of the English theatre and used his persona and plays to suture England’s recent history, creating a false continuity of theatre history. Theatre artists, namely John Dryden, furthermore inserted Shakespeare into Britain’s diasporic origins, fashioning Shakespeare as the “Homer” of the English stage. Though Shakespeare was performed throughout Britain, English Restoration playwrights advanced a

⁸² Actor-manager Thomas Betterton owned many history books in his library, including all of the “principal works” on Britain’s origins (Roach 107).

specifically English narrative for *their* Shakespeare, adapting the playwright as an exclusionary origin, which demonstrates English anxiety about being lost amid the struggling British union.

Restoration theatre artists in London reanimated Shakespeare through adaptation and crafted Shakespeare as an origin myth for the English theatre. The playwrights of the London stage saw themselves as Shakespeare's successors and used possessive language to identify him as the father of their profession whose style was indicative of natural, native England. Jean Marsden argues that in the Restoration "Shakespeare represented a distinctly English mode" characterized by his "native genius" and his command of nature (50; 52). Shakespeare was often contrasted with Ben Jonson and Beaumont and Fletcher, influential figures in the Restoration. While Jonson was identified by his wit and classical education in Greek and Latin, Shakespeare was lauded for his native education and his poetic soul.⁸³ In *Dramatick Poesy*, John Dryden contended "All the Images of Nature were still present to him" and smoothly incorporated in his work. His comparative lack of classical education aided in his understanding and deployment of nature in his plays: "he was naturally learn'd; he needed not the spectacles of Books to read Nature; he look'd inwards, and found her there" (47). Elsewhere Dryden equated Shakespeare's "natural" learning and style with his Englishness. Betterton as Shakespeare, in the prologue to *Troilus and Cressida*, when discussing his education, proudly proclaimed "On foreign trade I needed not rely/Like fruitfull Britain, rich without supply." Shakespeare's Restoration adapters' myth of Shakespeare as the father of the English theatre relied on adaptive history, not unlike the false history devised for the role of Hamlet. Even though they were contemporaries, in Dryden's view of the development of English drama, Shakespeare preceded Jonson: Shakespeare was the

⁸³ In G.S.'s 1684 *Anglorum speculum, or The worthies of England, in church and state*, Shakespeare is described as an "English Man of War, less in bulk, but lighter in Sailing" whereas Jonson is a "Spanish Gallion[...]solid, but slow in his performances." He also equates Shakespeare with nature "His Learning being very little, Nature seems to have practiced her best Rules in his production" (823).

Homer and Jonson the Virgil (*Poesy* 50).⁸⁴ In Dryden's prologue to *The Tempest* (1674), an adaptation he co-authored with William Davenant, he provides a lineage of playwriting: "Shakespeare, who (taught by none) did first impart/To Fletcher Wit, to labouring Jonson Art."

Restoration playwrights used Shakespeare to create an origin for the English theatre and to characterize a distinctly native English style. By using him as an origin, the playwrights endowed him with originary status and began the process of authenticity that led to Shakespeare's canonization in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Roach observes that, through surrogation, "narratives of authenticity [...] congeal into full-blown myths of legitimacy and origin" (3). Shakespeare's adapters, by citing his "nature" and his "native" Englishness, created it through their citation. W.B. Worthen, expounding on Roach, situates this effect of surrogation within the dynamic of text and performance. Worthen suggests that "surrogation involves not the replaying of an authorizing text, a grounding origin, but the potential to construct that origin as a rhetorically powerful effect of performance" (1101). Through their authenticating performances of Shakespeare, Restoration theatre artists created an origin for Shakespeare that was decidedly English.

English anxieties about the impact of British union on English culture manifested in the three Shakespeare adaptations in three distinct ways. William Davenant adapted Shakespeare's *Macbeth* to dramatize the English power behind Britain and to Anglicize the Scottish Stuarts. John Lacy used Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* to criticize England's failure to tame the Scottish Covenanters, whose rebellion threatened England. Irish-born Nahum Tate took ownership over Shakespeare, like his English contemporaries, and adapted *Lear* to argue that

⁸⁴ The anonymous author of the 1673 *Raillerie a la Mode; or, The Supercilious Detractor* accuses Dryden of "abusing his Grandshire Shakespeare, and Father Ben" (26).

England's suspicions and micromanagement of Ireland weakened both individually and them both together as the kingdoms of Britain.

3.4.1 “When shall we three meet again?:” *Macbeth* onstage in Restoration Dublin, Edinburgh, and London

Restoration theatre artists in Dublin, Edinburgh, and London produced Shakespeare's *Macbeth* in original and adapted forms. They turned to *Macbeth*, a play written by Shakespeare in the early years of British union, throughout the Restoration period to dramatize the punishment of usurpation and the reestablishment of rightful monarchy. What each production reveals, however, is the instability of restoration and the divided loyalties between British union and the interests of the individual kingdoms. William Davenant's adaptation of *Macbeth* was performed repeatedly in London to reaffirm British monarchy and England's superior role within the union, specifically in moments when Ireland and Scotland threatened England and the stability of the British union. Edinburgh most likely staged Davenant's adaptation as well to perform loyalty to England and union in the face of Scottish rebellion against the crown. Dublin staged its own amalgamated adaptation of Shakespeare and Davenant, working directly with the folio text, which demonstrated their theatrical independence from England. Smock Alley created a *Macbeth* born out of the violence experienced by Ireland under Cromwell's "usurpation" and the kingdom's continued vulnerability in the unequal British union. First, I will lay out the association of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* with the Stuarts and their British project and then I will discuss Restoration iterations in London, Edinburgh, and Dublin.

When James I inherited the dual thrones of England and Scotland in 1603, he viewed himself as the means by which God restored the fractured ancient Britain to its intended

wholeness. In his first speech delivered to the English Parliament in March 1603, James recalled the histories of England and Scotland, both recent and mythic, to not only affirm his claim to the thrones, but further, to position himself as the healer of a broken kingdom. He traced his descent from Henry VII, the king responsible for ending the War of the Roses and establishing an alliance between England and Scotland through the marriage of his daughter, Margaret, to James IV of Scotland. James I possessed within him a united England, no longer wracked by civil war, and a united Britain, an island naturally made one by God in its creation, united again in one king. A year into his reign, James I continued his mission to unite Scotland and England. In October 1604, he made a proclamation regarding the name of Britain. Having reinforced his argument about the advantageous, natural, and divinely-desired union between England and Scotland, the king expressed his intention for the two to be united under one name. He stated

We thinke it unreasonable, that the thing, which is by the worke of God and Nature so much in effect one, should not be one in name...Wherefore we have thought good to discontinue the divided names of England and Scotland out of our Regall Stile, and doe intend and resolve to take and assume unto Us in maner and forme hereafter expressed, The Name and Stile of KING OF GREAT BRITTAINE (“Proclamation” 96).

In doing so, James I attempted to revive a name first introduced in the time of Henry VIII. Throughout his reign, James I worked to unite Scotland and England as Britain whereas Ireland was a conquered kingdom. James I fashioned himself as husband to one wife, Britain: “I am the Husband, and all the whole Isle is my lawfull Wife” (“Speech” 136). James’s usage of Britain reflected its ancient meaning and referred specifically to England and Scotland. At the time of James I’s ascension, England and Scotland held separate crowns. Their union entailed only shared allegiance to the same king. Over the course of the seventeenth century, England

extended its control over Scotland until finally, through the Union of Crowns in 1707, Scotland enfolded itself completely into England, giving up its separate line of monarchs and its independent Parliament. Unlike Scotland, Ireland was a subjugated kingdom of England, newly re-conquered in the Nine Year's War (1594-1603).⁸⁵ The Irish surrendered on 30 March 1603, six days after the death of Elizabeth I, leaving James I to inherit a vanquished Ireland. If Scotland and England were James I's wife, one might envision Ireland as his concubine. Under James I, Ireland was Britain's spoils.⁸⁶

Shakespeare's *Macbeth* presents a Scotland in need of England's saving, a power relationship which led to the anglicization of Scotland. Malcolm twice refers to England as "gracious" for its support of military aid and laments that his own kingdom fails to offer aid, whilst "from gracious England have I offer of goodly thousands" (Act 4, scene 3 146). Shakespeare portrays aid from England in a positive light where historically, Edward I made strategic interventions not for Scotland's sake, but for England's: "Since the reign of Edward I the English Crown had pursued risky and expensive military operations in Scotland because diplomacy designed to preserve English security had to be backed with the threat of violence" (Fissel 2). The Scotland of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* is wracked with unrest, both civil and foreign. The play opens with a discussion of Macdownald who led a "foreign" attack against Scotland backed by combined forces "from the Western Isles of Kernes and Gallowgrosses" and Norwegians (121). Kernes⁸⁷ were Irish foot soldiers and gallowglasses⁸⁸ were mercenary

⁸⁵ England conquered Ireland in the twelfth century. Ireland went mostly ignored until the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when England tried to reestablish its dominance. England finally reconquered Ireland in the Nine Year's War. Ireland remained a subjugated kingdom of England until The Act of Union in 1801 when England, Scotland, and Ireland became one kingdom.

⁸⁶ In 1608, James established a plantation in Ulster, the northern county of Ireland, and repopulated it with English and Scottish planters.

⁸⁷ "A light-armed Irish foot-soldier (cf. quot. c1600); one of the poorer class among the 'wild Irish', from whom such soldiers were drawn (OED).

soldiers employed by Irish chieftains. The play then swiftly transitions into a discussion of the treason of the Thane of Cawdor, who conspired with Norway against Scotland.⁸⁹ Malcolm ultimately regains his throne and settles his kingdom only with assistance from English forces. *Macbeth* ends with Malcolm's decree that the English title of earl will replace the Scottish thane. Malcolm's use of earl speaks to the growing anglicization of Scotland through the Irish and Scottish adoption of English titles characteristic of the historical moment (Fowler 79).

Though Shakespeare presents the anglicization of Scotland as a positive influence on Scotland, the play may indicate doubts about the advantage of the union for England. Claire McEachern's provocative analysis of the play suggests that, through the character of Macbeth, Shakespeare dramatized the loss of an individual English identity amid the British union: in the death of a Scottish patriot, Shakespeare forces us to feel the loss of a thoroughly English nation" (106). *Macbeth* dramatizes the anglicization of Scotland and its impact on both England and Scotland.

Though *Macbeth* may contain doubts about British union, Shakespeare purposely praises England for its Scottish interventions in honor of the king, his theatrical patron, who held both thrones. The scholarship has long argued for the play's direct association with James I. Henry Paul, Rebecca Lemon, and Alvin Kernan argue in their respective work that *Macbeth* was first performed at court in August 1606 to honor the visit of Queen Anne's brother, King Christian. Through *Macbeth*, Shakespeare displayed James I's mythic lineage. James I made concerted efforts to articulate his legitimate claims to both thrones. Two days after his succession, James

⁸⁸ From the Irish and Gaelic for "foreign warrior." "One of a particular class of soldiers or retainers formerly maintained by Irish chiefs" (OED).

⁸⁹ The unrest of Scotland in *Macbeth* echoes the difficulties of reigning over the multiple monarchy of Britain. Given the British context of Shakespeare's time and James I's reign, "it is hard," as Andrew Hatfield suggests, "not to read the play, if it has any topical relevance at all, like *King Lear*, as a reflection of the dangers of governing the British Isles as a 'multiple kingdom.'" (63).

I's family tree was published; it depicted the king's descent from Eadgar, "King of all Britain," and a long line of Scottish kings (Travers 12). Hector Boece's 1527 *History of the Scottish People*, one of Holinshed's sources, produced a family tree that linked James I to Banquo. One might look at Shakespeare's *Macbeth* as a dramatization of the mythic Stuart family tree. I am referring specifically to the scene depicting Banquo in the line of eight kings in which James I is the ninth. Shakespeare selectively used his source text, Holinshed's *Chronicles*, to reinforce the Stuart myth. The historical Macbeth reigned for almost seventeen years and had a claim to kingship as a relation of Duncan; Banquo was a co-conspirator. Shakespeare chose instead to portray Macbeth as a usurping tyrant and Banquo, James I's ancestor, as an innocent.

Shakespeare chose to recount the relationship between Malcolm and England in a positive light, which reverberated with other tracts of the period written to authenticate James I's royal British lineage. In Sir George Buc's 1605 *Daphnis Polystephanos*, he traces James I's claim to the dual thrones of England and Scotland and locates the origins of British union in the reign of *Macbeth's* Malcolm. Malcolm's marriage to the Saxon Margaret began the work of union made explicit in the marriage of Margaret Tudor and Scotland's Henry IV. Buc prefaces his panegyric with an elaborate family tree of Britain that culminates in the accession of James I to both crowns. At the time Shakespeare wrote *Macbeth*, there were dual attempts under James I to legitimate the line of Scottish monarchs and emphasize James's Anglicized claim to the throne. *Macbeth* attempted both.

On the public stage, Shakespeare's *Macbeth* bolstered support for James I and punishment of treason in response to the 1605 Gunpowder Plot. The King's Men staged it in the public theatre just one year after Guy Fawkes and his Gunpowder plotters threatened to take out the king and Westminster Hall. The thirteen co-conspirators schemed to blow up Westminster

Hall and institute Catholicism in England. Scholars interpret the Porter's wordplay about equivocation as a reference to one of the executed plotters, Father Henry Garnet.⁹⁰ *Macbeth* is a play that punishes traitorous usurpers. Just like the Englishmen publicly executed for their involvement in the Gunpowder Plot in late January 1606, the Scottish Macbeth and the first Thane of Cawdor were executed onstage for their treason against Scotland. The anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot was commemorated yearly in all three kingdoms lest the treachery of treason be forgotten. The cultural imperative to remember was set to rhyme: "Remember, remember the fifth of November, Gunpowder, Treason and Plot; I see no reason why Gunpowder Treason should ever be forgot" (Cressy 68).⁹¹ Shakespeare's *Macbeth* participated in the commemoration of the monarchy's victory over the failed Gunpowder Plot.

Shakespeare's *Macbeth* upheld the mythology and right of James I's monarchy and dramatized the anglicization of Scotland that resulted from British union. Restoration theatre artists in Dublin, Edinburgh, and London returned to the play in the reign of Charles II and their distinct adaptations betray similar tensions surrounding identity within British union. *Macbeth* is the only Shakespeare play we can currently say with certainty was staged, in some form, in all three kingdoms in the Restoration period. William Davenant adapted *Macbeth* to reaffirm the anglicization of Scotland and England's superiority in the British union. Theatre artists in London repeatedly staged *Macbeth* in moments when British union was under threat, attempting to theatrically restore Britain's cracks through strategic pardon and punishment. Productions of *Macbeth* in Ireland and Scotland, most likely amalgamations of Davenant's adaptation and the Shakespearean source text, demonstrate each kingdom's relationship to English power. Scotland

⁹⁰ See p.27 in Rebecca Lemon's "Scaffolds of Treason in 'Macbeth'" as just one of many sources for this reference.

⁹¹ What is particularly interesting about the rhyme is that, in the various sources I consulted that reference, none seem to identify the date of the rhyme's origination. Instead scholars frame it as something "everyone raised in England knows" (Cressy 68). This attests to the memorial effectiveness of the commemoration.

used *Macbeth* to dramatize loyalty and its interest in union, while Ireland's production projected the kingdom's suffering under British union as forgotten, and in some cases, perpetuated by England.

Theatre manager and playwright William Davenant adapted Shakespeare's *Macbeth* in 1664 to repair British union through pardon and punishment and the exultation of England's leadership role in union. Davenant's *Macbeth* celebrated the restoration of the Stuart monarchy and the death of the usurper, which he achieved through the selective remembering and forgetting of the kingdoms' recent history. Davenant remembered the treachery of Cromwell and the regicides through the characterization of Macbeth, but he cut the staging of Macbeth's severed head. The royalist Davenant did not risk recalling the beheading of Charles I through the severed head of Macbeth. Some suggest that this was a result of Restoration stage decorum, but I wish to consider it alongside his other "improvements" to the play, particularly Macduff's contemplation of regicide and the repentance of Lady Macbeth. Davenant's *Macbeth* undertook Charles II's agenda of pardon and punishment, which attempted to exact a balance of remembering and forgetting. While Charles II reinforced the punishment of traitors, he also had an interest in advancing pardon and oblivion through his Act of Indemnity and Oblivion. Charles II instituted pardon and punishment to reunite the broken British kingdom, restore the severed Stuart line, and "undo" the reign of Cromwell. While Cromwell's severed head sat on a spike atop Westminster Hall, Charles II did advocate pardon and the forgetting of offenses against the monarch from 1637 through his restoration. Davenant reshaped Shakespeare's Macduff and Lady Macbeth to reflect the kingdoms' need for pardon.

In his adaptation, Davenant sympathetically portrayed Macduff's contemplation of regicide and allowed Shakespeare's Lady Macbeth to repent her treason. Macduff and Lady

Macduff discuss the temptation of usurpation, which may or may not originate from ill intentions. Macduff asks “What if I shou’d: Assume the Scepter for my Countrey’s good?” (32). Macduff defeats Macbeth, but in doing so, he kills a king. Davenant seemed invested in the redemption of Macduff in a way that Shakespeare was not. Davenant juxtaposed Macduff’s brush with ambition with Macbeth’s irredeemability, emphasized by Lady Macbeth’s acknowledgement and repentance of the usurpation. She urges Macbeth “Resign your Kingdom now,/And with your Crown put off your guilt” (53-54). Macbeth’s refusal solidifies his fate. Macduff, the king killer, however, gets reprieved. Davenant’s *Macbeth* used Shakespeare’s play to decipher who benefits from indemnity and oblivion and who does not.

In addition to dramatizing pardon and punishment, Davenant’s adaptation pointed up the praise of England present in Shakespeare’s *Macbeth* to emphasize the relevance of the play to England and England’s superior role in British union. To begin, Davenant preceded his published play (1674) with an argument that paralleled *Macbeth* with contemporary England. Unlike Shakespeare who cut Macbeth’s reign short, Davenant stated that the usurper reigned for eighteen years. Macbeth’s reign approximates the length of civil war and interregnum and exactly remembers the length of the theatre’s closure from 1642 to 1660. Macbeth “tyrannized” Scotland until his defeat at the hands of Macduff and Malcolm who were assisted by the English. Shakespeare’s Malcolm referred to England as “gracious.” In the adaptation, penned by cavalier Davenant, Malcolm issued high praise for England. In front of his men, Malcolm states “How much we are Oblig’d to England, Which like a kind Neighbour Lift’s us up when we were Fall’n below Our own recovery” (60).⁹² The praise of England continues in Davenant’s adaptation through the reunion of the three kingdoms made possible by England’s support of Scotland. In

⁹² This line does not appear in the Smock Alley prompt-book.

Shakespeare, Donalbain flees to Ireland and Fleance, Banquo's son, escapes to France. Neither character returns. Davenant, however, reintegrates Donalbain and Fleance⁹³ before the final battle, dramatizing the complete union of the British king's four kingdoms.⁹⁴ Donalbain returns because he reassured by England's support: "Hearing of aid sent by the English King/To check the Tirants Insolence; I am come From *Ireland*" (57). He also recognizes that his "Interest is Grafted into" his brother Malcolm's "And cannot Grow without it (58). In Davenant's adaptation, England's power unites the three kingdoms to save them from tyranny.

The premiere of Davenant's *Macbeth* remembered the Stuart monarchy's defeat of the Gunpowder Plot in order to play up the restoration of Charles II. According to the *London Stage*, Davenant's production premiered on 5 November 1664, the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot, at the Duke's Theatre, Lincoln's Inn Fields. Davenant chose to commemorate the English-born treasonous plot with an adaptation that displayed England's greatness and reclaimed Guy Fawkes Day for the royalists. During the revolution and the civil wars, the Parliamentarians "captured" November 5 to promote their cause, but in the Restoration "the Fifth was recaptured by the royalists, and 5 November sermons now argued that the great providence of the return of Charles Stuart in May 1660 was a deliverance on par with the frustrating of Gunpowder Treason" (Sharpe 92-93).⁹⁵ Davenant's adaptation, though generous in its pardon, also celebrated the punishment of traitors by recalling the treasonous Gunpowder Plotters.

Though Davenant's *Macbeth* endorsed Charles II's agenda of pardon and punishment, the recurrent stagings of the play throughout the Restoration remembered more than they forgot.

⁹³ Bringing Donalbain and Fleance (Flean in Davenant) also speaks to the typing up of loose ends demanded by neoclassicism. Further inquiry should made, however, into the relationship between the tidiness of neoclassicism and the need to project unity and completeness in the Restoration.

⁹⁴ France remained part of the Stuart kings' titles despite its independence.

⁹⁵ "A true and perfect relation of that most horrid & hellish conspiracy of the gunpowder treason," originally printed in 1605/1606 was republished in London in 1662.

Charles II pardoned most activity against the monarchy from 1637 through 1660 and struck it into oblivion. While Davenant's adaptation portrayed pardon, it also remembered usurpation and treason. Furthermore, the frequency and particular circumstances of the play's production reveal the lasting memory of past rebellion and the continued instability of British union. Davenant's adaptation was performed at least fifteen times during the reign of Charles II, making it, based on the known information, one of the most produced Shakespeare adaptation in London.⁹⁶ When *Macbeth* premiered in November 1664, it recalled English treason thereby violating the three-year window of oblivion stipulated in Charles II's Indemnity and Oblivion. *Macbeth* played again at the Duke's Theatre on 17 and 28 Dec 1666, the same month as the execution of the Scottish Covenanters involved in the Pentland Uprising. The rebels were executed in Edinburgh on 7 Dec 1666. The Covenanters were supposedly plunged into oblivion, but they refused to give up their cause. While Davenant's *Macbeth* celebrates the quieting of rebellion, it also remembers rebellion, past and present, in Scotland, which the Covenanters represented historically and in the contemporary moment of 1666. The Duke's Company then staged *Macbeth* twice (1680 and 1682) during the years of the Exclusion Crisis and the Popish Plot, using Shakespeare to reassure rightful succession and a united British kingdom when both were threatened by political and religious factionalism. Throughout the Restoration, the repeated performance of Davenant's *Macbeth* expressed the inability to forget past rebellion and disunity without remembering it.

Edinburgh most likely staged Davenant's adaptation of *Macbeth*. The play was staged in Edinburgh on 9 March 1672. That is the complete known historical record of the performance.

The Account Book of Sir John Foulis of Ravelston, edited by A.W. Cornelius Hallen, is the only

⁹⁶ 1664 (performed on November 5th-Guy Fawkes Day), 1666 (Dec. 17th & Dec. 28th), 1667 (performed on January 7th, April 19th, November 6th), 1668 (August 12th and Dec. 21st), 1669 (January 15th), 1670 (November 5th), 1675 (August 28th), 1676 (Oct 2 and Oct 18th), 1680 (June 2), 1682 (February 16th), 1686 (February 8th) (Listed in Dobson's *Making of a National Poet*).

source for the production. On 9 March 1672, Foulis logged a payment for himself, his wife, and someone named Cristian “to see M^cBeth acted” (3). It is unclear if the Scottish players performed Davenant’s adaptation or an amalgamation of Shakespeare’s text and Davenant’s like Smock Alley. The surrounding evidence suggests that Scottish theatre artists were aware of Davenant’s adaptation. Elsewhere in his accounts for 1672, Foulis attended a performance of “Sir Solomon” on 21 December. *The London Stage* records performances of *Sir Solomon Single; or the Cautious Coxcomb* by John Caryl in London in 1671. This suggests that theatre circulated in Edinburgh and Edinburgh theatre artists would likely have been exposed to Davenant’s *Macbeth*. Further evidence for this claim are the London and Edinburgh productions of Scots playwright and theatre manager Thomas Sydeserf’s play *Tarugo’s Wiles* and the creation of the first Scottish Masters of Revels. *Tarugo’s Wiles* premiered in London in 5 October 1667 and in Edinburgh in 1668. Davenant’s *Macbeth* was onstage in London in October 1667 and it’s conceivable that Scots travelled to London to see *Tarugo’s Wiles* and saw *Macbeth* as well, perhaps even the gentlemen who became Scotland’s Masters of the Revels. The few other performances cited in Edinburgh during the Restoration suggest that Edinburgh performed the London repertoire and most likely staged Davenant’s adapted version of *Macbeth*.

The known theatrical practices of Restoration Edinburgh suggest the Scottish use of Davenant’s *Macbeth*, but his adaptation’s emphasis on pardon, especially of Macduff, and Anglo-Scottish union provides further evidence. The period between 1638 and 1688 was coined the “Killing Times” in Scotland by Robert Wodrow in his 1721 *The History and Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*. In addition to the Covenanter rebellions of 1666 and 1679, Scottish witch hunts in the early Restoration (1660-1661) ended the lives of “some 600” suspected witches (Hirst 233); witches were often associated with Covenanters because of their shared belief in

covenants.⁹⁷Edinburgh continued to experience the violence and unrest of civil war during the Restoration. The Scottish Covenanters splintered the kingdom as they had in 1638. Furthermore, the rebellion in Restoration Scotland was directly tied to *Macbeth*'s theme of monarchy. The Covenanters withdrew support and allegiance from their monarchs (Charles I and Charles II) when they refused to recognize their religion. In *Restoration Scotland*, Clare Jackson presents a staggering statement that articulates the prevalence of rebellion against the king in Scotland, specifically amongst the nobility: "By 1660, virtually all Scots nobles over the age of forty had taken up arms against the monarch on at least on occasion" (74). *Macbeth* in Edinburgh was staged in the Tennis Court Theatre on the grounds of the king's royal residence, the Palace of Holyrood, and in all likelihood, attended by upper crust Scots who had either resisted the monarchy or were descendant of Scots who resisted. At the time of Edinburgh's staging of *Macbeth*, certain Scots nobles continued to take up arms against the king.

Despite restoration, Edinburgh remained a site of the kinds of violence and rebellion dramatized in *Macbeth*. The Scots, like the English, benefited from the indemnity and oblivion granted by Charles II. In addition to Scotland's need to undo its past and current rebellion against the king, a curious document published in Edinburgh six years after the recorded performance corroborates a Scottish preoccupation with the redemption of king-killers. James Cunningham's 1678 *An essay upon the inscription of Macduff's crosse in Fyfe* argues that the cross was intended as a place of sanctuary and "pardon" for Macduff's ancestors; they came to the site to "Receive an Oblivion, an Indemnitie, a Pardon." Cunningham's translation of the inscription proposes that King Malcolm pardoned Macduff for regicide "To witness [his] kindness" and perhaps his gratitude for the justice of Macduff's particular act. A year later, in 1679, Scottish

⁹⁷ For more information, see Brian Levack's "The Great Scottish Witch Hunt of 1661-1662." *Journal of British Studies* (20:1) 1980, 90-108.

episcopal bishop James Sharp was murdered in Fife's Magus Muir, near St. Andrews.⁹⁸ The evidence indicates that those in Edinburgh were contemplating pardon and punishment like their southern neighbors, which leads me to believe that they staged Davenant's adaptation.

Restoration Scots struggled to reunite their kingdom and its allegiance to Charles II and contemplated total union with England, all of which played out through their staging of *Macbeth*. Edinburgh produced *Macbeth* on palace grounds around the time Charles II initiated discussions in Parliament about the unification of England and Scotland. Talks began in 1669 and continued through 1670. Under James I, England and Scotland united as two kingdoms with a shared monarch. Scotland retained its own parliament, however. Charles II wished to dissolve their parliament and make Scotland a part of England like Ireland, which did not have a separate government. Charles II passed the Supremacy Act of 1669, giving the king total authority over Scottish church and state. The Act of Union between England and Scotland eventually passed in 1707, but English resistance prevented its passing in 1670. Ironically, but unsurprisingly, the prospect of union divided both Scots and English alike; their collaboration, in 1672, seemed lacking in comparison to England's show of support to Scotland in *Macbeth*, a play that both demonstrates the restoration of the Scottish monarchy and England's interest in Scottish rule. England and Scotland struggled to be good neighbors in the Restoration; staging Davenant's *Macbeth* for a royal coterie would suggest a show of support for England from the royal seat in Scotland.

Despite the popularity of Davenant's Anglophile adaptation of *Macbeth*, Smock Alley staged its own amalgamated version of *Macbeth* that demonstrated Ireland's strife under

⁹⁸ Near the site of Macduff's Cross, a gentleman, Sir Robert Balfour of Denmiln, was murdered in a duel by Sir James Makgill of Lindores; the dispute appears to have been over the superiority of the Highlanders. Sir James proceeded to London and received a royal pardon for the murder from Charles II (Leighton et al 178-179).

Cromwell and its continued neglect in the restoration union. Under James I, Ireland was a conquered territory made host to English and Scottish colonialists. During the civil wars, Ireland suffered at the hands of Cromwell. He redistributed the land dispossessing many Irish (specifically Catholics). At the Restoration, Charles II promised land settlement, but the work was slow and many Irish Protestants were leery of Catholics and the potential power the return of land would afford them. Ireland's viceroy, the Duke of Ormonde, attempted to appease both sides and took considerable criticism for it. Though the Irish Parliament met at the beginning of the Restoration (1661-1666), the English Parliament refused to call another one, which stunted much of Ormonde's work. With the hysteria of the Popish Plot, first relayed in 1678, England forced Ireland to devote all its energies to finding the plotters, which left the kingdom vulnerable and governmentally ineffectual. The Smock Alley production of *Macbeth* reflects Ireland's suffering and neglect.

Smock Alley staged Macbeth's severed head as a stand-in for Cromwell's. Blakemore Evans, editor of the promptbook, reduces this move to a comment on the taste of the Dublin audiences were "more Elizabethan than Augustan" for indulging in the "indecorous" display of the usurper's cursed head (7). I would argue, rather, that their taste was Restoration. Macbeth's beheading didn't happen in the London theatre because it happened in London itself. Dublin, which suffered greatly under Cromwell's reign, participated in the beheading of Cromwell through the theatrical beheading of Macbeth. The prompt-book indicates not only the deployment of the severed head, but the emphasis on Macbeth's tyranny. Smock Alley gave Macbeth the character's final line from Davenant's adaptation. "Farewell vain world and that which is most vaine ambition" is handwritten in the script. Underneath it, however, is a line for Macduff that does not appear to come from Davenant or Shakespeare: "Soe may all tyrants fall."

It is perhaps an adaptation of Macduff's lines in the third folio *Macbeth*: "Yield thee Coward,/And live to be the shew and gaze o'th'time./Wee'l have thee, as our Rarer Monsters are/Painted upon a Pole, and under-writ,/Here may you see the Tyrant" (729 emphasis mine). Shakespeare's line and Smock Alley's line are arguably both iterations of what an executioner might declare while holding up an executed head. Through *Macbeth*, Smock Alley experienced the fall of Cromwell and the restoration of monarchy.

Though Smock Alley's *Macbeth* celebrated restoration, it did not engage in the praise of England found in Davenant's adaptation. Rather, Smock Alley performed a king restored while his kingdoms remained scattered, which spoke both to Ireland's status under James I and its relative neglect during the Restoration. While Smock Alley borrowed material from Davenant's adaptation, none of his added praise of England's intervention is present in the prompt-book. Further, Smock Alley retained the absence of Donalbain and Fleance, neither of whom return from exile. Smock Alley's failure to reunite the kingdoms speaks to Ireland's otherness within the union. Ireland remained an "unsettled"⁹⁹ land in the restoration, represented by Irish, Old English, New English, and Scottish inhabitants claiming various religious affiliations from Catholicism to Presbyterianism to Anglicanism. The city of Dublin and the Smock Alley Theatre that served it stood as bastions of English Protestantism uncharacteristic of the kingdom they inhabited. As Patrick Tuite points out, "During the seventeenth century, Dublin's citizens constituted less than 4 percent of Ireland's overall population" (129). Smock Alley's choice to leave the kingdoms scattered mirrors the disparate identities in the kingdom of Ireland.

Donalbain's presence in Ireland evokes Irish concerns about Scottish rebellion in Ireland. Scottish Donalbain remained in Ireland where the Scottish and English had a pronounced

⁹⁹ Playing on the constant renegotiation of land settlements, reflected in the title of Coleman Dennehy's *Restoration Ireland: Always Settling and Never Settled*.

presence. After his successful defeat of Ireland in the Nine Years War, James I established plantations in Ulster, the northern county of Ireland, and sent Scots and English “planters” to populate the kingdom. The migration of Scots to Ireland continued into the 1630s until the Bishops’ Wars caused a “reverse migration” of Scots out of Ireland who feared religious persecution (Perceval-Maxwell 197). Ireland’s viceroy, the Duke of Ormond, feared the Scottish interest in Ireland. Smock Alley’s Donalbain did not return to Scotland because he remained in Ireland and, despite exile in the 1640s, threatened to return again with force. *Macbeth* was most likely staged between 1678 and 1682, the years of the Exclusion Crisis and the Popish Plot, and tucked within there was the 1679 Covenanter rebellion. Ireland was unstable when they staged *Macbeth*. It faced internal and external threats to the Irish Catholics and the Irish Protestants. Smock Alley’s *Macbeth* exposes Irish vulnerability under British union.

Though Smock Alley’s production voices Ireland’s vulnerability, the means of adaptation suggest a certain theatrical independence from England. Irish theatre artists, rather than stage Davenant’s adaptation, worked directly from Shakespeare’s folio. They shaped the work of England’s “our *Shakespear*” to meet the needs of the Dublin audience. By 1674, Davenant’s adaptation was available in print, but Smock Alley’s *Macbeth* is primarily an edited version of Shakespeare’s play with some additions from Davenant’s. This means that Shakespeare’s Dublin adapters preferred to return to the “original” texts of the plays even when Restoration adaptations existed. G. Blakemore Evans, through his careful study of the editorial hands represented in the prompt-book, argues that the “slight verbal inaccuracies or changes...strongly suggests that Hand III worked from memory, without having a text of D’Avenant’s version to consult” (5). Evans’ hypothesis infers two important assumptions. One, that someone associated with Smock Alley’s production saw Davenant’s adaptation staged, which gives a sense of the circulation of

the theatre in the Restoration world. Second, that Smock Alley, aware of Davenant's adaptation, chose to work primarily from Shakespeare's text. When staging *Macbeth*, Smock Alley returned to Shakespeare's play in order to tell Ireland's story of usurpation and restoration, with disembodied head and all.

3.4.2 John Lacy's Sauny Shakespeare: Untamed Covenanters on the English Stage

John Lacy used Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* to allegorize Charles II's need to tame Scotland's rebellious Covenanters because of the threat they posed to England. From Shakespeare, Lacy took not only the shrew-taming plot, but also the authentic English identity, bolstered by Shakespeare, necessary to intercede on the kingdom's behalf against the Covenanters. In this section, I will trace the Scottish origins of Lacy's Sauny in other dramatic English texts. I will then argue, through three specific textual references, that Lacy purposely adapted Shakespeare's *Shrew* to criticize England's failure to eradicate Scottish Covenanters, embodied by Lacy onstage in the character of Sauny. *Sauny the Scot* exhibits anxieties felt by English royalists about its security under British union. As a favorite of the king and a veteran of the royalist army, Lacy adapted the English Shakespeare to offer an "insider" English critique of Charles II's handling of the Scottish Covenanters.

John Lacy created *Sauny the Scot* and its eponymous character to dramatize the much needed taming of Scotland, the king's rebellious wife. Lacy renamed Shakespeare's shrew Katherina, Margaret, and gave Petruchio a Scottish servant Sauny to help tame her. While Margaret was the name of Lacy's wife, the name also resonates with the Scots, a connection made explicit by the Scottish Sauny. Sauny remarks at one point that Margaret resembles Queen

Margaret, Scotland's historic canonized Catholic queen.¹⁰⁰ Further, when Sauny boasts about his role in Margaret's taming at the end of the play, he describes her previous behavior, characterizing her as "wild as a Galloway coalt"(47). Galloway was the city in Scotland in which the most recent Covenanter rebellion gestated. By labeling Margaret as wild Galloway coalt, Sauny parallels Margaret's shrewish behavior with the rebellious activity in Scotland, for which ten Scots were executed in Edinburgh in December 1666, three month's prior to *Sauny's* premiere. The character of Margaret the shrew represents England's rebellious wife, Scotland.

The successful taming of the "Scottish" Margaret is a false victory for England. The real untamed Scot in Lacy's adaptation is Sauny. Lacy created and performed Sauny, assistant shrew-tamer, an explicitly Scottish caricature who ideologically represented Scotland's contemporary rebels, the Covenanters. Some scholarship suggests that Lacy made the character Scottish as a referent to the servant character in the anonymous *The Taming of A Shrew*. I will lay out that argument and then give my assessment of its probability. Sauny is based on the character of Grumio in Shakespeare's *Shrew*; indeed, Lacy's adaptation as a whole follows the plot and characters of Shakespeare's play closely.¹⁰¹ Most of the bits between Petruchio and Sauny come from the interactions of Petruchio and Grumio. Grumio is not Scottish. J.O. Bartly and Barbara Murray each suggest that the servant's Scottish origins lie in the servant character of Sander in the anonymous *The Taming of a Shrew*, a play contemporaneous with Shakespeare's that is strikingly similar in content and story; scholars argue that *A Shrew* is a "bad quarto" of *The*

¹⁰⁰ The name Margaret also evokes Margaret Tudor, who married James IV of Scotland, which created the Stuart claim to the English throne.

¹⁰¹ Lacy also peppered his adaptation with elements of Fletcher's *The Tamer Tamed* such as the fake death at the end of the play. In Fletcher, Petruchio fakes his death. In Lacy, Margaret pretends to be dead in an attempt to soften Petruchio.

Shrew, but many competing theories about their relationship exist.¹⁰² In *A Shrew*, Sander performs in the comedy “The Taming of a Shrew,” the play within the play of *A Shrew*, for the drunken Slie, known as Christopher Sly in Shakespeare’s *Shrew*. The only real marker of Sander’s Scottishness is his name.¹⁰³ In *A Shrew*, he is referred to as “Sander,” “Saunder,” and “Saunders.” “Sawney” or “Sauny” are Scottish variants of the name Sander used in *Sauny the Scot*.¹⁰⁴

Florence Scott provides further evidence of the Scottish ties to the name Sander. In “Teg: The Stage Irishman,” she discusses a masque entitled “Sandey the Scott,” which she dates to 1625; Sandey is the name of the Scottish character in the masque.¹⁰⁵ Based on the characterization of Sandey, it is possible to suggest that “Sander” was associated with the Scots and that Lacy made his servant character Scottish as a throwback to the Scottish Sander. The character of Sander is not demonstrably Scottish beyond his name, but his dramatic descendant Sandey certainly was, in name and in language. In the masque, Sandey uses language coded as

¹⁰² For a succinct summary of the current debate and suggestions for further inquiry, please see Elizabeth Schafer’s introduction to her edition of *The Taming of the Shrew*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

¹⁰³ Sander and Grumio were both “diminutives of Alexander;” Sander is the Scottish variant. (Summers xxix).

¹⁰⁴ In Lacy’s adaptation, Sauny is called “Sawny” and calls himself “Sawndy” and “Saundy.” I am led to believe, based on the different speakers of the name, that the discrepancies in pronunciation have to do with the ways actors and writers conveyed dialects or accents. According to the *OED*, Sandy is “a shortened form of the name Alexander, chiefly used in Scotland. Hence used as a nickname for a Scotchman” and cross-references Sawney as a “derisive nickname for a Scotchman.” The *OED*’s earliest usage of Sandy is 1473. For Sawney, 1699. Additionally, Alexander “Sawney” Bean is the name of a British urban legend. He and his family were cannibals hunted down by James I. Though the legend is “set” in the seventeenth century, however, “the story of Sawney Bean cannot be found until more than 100 years later” according to Scottish historian Dr. Louis Yeoman interviewed for *BBC News Scotland*’s Feb 2013 article “Who was Sawney Bean?” written by Steven Brocklehurst.

¹⁰⁵ Scott infers a lot about the undated partial masque she discusses in her essay. Scott identifies the masque as “Sandey the Scott,” but the extant document is more likely a fragment of a masque. Sandey is one character in a larger untitled masque that promotes harmony among the nations, both harmony amongst the British nations and harmony between the British nations and nations beyond it. The bound manuscript begins *in medias res* with “Enter Harmony,” a figure who then takes us to the world of Sandey the Scott, Diggon the Welch, and Patricke the Irish who are examples of the disharmonious relationships that Harmony attempts to resolve. Harmony appears to the three characters after they sing disparagingly about each other and other European races, specifically critiquing sartorial culture. She cautions them that “other nations” will “accuse [them] of uncivil fashions;” she encourages them to “give over” and instead dance for “love” and “joy.” The manuscript is housed in the archives of the Huntington Library. Its call number is HM 22.

Scottish like “cragge,” “ligg,” “lad,” and “lass,” language that certainly appears in *Sauny*. Lacy’s Scottish servant has dramatic antecedents linked by name.

It is possible Lacy made Sauny Scottish because he was a Scottish character in *The Taming of a Shrew*. This argument has its issues, however. Lacy based his adaptation, and specifically his adaptation of the servant character, primarily on Shakespeare’s *Shrew*. Furthermore, it is unclear how aware Lacy was of *A Shrew*. According to *EEBO*, *A Shrew* was printed three times in London: 1594, 1596, and 1607, all three dates well before Lacy’s time. Lacy arrived in London in 1631.¹⁰⁶ As further evidence, Lacy might have performed in Shakespeare’s *Shrew* in the early Restoration. London’s master of the revels Sir Henry Herbert recorded payment for a performance of Shakespeare’s *Shrew* in 1664, a play which he categorized as a “Re. Play” (Bawcutt 284). The information about the first Restoration performance of *Shrew* is scarce, but if performed, Lacy, a member of the King’s Company, probably acted in it; perhaps he played Grumio and felt the need to expand the role in *Sauny the Scot*. It also seems unlikely that Lacy knew of the masque that presented Sandey the Scott as a representation of the Scottish as he was not present in London at the estimated time of its performance. By contrast, Sander is a character name in two plays contemporaneous with Lacy: the first, Sander Bloodhound in *A Match at Mid-night*, printed in 1633 and acted by the Children of the Revells and the second, Saunder, servant to the alchemist Sir Francis Cressingham in *Any Thing for a Quiet Life*, written by Thomas Middleton and acted at Blackfriars, first printed in 1662. Neither character appears to be Scottish.

While it’s possible Lacy chose to create the Scottish servant Sauny because of *A Shrew*’s Sander from *A Shrew*, Sander is not explicitly Scottish in *A Shrew* nor are the other dramatic

¹⁰⁶ *The Taming of the Shrew* was first published in the 1623 Folio.

characters that Lacy may have encountered. Whether or not Sander provided a Scottish antecedent for Sauny, Lacy's decision to make Sauny Scottish increased the comedic aspects of the character, allowing Lacy, in the title role, to showcase his talents as a comedian. Lacy received acclaim for his comedic performances, specifically of ethnic characters. In addition to Sauny, He played the Irish character Teague in *The Committee* in 1663 and the French buffoon in his own *Sir Hercules Buffoon*. Lacy used dialects successfully as a writer and performer of comedy. He supposedly informed Ben Jonson's scripted dialect in his 1633 comedy, *A Tale of a Tub*. In the biographical entry on Lacy in *Brief Lives*, author John Aubrey credits Lacy credited with Ben Jonson's dialect for "clownery" in *A Tale of a Tub*. According to the entry, Jonson used Lacy's "Yorkshire dialect" in the play (178).¹⁰⁷ Sandra Clark observes that Sauny's dialect "resembles the dialect given to a Yorkshire heiress in Lacy's later play *Sir Hercules Buffoon*" (xlvi). Lacy came from Doncaster, Yorkshire, a background that informed many of his comedic characters and provided him with a dialect that he could manipulate for comedic effect.¹⁰⁸

Language factors largely in Lacy's characterization of Sauny, particularly his clownish attributes. The first bit between Petruchio and Sauny plays on a linguistic misunderstanding between them, which results in Petruchio beating Sauny for his insolence. Throughout the play, Sauny delivers curses and adages rooted in a stage Scottish dialect, often evoking "the Dee'I" (the devil). Though the character seems unaware and undeterred by his incomprehensibility, other characters struggle with his language. According to Samuel Pepys's diary entry, so too did the audience. Pepys saw *Sauny* on 9 April 1667 and 1 November 1667. In his first encounter

¹⁰⁷ We should keep in mind that John Lacy was one of John Aubrey's sources of information for *Brief Lives*. Lacy also planned to consult Lacy about Shakespeare's entry, once again an instance of Restoration false history.

¹⁰⁸ According to a 2012 news article, Doncaster, Yorkshire "historically belongs to Scotland." It was given to Scotland in a treaty. Henry II reclaimed it in 1157, but "an official pact wasn't ever signed." For more, see Simon Garner, "Doncaster 'is part of Scotland' after 900-year-old administrative error comes to light." *Yahoo! News*. 27 Feb 2012. <http://uk.news.yahoo.com/doncaster--is-part-of-scotland--after-900-year-old-administrative-error-comes-to-light.html#NSgpeHn>. Date accessed 13 Aug 2013.

with the play, he described it as “generally...a mean play” the “best part” of which was Lacy’s “Sawny” (158). He adds, however, that the play “hath not half its life, by reason of the words, I suppose, not being understood, at least by me.” Pepys found Lacy incomprehensible, yet also the “best part,”¹⁰⁹ which suggests that Sauny’s comprehensibility was of little consequence to Pepys’s enjoyment of Lacy’s clowning.¹¹⁰ Sauny’s stage Scottish language, combined with a gestural language of Scottish savage filth, evoke frustration in his fellow characters and presumably amusement in the audience. Katherine West Scheil argues “whenever Sauny is on stage, his gestures draw attention to this uncleanness and his need to scratch” (44).¹¹¹ The mangy, itchy Sauny takes wallops from Petruchio and Margaret; Petruchio beats him for his incomprehensibility while Margaret beats him because she’s a shrew, but also because she understands when Sauny insults, teases, and curses her.¹¹² The vocabularies of language and gesture in the characterization of Sauny demonstrate Lacy’s comedic use of Scottish stereotypes.¹¹³

While Sauny’s incomprehensibility and filth support my full analysis of the character, I recognize these qualities as attributes shared by many servant characters. Indeed, J.O. Bartley

¹⁰⁹ *Sauny the Scot* replaced *Shrew* onstage; *Sauny* was frequently performed until November 1736 (Aspinall 23).

¹¹⁰ In his entry for 1 November 1667, Pepys describes *The Taming of A Shrew* as a “silly play and an old one” (516).

¹¹¹ Scheil is using Sauny’s scratching as evidence in a particular argument. Lacy was painted in a triple portrait in 1675 commissioned by Charles II; the portrait portrays Lacy in three of his roles. There is considerable debate about which three roles are presented. Scheil is making the case that Sauny is depicted in the portrait. Lacy is presented in tartan, but other scholars argue that the character’s dress is much finer than Sauny’s. For more on this debate, see Scheil, *The Taste of the Times* and Chas W. Cooper, “The Triple-Portrait of John Lacy: A Restoration Theatrical Portrait: History and Dispute.” *PMLA* 47:3 1932, 759-765.

¹¹² Margaret’s comprehensibility of Sauny suggests further proof for their Scottish connection in the play. Sauny is largely understood by all the characters, but his language is never questioned by Margaret.

¹¹³ While Sauny’s incomprehensibility and filth support my full analysis of the character, I recognize these qualities as attributes shared by many servant characters. Indeed, J.O. Bartly argues that the emphasis in the characterization of Sauny is placed on his role and not his nationality: “Though his nationality is emphasized, and his dialect rather good, he is conventional as a servant rather than as a Scot” (282). Indeed while Sauny’s “characteristics of uncleanness, hunger, incivility, and coarseness,” as Scheil defines them, “derive,” she argues “from contemporary attitudes towards Scots,” they could also be identified with attributes of servant characters over time (i.e. commedia’s zannis, Falstaff’s uncouth crew in *Henry IV* Parts 1 and 2, etc.).

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I agree that the stereotypes of the servant present in Sauny (being beaten by a master, constantly hungry, etc.) are a large part of the comedy and not necessarily exclusive to the Scots. However, Lacy’s characterization of Sauny is far more targeted than even Scheil’s argument suggests. In creating Sauny, Lacy utilized attributes of the conventional servant character and contemporary derision of the Scots, but what has thus far gone mostly unnoticed in the scholarship is Lacy’s careful and specific deployment of Covenanter characteristics in his crafting of Sauny. Sauny is not only Scottish, but rather, he is specifically identified as a particular type of Scot, a Covenanter, and though certain attributes of Sauny’s Scottishness appear to be played up for comedic effect, his covenanting, rebellious ways were no laughing matter for Restoration Britain. Lacy’s Sauny is explicitly Scottish and Lacy’s choice to create the Scottish Sauny informs which Shakespeare play he adapted. Lacy purposely created a Scottish servant character who consistently introduces Scottish history and culture into a play about shrew-taming. Furthermore, Sauny was a negative representation of the Scots as crude, unkempt, and most importantly for this analysis, rebellious. Lacy also increased Sauny’s role, giving himself a larger part, but also increasing the Scottish presence. Furthermore, Sauny, as played by Lacy, added weight to the critique of English-Scottish relations being issued in the play. As I will

discuss shortly, the monarchy chastised Lacy on more than one occasion for political commentary delivered through performance.

What *Sauny the Scot* makes clear is that, unlike the tamed shrew, the Covenanters remained untamed despite their apparent oblivion. When Charles II restored Britain, he plunged the Covenanters and their cause into oblivion and reinstated episcopacy in Scotland; it was Charles I's attempt to institute the Anglican faith in Scotland that engendered the Bishops' Wars, the first conflicts of the British civil wars. Despite their supposed "erasure" under the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion, the Scottish Covenanters continued to promote Presbyterianism and question their obligation to the monarch throughout the Restoration, facing fatal resistance from the king and his Scottish privy council. *Sauny the Scot* played in April 1667; three months prior, in December of 1666, ten Covenanters were executed in Edinburgh for their participation in the Pentland Uprising, in which Covenanters from Galloway intended to march on Edinburgh. By making Sauny a Scottish Covenanter, Lacy created a politically-charged, untamed Scot. I argue that, not unlike Restoration adaptations of Shakespeare's histories and tragedies, Lacy's adaptation of Shakespeare's comedy *The Taming of the Shrew* is a pronounced criticism of the Covenanter movement in Scotland.

Sauny was not Lacy's first foray into politically-charged theatre. Lacy performed in a production in 1640 that was censured for its criticism of Charles I and his handling of the first Covenanters.¹¹⁴ William Beeston, company manager of the Beeston Boys, also known as the King and Queen's Young Company, was imprisoned on 4 May 1640 for the performance of an unlicensed play. The play remains unknown to scholars, but it was prohibited from performance "because it had relation to the passages of the K.s journey into the Northe, and was complaynd of

¹¹⁴ Though no cast list exists for the production, we can assume John Lacy was in the production as he joined the company in August 1639. For reference, see Andrew Gurr's *The Shakespearian Playing Companies*, 424.

by his M.^{tye}” (in Bawcutt 208 note 413).¹¹⁵ On 21 June 1639, Charles I signed a peace agreement with the Covenanters who, under the leadership of Montrose (later viceroy of Scotland executed in 1650), won their first major battle of the Bishops’ Wars, the Battle of Brig of Dee, in Aberdeen just three days prior on 18 June 1639. Lacy participated in an unauthorized production that addressed Charles I’s handling of Scottish rebels in a way that displeased the king.

Lacy received censure a second time in the Restoration. In April 1667, Lacy was arrested for his performance in Edward Howard’s *The Change of Crownes* on 15 April 1667, a mere week after *Sauny*’s premiere. Pepys wrote on 16 April, “Knipp¹¹⁶ tells me the King was so angry at the liberty taken by Lacy’s part to abuse him to his face, that he commanded they should act no more” (168). The actor was incarcerated for lines he adlibbed in character.¹¹⁷ Like William Beeston, his old company manager, Lacy was sent to Marshalsea prison for a brief time; he returned to the stage by 1 May 1667 (Highfill 101). Lacy blamed playwright Howard and physically attacked him after his sanction. Samuel Pepys quoted a friend, Rolt, on the incident in his diary. Rolt reportedly said “So the whole house is silenced, and the gentry seem to rejoice much at it, the House being become too insolent” (173). At the same time Lacy was performing *Sauny*, he was arrested for his outspokenness while in character. Given the characterization of *Sauny* I will now dissect, it makes me wonder if Lacy’s unintelligibility as *Sauny* spared him further citation and imprisonment.

In the induction scene of Shakespeare’s *Shrew*, the page describes the play presented to Christopher Sly as “a kind of history” (Gaines and Maurer 61). Lacy’s *Shrew* is its own kind of

¹¹⁵ Bawcutt thinks the play may have been the lost anonymous play *The Challenge*, while Martin Butler contends that it was a performance of Richard Brome’s *The Court Beggar*.

¹¹⁶ Pepys’s nickname for Mrs. Knepp, actress in the King’s Company (Latham and Matthews 609).

¹¹⁷ Highfill cites a period newsletter that suggests Lacy was punished for adding “indecent expressions,” but the exact content and nature of Lacy’s adlib is unknown (101).

history, a history of the tensions between England and Scotland, primarily religious in nature, which bred civil war under Charles I and continued to threaten the stability of Britain throughout the reign of Charles II. Through Sauny's expressions and one-liners, Lacy enfolds the history of those tensions, past and present, into the shrew-taming plot. I will analyze in detail the ways in which Sauny is portrayed as a Covenanter and the consequences of such a portrayal in the Restoration. I will divide the analysis into three sections. In the first, I will address how Sauny resurrects the past history of the Scottish Covenanters and their resistance to Stuart monarchy. In the second, I will demonstrate how Sauny offers a current history of the Covenanting movement, still active and still dangerous despite its supposed Restoration oblivion. Finally, I will theorize why Lacy, a Stuart Royalist, created Sauny the Covenanter and why he used Shakespeare to do it. He's a comic figure on the surface, but the savvy audience member would easily recognize his threat.

Three references in *Sauny the Scot*, two made by the title character and one directed at him, subtly recall the past history of the Scottish Covenanters and the impact of their movement on Britain and its monarchy. "Taking the Covenant," "the Scotch directory," and Margaret's nickname for Sauny, "Abberdeen", locate this otherwise neutral comedy within an historical world in which Covenanters are present. I will discuss each reference in turn, contextualizing its significance.

Sauny's use of the expression "take the Covenant" identifies him as a Covenanter and recalls the National Covenant (1638) and the Solemn League and Covenant (1643), both of which Charles II illegalized in his restoration. In the context of the play's plot, Sauny says "'I se take the *Covenant* on't" in response to an inquiry about the true identities of a character and his imposter (36). The expression is Sauny's way of swearing on something; a contemporary

equivalent of the expression might be “I swear to God.” Sauny’s Covenant refers to the National Covenant created and sworn by Scottish Presbyterians in 1638 that resisted Charles I’s attempt to institute the Anglican faith in Scotland. The Covenant reestablished the Scottish commitment to the Presbyterian faith and they became known for their act as the Covenanters. Scottish resistance to Charles I’s attempts at religious uniformity sparked the first battles of the British civil wars of the late 1630s and 1640s. Though certainly a resistance to enforced religion, there is considerable debate about how the Covenant defined the relationship of Covenanters to Charles I. Ultimately the Covenanters’ allegiance was first to their religion and then to a king, but only if that king upheld Presbyterianism. Charles I’s threat to Presbyterianism therefore prompted the creation of the Covenant. Covenanters saw the covenant as a binding agreement made with God to uphold the Presbyterian faith against all odds. By having Sauny use the expression, Lacy revealed Sauny as a Covenanter, or someone who “took the Covenant.”

Sauny’s subscription to the covenant informs Margaret calling him “Abberdeen” early in the play. In their first encounter, Margaret hits Sauny and then attempts to remind him of his servant status. Instead of using his name, she calls him Aberdeen: “Marry come up *Abberdeen*, take that and speak next when it comes your turn” (11). Without the context of the Covenanters, the meaning behind Margaret’s usage of Abberdeen is unclear. The play fails to specify where Sauny is from in Scotland and makes passing reference to a number of locations such as Edinburgh and the Highlands. Analyzing the comment in light of Covenanter history, however, demonstrates Lacy’s desire to portray Sauny as a Covenanter. Aberdeen was a key site in Covenanter history. The Aberdonians resisted the National Covenant and refused to sign it, even at the instance of the Marquis of Montrose, a leader of the Covenanter movement who was later executed for his renewed support of Charles I and Charles II (Royle 67). Scottish conflict over

the Covenant played out in Aberdeen in 1639 in what historians deem the first battle of the civil wars. The Covenanters, under the command of Montrose, won their first military engagement in Aberdeen at the Battle of Brig of Dee in 18 June 1639. Three days after this victory, on 21 June, Charles I signed a (short-lived) peace agreement with the Covenanters (Royle 92-93). When considering Aberdeen in *Sauny*, Margaret evokes it to put Sauny in his place, to silence an unruly servant. Recall that Lacy, the line's author, participated in a performance in 1640 that portrayed Charles I's actions in the "Northe" in a manner that displeased the king. By having Margaret call Sauny "Aberdeen" to chastise him, Lacy recalls a victory in the Covenanter movement that went unchecked by Charles I, suggesting that the king's failure to discipline Aberdeen resulted in a loss of power and the outbreak of civil war.

In addition to taking the Covenant, "Aberdeen" Sauny also follows the "Scotch directory,"¹¹⁸ an order of worship co-devised in 1645 by the English Parliament and the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. The "Scotch directory" resulted from the alliance of the Parliament and the Covenanters against Charles I and his royalists. In 1643, the Covenanters officially joined forces with the English Parliament against the king through the Solemn League and Covenant. One of the Covenanters' initial motivations behind the agreement was the potential for religious unity in Britain. For the Covenanters, "inhabitants of England and Ireland remained bound by the Solemn League and Covenant to pursue the reform of their Churches," reform that would lead to Presbyterianism throughout Britain (Raffe 67). Scottish Presbyterians had, as Raffe calls it, a "pan-British agenda" that they eventually softened in face of resistance and lack of power to Presbyterianism in all of Scotland (68).¹¹⁹ In order to pursue their "pan-

¹¹⁸ Sandra Clark defines "the Scotch directory" as "The Presbyterian service book, ratified in 1645" (496).

¹¹⁹ Lacy himself potentially had some firsthand knowledge of the pan-British agenda of the Covenanters. In Robert Howard's 1663 *The Committee; or, The Faithful Irishman*, Lacy played Teague, the Irish servant of a

British agenda,” the Covenanters aligned themselves with the English Parliament. Though they failed to achieve British religious unity, the partnership did result in the “Scotch directory,” which displaced the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer*, which was “officially forbidden from 1645-1660” (Raffe 134-135). What Sauny calls the “Scotch directory” was officially the Westminster Directory of Worship, which created a place for Presbyterian worship in Britain (135). Sauny urges Petruccio to marry Margaret “after the Scotch directory, then gin yea like her not, yea maw put her awaw” (17). Sauny’s recommendation means he, like the Covenanters, followed the Westminster Directory. It also implies that the directory’s procedures, like all of the Covenanters’ resolutions, were invalid at the time of *Sauny*’s performance.

Lacy’s performance of a Scottish Covenanter onstage at the King’s Playhouse reminded the London audiences of not only the past history of the movement, but its continued vitality despite mandated oblivion. I will discuss those references shortly, but first, a reminder about Charles II’s relationship to the Covenanters and his stake in their eradication. The Scots crowned Charles II their king in 1651, nine years before his restoration and official ascension to the English throne. As part of his coronation in Scone, Scotland, Charles II “took the Covenant;” his coronation was administered by the Marquess of Argyll, the leading Covenanter and enemy of the Marquis of Montrose. In order to ensure his Scottish coronation, Charles II agreed not to

disenfranchised royalist during the Commonwealth. In the first scene of the second act, Teague encounters the Solemn League and Covenant being sold by a bookseller. Teague “takes the covenant” for his master, the Cavalier Colonel Careless, swiping it from the bookseller’s hands. During the Commonwealth, royalists were pressed to “take the Covenant” in support of the new regime. Teague, the honest yet dim servant, thinks he is taking it for his master. Aside from the comedy of the moment, this exchange in *The Committee* also speaks to the British impact of the Covenant. Scottish Presbyterians transplanted to Ireland as part of the Ulster plantations, begun under James I and continued under his son, faced resistance and expulsion during the 1630s and 1640s. The Earl of Strafford, viceroy of Ireland, was particularly bent on eradicating Ireland of Covenanters, even supposedly going so far as offering Irish armies to Charles I to help him quell the Covenanter activity of 1638 and 1639. Strafford, as we know from the first case-study, was executed for his interference. For more on Ireland and the Covenanters, please see David Stevenson’s *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates: Scottish-Irish relations in the mid-seventeenth century*. Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 1981.

interfere in the execution of Montrose in 1650; Montrose served Charles II and his father before him.¹²⁰ Charles II took the covenant to secure his coronation and Scottish support for his full restoration. In turn, the Covenanters' recognition of Charles II's as king forfeited their partnership with the English Parliament and Scotland fell to Cromwellian rule. Once restored in 1660, Charles II outlawed the National Covenant, the Solemn League and Covenant, and, like his father, instituted episcopacy throughout the British kingdoms (Raffe 32-36). He targeted Covenanters in his Scottish Act of Indemnity and Oblivion. Charles II outlawed the Covenant to ensure his ability to get out of it himself. For the Covenanters, however, the Covenants were divinely transacted and therefore insoluble: "Believing that the Covenants enshrined divine laws and duties, Presbyterians denied that the oaths could be cancelled by royal or parliamentary authority" (Raffe 71). Charles II outlawed the Covenants, but Scottish Presbyterians continued to fight and die for them.

Restoration Covenanters were sentenced to oblivion; for some, oblivion was realized through execution. The Marquise of Argyll and Archibald Johnston of Wariston were executed in Edinburgh, Argyll in May 1661 and Johnston on 22 July 1663.¹²¹ I argue that Lacy references Wariston's execution in *Sauny the Scot*. Sauny issues Margaret "Johnee Johnstons Curse" (5). The case of Johnston, who was seized in exile and brought to Britain to face execution in 1663, surely resonated with the 1666 execution of Covenanters just four months prior to *Sauny the*

¹²⁰ His service to Charles I was complicated by his adoption of the Covenant. Charles I dubbed him a traitor. He returned to "royal" service, however, after the king's death under Cromwell.

¹²¹ Charles II and his administration were invested in redeeming the executed Montrose by contrasting him with his treasonous opposition, Argyll and Johnston. Argyll's severed head replaced Montrose's on a pike in Edinburgh. In the anonymous *The Crimes and Treasons of Archibald Johnston, Laird Wariston*, Johnston is described as a "confident" of Argyll and "a most violent Enemy of the glorious and Immortal Marquesse of Montrose" (4). Furthermore, Johnston's daughter was named Margaret and she was "banished from Edinburgh on 12 November 1674" for her involvement in a demonstration and petition advocating for Presbyterian service in Scotland (Cowan 83) "John Johnson" was also the alias Guy Fawkes adopted (<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/lesson07.htm>).

Scot's premiere. Johnston contributed to and signed The National Covenant and served in Cromwell's administration. In his scaffold speech, he upheld the covenants and reminded the British kingdoms of their obligation to God and his covenants as well. He proclaimed that God would revive the covenants "even in these three Covenanted Nations, which were by so solemn Bonds, Covenants, Subscriptions and Oaths given away and devoted to himself" (Warriston 7). His incendiary speech was printed in Edinburgh in 1664 and the "booksellers and vendors" who sold it were imprisoned (Jackson 41). Though I can find no reference to directly link Johnston to Sauny's "Johne Johnston" and his curse, the executed Covenanter Johnston was enough of an important figure to warrant this speculation.¹²²

Lacy uses Sauny the Covenanter to pose questions about the realities of British union, suggesting that the union is inequitable. Lacy makes Sauny a prideful Scotsman who, like the Covenanters, refuses to recognize English authority over Scotland. Sauny describes Scotland on several occasions as his "heam" (or "home") and he repeatedly expresses his desire to return there.¹²³ Sauny also talks frequently about how he would handle a situation differently if he were in Scotland.¹²⁴ Twice Sauny defends Scottish pride, insisting that Scotsmen are not cowards. He specifically addresses Jamy, Scottish only in name, charging "Dea Caw your sel *Jamy*? And wull ye be Beten by an aw faw Theefe? An yea Caw your sel *Jamy*" (36).¹²⁵ In an interaction between

¹²² Sauny explains the curse at Petruccio's prompting, which he lays on Margaret if she is a "scold." He tells Petruccio "the Deel creep into her weem t'ith very bottome on't that's to the Croone gued faith of her head" (5). Charles I said of one of Johnston's demands that "the devil himself could not make a more uncharitable construction or give a more bitter expression" (<http://www.nndb.com/people/138/000103826/>, 14 Aug 2013). Charles I delivered this retort in response to Johnston's suggestion that the king was just trying to buy time settling the Berwick peace treaty (Fissel 35).

¹²³ "a little Siller to gea to *Scotland* agen" "gea heam to *Scotland*" (10); "Out, out, I'se gea for *Scotland*" (11); "Petruccio: the Wedding is to be on Thursday next. Sauny: Gud Saundy's gea for *Scotland* a Tuesday then" (12);

¹²⁴ "Bot gin I had yea in *Scotland*" (4); suggests Petruccio send Margaret into the Highlands (26); "Gin I'se had ye in *Scotland*..." (27); "Gud Gin poor *Saundy* had her in *Scotland*" talking about Biancha (33).

¹²⁵ Jamy was also the name of the Scottish captain in Shakespeare's *Henry V*, which features the scene between representative soldiers from England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. *Henry V* was performed and adapted in the Restoration, but the soldier scene was cut.

Sauny and Petruccio's other servants, he insists that English means cannot kill Scotsmen. Nick informs Sauny that Wally Watts, whom Sauny calls "Wully," died while Sauny was away. When Sauny learns Watts was hanged, he replies "I was sure nea Man that went on twa Leggs could slay him" (22). Nick responds that it "'twas one with Three Leggs, 'twas Mr. Tyburne." In response, Sauny upholds his Scottish separatism and prideful resistance to English corporal punishment: "S'breed ye Lye, Sir, the Gallows might kill him, and break his stout heart, but it cou'd nea hang him: 'Tis hang an *English Man*" (22).¹²⁶ Though the ethnic identities of other characters in *Sauny the Scot* are mostly unexplored, the action takes place in London. Sauny may be in London, but he is not English and would never die an Englishman. Lacy used Sauny to expose the cracks in British union and the threat of unruly Scotsmen to England.

Lacy employed Shakespeare's source text to dramatize the threat of untamed Scotland to England. Given the careful scrutiny of the theatre under Charles II, Lacy's move was a risky one. By using Shakespeare, however, Lacy reiterated his Englishness and his loyalty to England. As I have already established, Shakespeare's Restoration adapters crafted Shakespeare into an English origin. While Shakespeare was a source for Lacy, Lacy somehow made himself into a source of knowledge about Shakespeare. John Aubrey, author of *Brief Lives*, supposedly planned to consult John Lacy for information on Shakespeare's life. A 1693 copy of *Brief Lives* in one of the Oxford libraries "contain[s] a scribbled memorandum noting his [Aubrey's] intention of asking forther (sic) information concerning Shakespeare from an old player, John Lacy" (Chambrun, x). Lacy was one of a few surviving actors from the pre-Commonwealth English theatre. With this reputation as an "old player," Lacy benefitted from the same impossible math

¹²⁶ Wally Watts was hanged in London, unlike the Scottish gallows used in Edinburgh to hang the ten Covenanters on 7 December 1666 who participated in a rebellion sparked by the violent treatment perpetrated against Presbyterians worshiping outdoors (services known as conventicles), which Charles II outlawed along with other Covenanting practices.

that allowed for John Downes's performance genealogy of *Hamlet*. Though Shakespeare died fifteen before Lacy came to London, the actor's relative proximity to Shakespeare and his theatre endowed him with a certain authority. Consequently, Lacy's connection to Shakespeare reinforced the actor's own Englishness. His adaptation of *Shrew* is ultimately concerned with the safety and preservation of England and therefore Lacy uses the English Shakespeare to express that concern.

Through the Scottish Sauny, Lacy editorialized Britain's English-Scottish tensions, reminding audiences of Scotland's past rebellion and its current threat to the stability of Britain. Lacy derided the Scottish Covenanters by representing them through the clownish, offensive Sauny. This particular characterization also served to showcase Lacy's acting talents and allowed him to speak his criticisms of the Crown in the voice of a roguish clown. Lacy's Sauny demonstrates the actor-playwright's informed and biased perspective on the Covenanter movement, which the character of Sauny projected. The specific Covenanter references I discussed in my analysis allowed Lacy to mock the Covenanters while simultaneously pointing out the threat they posed to Restoration Britain. Through Sauny, Lacy argues that Scotland is the real shrew that needed taming. In adapting *Shrew*, Lacy took a "kind of history" play written by a "kind of" historian Shakespeare and wrote his own history of England and Scotland's tumultuous courtship.

3.4.3 "We have divided in Three our Kingdom:" Finding Ireland in Nahum Tate's *The History of King Lear*

Though long theorized as a display of royalist support, I argue that Nahum Tate's adaptation of Shakespeare's *Lear* contains within it a critique of Ireland's inequitable and weakened position

in the British union and that Tate's prologues and epilogues give shape to this critique. In this section, I establish Tate's Irish origins and postulate the circumstances of the Irish in Restoration London using the writings of John Dryden. I then analyze Tate's *Lear* using his Irish heritage and London's suspicions of Ireland during the Popish Plot to inform my analysis.

In Nahum Tate's prologue to *Richard II*, Tate insists upon the poet's need to be a critical voice despite the criticism received in return. In an age where "ignorance" and "malice" act as the poet's judge, Tate writes, poets "Spight of their stars must needs be Critiques still,/ Nay, tho' prohibited by th' Irish Bill." The prologue defends Tate's work against its censure, as does the epistle dedicatory Tate wrote after his play was banned from performance. That Tate would defend his play is neither unusual nor incendiary, but his decision to reference "th' Irish Bill" is one of a few published occurrences in which the playwright associates himself with the country of his birth. There's debate about what exactly Tate is referring to by the "Irish Bill," but scholarship supports one reference over others that sheds critical light on Tate's position as an Irish playwright in London.¹²⁷ The Irish Bill most likely refers to the bills to call an Irish Parliament between 1679 and 1681 that never passed. At the same time the English prevented the Irish parliament, "the lords ordered the mass arrests of all Irishmen residing in London" (97). Tate's *Richard II* premiered in December 1680.¹²⁸ Though Tate appears to have been unaffected by the lords' request to round up Irishmen in London, he seems to ally his censure with

¹²⁷ Research suggests two possibilities. One, that the Irish Bill refers to the Irish Cattle Bill, a hotly contested bill that outlawed English importation of Irish cattle, which adversely affected Ireland's economy. The bill was renewed each year since its initial approval in 1667. In 1680, it became permanent, uncontested law. The second explanation arose from email consultation with Dr. John Gibney, author of *Ireland and the Popish Plot*. Given his extensive knowledge of the period, he surmises that the Irish Bill refers to the bills to call an Irish Parliament during the Exclusion Crisis, which the English Parliament never passed. In her edition of *Richard II*, Barbara Murray annotates the reference with information about the Irish parliament: "Prospective bills for a Parliament in Dublin had been in debate in Council committee in England and Ireland since 1679, but nothing had come of them" (500).

¹²⁸ Though scholars disagree about the exact date of *Richard II*'s opening, Odai Johnson argues convincingly for December 1680. For more, please see Johnson's "Empty Houses: The Suppression of Tate's 'Richard II,'" *Theatre Journal* (47:4) Dec 1995, 503-516.

England's denial of Ireland's critical voice exercised through the prevention of an Irish Parliament and the outright condemnation of Irish plotters.¹²⁹

Tate's *Lear* opened in March 1681 after *Richard II*'s short-lived run. Once again, Tate placed a reference to contemporary Irish-English politics in his play, this time in the epilogue spoken by Elizabeth Barry. Tate teases out the difference in virtue between the actress and her role. Barry, who performed the pious Cordelia, addresses the audience's fears that "whilst on the Stage w' are made/Such Saints, we shall indeed take up the Trade." Tate through Barry assuages those fears, stating "Whoever lives to see us Cloyster'd There,/May hope to meet our Critiques at Tangier." Tate expresses his resentment for the critics in the pit, a common trope in prologues and epilogues especially during the Exclusion Crisis, by making reference to the 1680 Siege of Tangier perpetrated by the Moroccans. References to current political affairs was typical of prologues and epilogues, but when read against Tate's other paratextual material, his choice to specifically name Tangier suggests a second instance in which the playwright touches upon his native Ireland. Tangier surfaced in political discussions during the Exclusion Crisis not only because of its siege, but also because the British military presence in Tangier was largely Irish Catholic and Englishmen were vocally suspicious of the Irish soldiers stationed there.

Tate used prologues and epilogues, popular forms in the Restoration, to comment on contemporary politics. In their introduction to *Prologues, Epilogues, Curtain-Raisers, and Afterpieces: The Rest of the Eighteenth-Century London Stage*, editors Daniel Ennis and Judith Bailey Slagle position prefaces, prologues, and epilogues as "the perfect vehicles for current, and

¹²⁹ It is also interesting that in *Richard II*, which Tate chose to adapt, the king faces criticism for waging war with Ireland. Richard II leaves England for Ireland, which ultimately allows Bolingbroke the opportunity to usurp him. *Richard II* also alludes to two beheadings, Richard's friends Bushy and Green, though it does not depict beheading onstage. Tate's adaptation cuts the scene in which they are led off to execution and communicates it only through dialogue between a gardener and a servant.

always variable, social, and political statements” (20). In addition to cultural commentary, playwrights used prologues and epilogues to “reposition plays [especially adaptations], authors, and ideologies for new generations of theatregoers” through dialogues between playwrights and themselves and playwrights and their audiences (22). In his essay in the collection, Paul McCallum argues that playwrights, during “the twin national emergencies” of the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis, wrote prologues and epilogues that revealed the ways in which Parliamentarians cozened people into believing in the Popish Plot to advance their own political agenda of exclusion (35). Using Dryden’s prologues and epilogues, Robert Sawyer contends that playwrights used the forms to write dramatic criticism and express their “Janus-faced” perspectives on the works of William Shakespeare. He draws on the work of David Wykes and his *A Preface to Dryden*. Wykes’s study of prologues and epilogues claims that, in the Restoration, they became “literature in their own right” that were “detachable” from the plays they proceeded or followed (167-168).

While I agree that prologues and epilogues served functions beyond the plays they accompanied, I argue that they also served the plays. The playwright’s arguments in prologues and epilogues inform analyses of the plays’ arguments. Tate used prefaces, prologues, and epilogues strategically. He engaged in dramatic criticism of Shakespeare that positioned him among other English playwrights who adapted the work of “their” Shakespeare. By situating himself as one of the “our,” Tate used his Shakespearean adaptations to comment on Irish affairs, which suggests an Irish perspective from Tate couched within the literary identity of an Englishman. When analyzed through Tate’s prologues and epilogues, his adaptation of *Lear* appears as a cautionary tale against belief in unfounded suspicions and a critique of the unequal distribution of power sourced in these unfounded suspicions.

The Irish references in the prologue of *Richard II* and the epilogue of *Lear* speak specifically to moments in which England exerted its power over Ireland in the interest of its own safety and to the detriment of Ireland. England's failure to convene an Irish parliament prevented Ireland's viceroy, the Duke of Ormonde, from conducting state business. He desired an Irish Parliament in 1678 before Titus Oates's allegations of a Popish Plot (Gibney 31). The Popish Plot suspected Irish Catholics of conspiring to assassinate the king and institute Catholicism in the British kingdoms. Ormonde wished to confirm land ownership in Ireland and address issues within Ireland's military, such as pay and equipment. Because of Poyning's Law, established in 1495 in the reign of Henry VII, Ireland needed the approval of the English privy council for any legislation proposed or passed (32). Despite interest in an Irish Parliament expressed variously throughout the years of the Exclusion Crisis by Ormonde, Charles II, and James Duke of York, Ireland needed England's approval to call a parliament and on the matters to be deliberated by said parliament, which it never received. John Gibney, author of *Ireland the Popish Plot*, attributes English resistance to an Irish Parliament to the anti-Catholic hysteria heightened by the Popish Plot. Parliamentarians suspected Ormonde of Catholic sympathies; during the Exclusion Crisis, Ormonde constantly battled allegations of his involvement in plots to assassinate the king alongside threats made against his own life. If the Irish parliament met and confirmed land ownership, Catholics in possession of land would be secured in their ownership of that land, which England and Ireland's Protestants objected to and worked to prevent through land settlement acts. Requests for an Irish Parliament were delayed by England's constant revisions to the proposed bills until finally in October 1680, demands for an English parliament trumped the Irish parliament, which it was decided should not meet concurrently. England's preoccupation with the conjectural Popish Plot dictated that Ireland place its investigation of the

plot above “the Irish government’s other business,” such as trying to ready its own military against a potential Catholic uprising in Ireland (74).

In the case of Tangier, the English parliament endangered the Irish forces serving the outpost by letting their suspicions of Catholic loyalty influence the allocation of funds. English politicians, namely the Earl of Shaftesbury, were leery of Ireland’s military, specifically the mostly Catholic outpost at Tangier. Tristan Stein argues that the fact that “Catholics dominated the garrison and the civilian government and that both the city’s foreign residents and Irish soldiers were of dubious loyalty” was on the minds of English politicians, specifically the Earl of Shaftesbury (1006). The presence of Irish Catholic soldiers and administrators in Tangier increased English suspicions of an Irish Popish Plot, which strained Irish-English relations. Furthermore, the need to outfit the military in Tangier left Ireland’s home defenses weakened amid fears of Catholic and Covenanter rebellions in Ulster arguably more founded than the Popish Plot. The Irish-English political dimension of Tangier was fully expressed when “parliament made the allocation of additional funds for Tangier in the aftermath of the siege of Tangier in 1680 contingent upon the exclusion of the duke of York from the succession” (Stein 1007). During the Exclusion Crisis, Ireland was forced to put England’s interests above its own, which weakened the kingdom. Tate uses prologues and epilogues to give voice to Ireland’s treatment.

Tate’s prologues and epilogues accompanied his Shakespeare adaptations in which, by both adopting and adapting England’s Shakespeare, the Irish-born playwright issued criticisms of England’s treatment of Ireland. Like English-born John Dryden and Thomas Otway used the Irish Tate used “our *Shakespear*”, which I argue downplayed an Irish identity in favor of an English one. He first used it in the preface to *The Loyal General*, then again in the epistle

dedicatory for *Lear*, and twice in the epistle dedicatory for *Richard II*.¹³⁰ Tate referred to Shakespeare as the “first-father” of *Lear*. Like his English contemporaries, Tate too fashioned himself as a successor to Shakespeare, tasked with bringing order to Shakespeare’s natural or untamed works. Dryden sorted through the “heap of rubbish” that is *Troilus and Cressida*.¹³¹ In his *Lear*, Tate ordered a new garland out the “Heap of Flow’rs” grown in “rich *Shakespear*’s soil.” Through his adaptation of Shakespeare, Tate positioned himself as English among other English playwrights and reinforced the English origin myth of Shakespeare.

Tate used the English “*our Shakespear*” to write the concerns of his native Ireland onto the stage, in arguably the most pronounced revelation of his heritage. Though Nahum Tate was born and raised in Ireland, his work seldom references his Irish origins. In his entry for Tate in *The Lives and Characters of the English Dramatic Poets* (1699), Gerard Langbaine wrote of the current Poet Laureate “His Birth and Education (as I have been told) he owes to the Kingdom of *Ireland*” (139). Tate’s contemporaries seemed to be aware of his origins, but neither they nor Tate himself were interested in emphasizing them; after all, Tate was included in a volume on English dramatic poets and served England as its crowned poet. He received his first publication in London in 1676. His name appeared as “N. Tate” in print. Tate favored the Anglicized “Tate” over his birth name “Teate.” From 1676 until his death in 1715, he resided in London. Beyond the references to Tangier and the Irish Bill, Tate appeared English in print.

Tate came from a family of Irish Protestant religious whose loyalty to the monarchy was repeatedly questioned. His grandfather, Faithful Teate, served as a Puritan minister in Ulster

¹³⁰ John Banks, in his dedication letter for *Vertue Betrayed; or Anna Bullen*, uses “our *Shakepear*” whom he praises, along with Homer, “immortali[zing] the Places where they were born.” For more on Banks and his plays, please see the beheading case-study(A2).

¹³¹ Edward Ravenscroft, in his preface to *Titus Andronicus*, calls the play “rather a heap of Rubbish then a Structure.”

during the 1641 uprising, which I will discuss in more detail shortly. Teate served as the provost of Trinity College until he was replaced in April 1643 for his anti-royalist leanings. He then transplanted the family to England (Spencer 19). He returned to Dublin in 1658 at the request of Henry Cromwell (ibid). His first-born son, Faithful Teate, also took up the religious life in Dublin at St. Werburgh's¹³². In June 1661, he was "prohibited from preaching," however, due to his violation of the Act of Uniformity, which mandated the unified practice of the Episcopalian faith throughout Britain (Spencer 20). Though Protestant, Nahum Tate's ancestors were dissident Protestants and supporters of the Commonwealth. Tate enrolled in Trinity College, Dublin in 1668 and graduated in 1672. He received his first publication in London in 1676. His name appeared as "N. Tate" in print. Tate favored the Anglicized "Tate" over his birth name "Teate." From 1676 until his death in 1715, he resided in London. Beyond the references to Tangier and the Irish Bill, Tate ignored his ancestry in print.¹³³

The discriminatory attitudes against the Scots and the Irish expressed by English writers might account for Tate's concealment of his Irish background. Despite Charles II's efforts to unite his kingdoms, the English harbored racist, discriminatory attitudes against the Scots and the Irish, which were sometimes voiced by theatre artists of the period. For evidence, we need look no further than John Dryden, who was, among other things, Tate's primary collaborator and mentor. Dryden contributed the prologue for Tate's second play, *The Loyal General* (1680) and Tate frequently quoted Dryden's dramatic criticism, such as his essay *Of Dramatick Poesy*, in his prefaces. Tate, however, did not reference Dryden's prologue written for the King's Company's performance in Oxford in 1680 in which he referred to the Scottish as "rebels" and "renegades"

¹³² John Ogilby's pre-Restoration theatre was located near St. Werburgh's.

¹³³ In 1696, he co-authored *A New Version of the Psalms of David* with Irishman Nicholas Brady, an edition that became standard in Anglican churches. Tate appears to have kept ties with other Irishmen while living in London, but his ancestry was not a primary marker of his career.

and the Irish who previously played Oxford as “barb’rous Macs” who “slander’d English wit” and “merited a second massacre.” As I previously discussed in the beheadings case-study, Dryden’s prologue expresses resentment of competition from Ireland’s Smock Alley players, who performed at Oxford’s Act, a celebration of the end of the school year and degree conferment. The Duke of Ormond wished to send Smock Alley to perform in 1674, but the rude behavior of the King’s company that year caused the university to forbid further playing (Clark, W 78). The Irish company eventually performed in 1677. They planned to return in 1680, but the King’s Company appealed to their patron, Charles II himself, who insisted that his company play and not Smock Alley. Dryden’s prologue accompanied the King’s Company’s performance in 1680, which disparaged the previous performance of Smock Alley at Oxford. Dryden also criticized London actors who “defected” and followed James Duke of York into exile in Scotland where they performed for the Edinburgh court.

Restoration theatre artists in London faced unprecedented competition from Irish and Scottish stages, which Dryden’s prologue acknowledges. The prologue also evidences, however, Dryden’s English condescension against Irish and Scottish poets and actors and the racist stereotypes troubling an inequitable British union. Dryden again touches on Irish-English relations in a poem written to honor the Earl of Roscommon for his *An Essay on Translated Verse*, which also betrays a resentment of Ireland. The essay, along with congratulatory poems by Dryden and others, was published in London in 1684. The Earl of Roscommon, Wentworth Dillon, was born in Dublin of English stock; he was the nephew of Ireland’s executed viceroy, the Earl of Strafford. Roscommon was a vibrant member of the Irish court in Dublin and a patron of the theatre; he sponsored and accompanied the Smock Alley players when they traveled to Edinburgh in 1681 to perform for the Duke of York (Clark, W 86). Dryden uses his poem as an

opportunity to reclaim Roscommon for England (which Dryden calls “Britain”) from Ireland. Dryden laments “How much in him may rising *Ireland* boast,/How much in gaining him has *Britain* lost!/Their Island in revenge has ours reclaim’d.” Dryden then undermines Ireland’s claim, however, by citing Roscommon’s English origins. In England, Roscommon’s “conquering Ancestors [...]nurst” and “*Ireland* but translated *England* first.” Dryden plays on Roscommon’s practice of translation to charge that Ireland merely translated its conqueror, England. By laying out England’s prior claim, Dryden asserts English ownership over Roscommon once and for all “By this Reprisal we regain our right” and prevents a fight between the “two contending nations.” Dryden staked a claim for Roscommon just as he claimed Shakespeare for England.

Through his adaptation of Shakespeare, Tate positioned himself as English among other English playwrights. I argue, however, that he used that position, solidified through the act of adaptation, to give voice to Irish concerns, however faintly, at a crucial moment, when civil war threatened to once again ravage Britain. Over the course of his long career, Tate only adapted three Shakespeare plays, *The Sicilian Tyrant* (*Richard II*), *Lear*, and *The Ingratitude of a Commonwealth* (*Coriolanus*), which he did successively and exclusively during the Exclusion Crisis. Between 1678 and 1682, the years of the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis, nine Shakespeare plays were adapted (Olsen 414). Fourteen adaptations of Shakespeare were performed on London stages during the reign of Charles II and over half of them were produced between 1678 and 1682.¹³⁴

For Tate, who contributed three of the nine adaptations during the period, his work all premiered between 1680 (*Richard II*) and 1681 (*Lear* and *Coriolanus*). The year 1681 elicited comparisons to 1641, the year of the Irish rebellion and the spread of civil war throughout

¹³⁴ For more on Shakespeare during the Exclusion Crisis, please see Odai Johnson’s *Rehearsing the Revolution* and Susan Owen’s *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*.

Britain. On 23 October 1641, Irish Catholics in Ulster rose up in rebellion targeting Protestants inhabiting Ireland. Tate's grandfather, Faithful Teate, relocated his family to Dublin in response to the 1641 uprising, known variously as the Irish Massacre and the Irish Rebellion. Along the way "he[...] was stripped and robbed by rebels" and "two or three of his children died of the bad treatment they received" (Spencer 19). Though the Irish Catholics perpetrated violence against Protestants, including Faithful Teate and his family, the uprising ballooned in the Protestant imagination and was historicized as even more horrific than it was. The anniversary of the event, 23 October, was observed annually as the Irish Massacre (Gibney 12). The uprising loomed large for Protestants in Ireland, minorities in a Catholic kingdom, who felt "besieged and under threat" in 1641 and again in 1681 as the prospect of a Popish Plot reawakened fears of Catholic rebellion and violence. In 1681, the English remembered the year of civil outbreak in Ireland under Charles I, a year Charles II bade them to forget in the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion. The deliberate recall of events and media from 1641 resurrected the year from its supposed oblivion and re-membered Ireland as the powder keg of civil war. Materials from 1641 were republished during the Exclusion Crisis.¹³⁵ An anonymous pamphlet lifted material from John Temple's *Irish Rebellion* (1642), which exaggerated the number of victims and depicted the Irish smashing babies' heads against rocks. Deanna Rankin in *From Spencer to Swift* also points out that, during the Exclusion Crisis, "At least two accounts of the 1641 trial and execution of Wentworth," Ireland's viceroy the Earl of Strafford, "were republished" in London (231-232). To recall, Strafford was beheaded on Tower Green in May 1641 for supposedly offering the Irish army¹³⁶ to fight with Charles I against the Scottish Covenanters. Parliament's execution of the viceroy,

¹³⁵ Nancy Klein Maguire notes that parallels in print between 1641 and 1681 remembered the downfall and beheading of Charles I. The Tories reprinted the king's 1649 "autobiography" *Eikon Basilike* (31-32).

¹³⁶ Strafford's army "in 1640 [...] of 8000 men, made up largely of Catholic Irish, who could be depended on to fight loyally with Protestant Scotland" (Perceval-Maxwell 196).

despite a Bill of Attainder, manifested its growing power over Charles I. The Ulster Irish rebelled in October 1641. John Gibney characterizes the Irish Rebellion of 1641 as “ritualized attempts to wipe out the physical, cultural, and religious presence of the colonists in Ireland” (12). Though the Earl of Strafford and Charles I were far from Catholic supporters, Irish Catholics in 1641 rebelled in response to Scottish attempts to eradicate Catholicism in Ireland, which the dissident Protestants in the English Parliament, such as Oliver Cromwell, who were overpowering the king and his administrators supported (Perceval-Maxwell 198). The year, 1681, was ripe with parallels to the political climate and events of 1641, which affirmed Protestant fears of the Irish Catholic Popish Plot. In this year, Tate remembered *Lear*.

Tate’s *Lear* is often described in the scholarship as a royalist play because of its happy ending. His adaptation enjoyed such wild popularity that it replaced Shakespeare’s “original,” which absented the British stage until William Charles McCready’s restorative production in 1838.¹³⁷ Tate’s decision to outfit *Lear* with a happy ending suggests one explanation for its success.¹³⁸ Tate’s play reaffirmed the Restoration by restoring King Lear to his throne and allowing him to appoint his daughter Cordelia as successor; neither Lear nor Cordelia survive Shakespeare’s play, let alone reclaim the throne. Tate’s adaptation sympathized with a pro-Tory argument, favoring the king and his right to claim his successor over the attempts of the bastard Edmund and Lear’s daughters to seize the throne.¹³⁹ Nancy Klein Maguire, writing about the restoration celebrated in Tate’s *Lear*, even suggests that his adaptation “reverses the act of

¹³⁷ In 1756, Garrick produced his own *Lear*, an amalgamation of Tate’s adaptation and Shakespeare’s “original.” Garrick entitled it “*King Lear*-with restorations from Shakespeare” (Stone, 91). McCready, however, is credited with restoring Shakespeare’s “original” to the stage.

¹³⁸ In Graham Holderness and Naomi Carter’s essay, “The King’s Two Bodies: Text and Genre in *King Lear*,” they trace the origins of the story of Lear to reveal that Shakespeare’s decision to end his play in tragedy was actually an adaptation of the story’s traditional happy ending, which Tate’s adaptation featured.

¹³⁹ James, Duke of Monmouth, the “bastard” son of Charles II, had support to succeed the throne over Charles II’s chosen heir, his brother, James, Duke of York.

regicide” (38). With Charles I’s beheading as recent history and plots against Charles II’s life as current history, Tate used Shakespeare’s *Lear* to reassure an anxious audience by choosing to forget Shakespeare’s ending and plant a new memory of monarchical restoration.

While I support this assessment of Tate’s *Lear*, I cannot ignore the evidence, which suggests, that buried within a happy ending, is a warning about England’s treatment of Ireland during the hysteria of the Popish Plot. Tate adapted a play based in English history in which a king rules over three kingdoms, paralleling the Stuart hold over England, Ireland, and Scotland. Edmund the Bastard opens Tate’s adaptation and informs the audience that his plot to dishonor Edgar is already well underway; Gloster proclaims Edgar a “villain” (2). Lear disinherits Cordelia because of her love for Edgar “the Rebel Son of Gloster” (4). Lear leaves his kingdom to Cornwall and Albany, saying “I do invest you jointly with full Right/In this fair Third, *Cordelia’s* forfeit Dow’r” (70). Tate dramatizes a scenario in which the power of three is invested in two; in Britain, Ireland functioned as the disinherited third. Lear’s unfounded suspicions of Cordelia and Edgar cloud the monarch’s judgment, allowing him to place his kingdoms squarely in the hands of the duplicitous and tyrannical Goneril, Regan, and Edmund. Tate’s happy-ending relies on the exoneration of the once suspected Cordelia and Edgar and their combined efforts to defeat Edmund and restore Lear. Tate’s adaptation dramatizes the rebellion obscured by the promulgation of the spurious Popish Plot and the threat of factionalism to British union.

During the Popish Plot, England suspected rebellion in Ireland that never came whilst unrest raged in Scotland. The Covenanters rose up in 1666 and 1679. Catholics in the Scottish Highlands were deployed to eradicate the Covenanters in 1678. Scotland’s Earl of Lauderdale created a “‘Highland Host’ of Catholics [quartered] on the recalcitrant western shires in 1678,

[which] provoked armed rebellion by the Covenanters” (Southcombe and Taspell 111). England sent James Duke of Monmouth, the Duke of York’s competition for succession, to put down the 1679 rising. In Ireland, on the other hand, rebellion remained unlikely and in fact, they too feared attack, from the Scottish Covenanters. A considerable number of Scots populated Ireland, many of who were religious dissenters like the Covenanters. The Covenanters, from their original rebellion in 1638 to their uprisings in the Restoration, sought not only religious tolerance, but also religious unity in Britain; they wanted possession of Ulster to mandate Presbyterianism. In the 1640s, when they were in league with the English Parliament, the Covenanters “proposed that an army of 10000 Scots be sent to Ireland [...] In return, the Scots wanted the right to govern three Ulster towns [...] and a share in any plantations that followed the confiscation of Irish lands” (Perceval-Maxwell 199-200). Though the Covenanters failed to gain control over Ulster, their interest in Ireland and their active uprisings during the Restoration caused Ormonde, Ireland’s viceroy, much more concern than the unsubstantiated Popish Plot (Gibney 77-67). Tate’s *Lear* suggests that England’s preoccupation with the spurious Popish Plot threatened Ireland’s safety and the overall security of the British union already weakened by Scottish rebellion.

In Tate’s *Lear*, the exoneration of Edgar and Cordelia enables the restoration of monarchy and the punishment of tyranny and rebellion. Edgar, wronged by his brother Edmund, flees the kingdom, seeking safety, like Charles II, in the hollow of a tree. While disguised as Poor Tom, he reconciles with his father and joins the peasant rebellion, commanded by Kent, to restore the king to power. Edgar prevents Gloster’s beheading at the hands of Gonerill’s servant (50-51). Gloster credits Edgar with the restoration of the king: “my dear *Edgar* Has, with himself, reveal’d the King’s blest Restauration” (66). Edgar achieves this end by revealing to

Albany Edmund and Gonerill's plot against his life. Edgar, once convicted of spurious tyranny, reveals actual tyranny, which turns the tide of the war in favor of Lear and Cordelia (57). Lear confers his kingdom on Cordelia and Edgar bringing the plot full circle. The love that once disinherited Cordelia becomes the basis on which the kingdom is restored. Edgar is exonerated through the revelation of Edmund's tyranny, made known to the audience immediately.

Cordelia's exoneration unfolds through religious imagery¹⁴⁰ that assures her virginity and piety. The sainted¹⁴¹ Cordelia appeals to Gloster on behalf of her father after the king has battled the storm. Cordelia describes Lear's state; she assumes he's dead and wishes to anoint and bury him, like Jesus's female followers did him before his resurrection. She asks Gloster to "Convey me to his breathless Trunk,/With my torn Robes to wrap his hoary Head,/With my torn Hair to bind his Hands and Feet,/Then with a show'r of Tears/To wash his Clay-smear'd Cheeks, and Die beside him" (27).¹⁴² Gloster responds by commending her "Piety" and "Virtue" (27-28). Later, she finds strength to care for her father in her virgin innocence: "Bold in my Virgin Innocence, I'll flie/My Royal Father to Relieve, or Die" (28). Cordelia asks the gods to restore the king and pledges her Women's Weapons "Piety and Pray'rs"¹⁴³ to the cause. She asserts that the gods "Image suffers when a Monarch bleeds" (53). Lear, resurrected by Cordelia and Edgar, confers his restored kingdom on them. The two characters suspected of disloyalty are exonerated and inherit the kingdom.

¹⁴⁰ Tate's emphasis on Cordelia's piety and virtue evokes Mary, a strong figure in Catholicism. Tate was not Catholic nor do I suggest that his play advocates for Catholic interests, but his pious, virginal Cordelia hint at Catholic imagery suggesting that Catholics were perhaps not as large a threat to Britain as the Covenanters and other dissident Protestants.

¹⁴¹ In the epilogue, Elizabeth Barry refers to her as saintly.

¹⁴² After Cordelia's description of Lear, whom she presumes dead, Edgar as Poor Tom encounters the king and exclaims "by all my griefs the poor old King beheaded" (30). In Shakespeare's text, Edgar says he's "bareheaded." Much is made of the Restoration preoccupation with the king's beheading manifested by Tate's "slippage" in substituting "beheaded" for "bareheaded." In Tate's *Lear*, the king dies before he's resurrected.

¹⁴³ In Shakespeare's text, Lear refers to tears as women's weapons.

When Smock Alley produced *King Lear* in Dublin, the company used Tate's happy ending. As with *Macbeth*, Smock Alley worked directly from Shakespeare's folio text to create its own adaptation of *Lear*. The *Lear* staged in Dublin was a sparse version of Shakespeare's play without the visible influence of Tate's *Lear*, with the exception of its happy ending. The happy ending appealed to the Dublin court audience arguably as much as the London audience, but perhaps even more so because Dublin was not divided over exclusion like London was. Whether or not Smock Alley saw Ireland in Tate's *Lear*, the company recognized the kingdom's role in securing a happy ending for the monarchy. Despite the suspicion of Irish Catholics bred in England, Irish and Scottish support of the monarchy helped the king garner the votes to beat the Exclusion Bill. (Southcombe and Taspell 122). Irish and Scottish support ensured the succession of James, Duke of York, upholding Stuart monarchy as both kingdoms had during the Interregnum. Recall that England was the last of the three kingdoms to establish Charles II as king. Smock Alley's use of Tate's happy ending further exemplifies Ireland's support of Stuart monarchy.

Tate's happy-ending *Lear* favors Charles II and his right to choose James Duke of York, loosely echoed in the play by the character of Edgar, as his heir. I argue that it also demonstrates the unsubstantiated nature of the Popish Plot and the disloyalty of those who propagated it. Tate, through Edgar and Cordelia, attempts to exonerate dispossessed Ireland, suggesting that a weakened Ireland subjected to England's suspicion threatened the stability of Charles II's empire as it once did his father's. The restoration provided by Tate's ending rested on the union of Britain not the factionalism encouraged by the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis.

3.5 KING SHAKESPEARE

In the prologue to Dryden and Davenant's adaptation *The Tempest; or, The Enchanted Island* (1667), Dryden likened Shakespeare to a king. He, "Monarch-like," gave his dramatic "subjects law," which they used to guide their playwriting. Jonson and Fletcher, and indeed his Restoration adapters too, based their work off of Shakespeare's, but none could match his work nor could their work exist apart from Shakespeare. "Shakespear's pow'r," declared Dryden, "is as sacred as a King's" (ibid). In the Restoration, theatre artists adapted Shakespeare's plays into contemporary histories and his persona into the face of English theatre history. Just as Shakespeare's plays dramatized the history of English kings, he emerged, through the considerable effort of his adapters, as the king of English theatre from whom all English playwrights descended. The adapters used terminology associated with the monarchy (king, successors, etc.) to solidify Shakespeare's status. In doing so, his adapters achieved two key goals. First, they restored the broken English theatrical tradition by reconnecting with Shakespeare, who they deemed its origin. Second, they reinforced the monarchy and participated in its cultural reinstitution.

Through their adaptations of Shakespeare's plays, English Restoration playwrights reinforced Shakespeare's cultural reign and used his authority to express their anxieties about Britain's restored king and kingdoms. In the Restoration, playwrights used Shakespeare to create Roach's "performances of origin," which facilitated Charles II's surrogation. The king and the theatres under his purview invested in the creation of "performances of origin" through the various remembering and forgetting of Britain's past. Charles II made efforts to maintain himself as the head of theatre in the three kingdoms, but the theatre, a microcosm for Britain, betrays the challenges of surrogation. Though union had its benefits, the privileging of Britain over the

welfare of the individual kingdoms within it aroused anxiety for Charles II's people. English playwrights turned to Shakespeare, whom they invested as English king of theatre, in an attempt to set England apart from Britain. Like Charles II, however, Shakespeare presided over a multiple monarchy. Irish and Scottish theatre artists also looked to King Shakespeare to interrogate union, which increased England's desire to claim the playwright as its own.

4.0 REUNITING BRITANNIA

English playwright Thomas Jordan wrote a prologue and epilogue, which introduced “the first Woman that came to Act on the Stage” in the 1660 production of Shakespeare’s *Othello* or *The Moor of Venice*.¹⁴⁴ Jordan framed the actress as the impetus for people to return to the theatre. Her “civilizing” influence reformed the stage so drastically that even “*Barebones*¹⁴⁵” Oliver Cromwell himself might consider taking in a show if he were still alive (Prologue). Unlike the English boy actor’s immoral, deceptive performances and the extravagant private theatricals of Charles I that sometimes featured the women of court speaking in drag, the actress exhibited “the same thing in publick as in private” and audiences could trust that her own purity was as steadfast as Desdemona’s (Epilogue).¹⁴⁶ For Jordan, the actress eliminated the divide between public and private, which arguably fueled the conflict between Charles I and his opponents. Charles I’s personal rule denied Parliament the right to participate in the governance of Britain, which pit king and parliament against each other and exacerbated civil unrest in the united kingdoms. Cromwell and his associates ultimately regained authority by publicly beheading Charles I outside of the building that housed his private court performances. The union of public

¹⁴⁴ Jordan, Thomas. “A Prologue to introduce the first Woman that came to Act on the Stage in the Tragedy, call’d The Moor of Venice.” *A royal arbor of loyal poesie consisting of poems and songs digested into triumph, elegy, satyr, love & drollery*. London, 1663. *Early English Books Online*. Web. 2 March 2014.

¹⁴⁵ In contrast to the excess of Charles I’s court, Cromwell stripped down his government and his protectorate was known as the “Barebones Parliament.”

¹⁴⁶ The lack of distinction between actresses’ public and private lives more often led emphasized their sexual availability than their chastity. However, Jordan was trying to combat the whorish reputation of the actress and therefore pitched her as pure.

and private in the actress's performance enabled the theatre to offer itself as a site for the reunification, and reconciliation, of Britain. Though once a source of antagonism, the restored theatre, in large part because of the actress, provided a hospitable place for the men and women of Britain to reconvene, a place that even welcomed Oliver Cromwell, its most famous detractor.

The Restoration actress, a blend of public and private theatrical practice, re-presented British union to Charles II's subjects. Charles II echoed Thomas Jordan's language about the civilized actress in his 1662 theatrical patents issued to Thomas Killigrew and William Davenant. The king billed actresses' performances as "not only harmless delight, but useful and instructive representations of human life" for his "good subjects" who witnessed them (18). The actress replaced the boy actor and the female courtier in the newly created role of professional actress. As a representative of both past traditions, the actress surrogated public and private Britain through performance, providing audiences with a "useful and instructive representation" of British union. Charles II positioned the restored theatre, and the female performance newly sanctioned within it, as a public institution governed by the king for the benefit of his subjects. The theatre provided a link to Stuart royal culture, but through his patronage of the public theatre, Charles II distinguished himself from Charles I, who created a distance between him and his people that led to Britain's unraveling. Charles II authorized female performance to publicize British union to his subjects and encourage public access to his Britain.

Charles II collapsed the distance created by Charles I through his public theatre attendance and his rather public affairs with professional actresses and powerful women of the court. Charles II's libertinism allowed public access to his court and increased exposure to the women he desired. After the establishment of the public actress, the king requested that his would-be mistress Frances Stuart model for Britannia, the female personification of united

Britain. Stuart's Britannia, which appeared on coinage, reiterated British union through female performance. Britannia reemerged as a popular symbol of British unity under Charles II, which Anne II later utilized in her performance as royal princess and queen. Anne, the last Stuart to reign, embodied Britannia in order to reconnect herself with her Elizabeth I and Charles II, her Tudor and Stuart predecessors. Britannia, I suggest, is a product of increased interest in female performance and a promulgation of the British union the actress represented.

In this section, I will trace the Restoration actress's emergence from the dual traditions of female performance that preceded her by articulating her relative coherence or breakage with the past conventions. Historian Richard Schoch's current work investigates the historical circumstances that determine why acting traditions either strive for coherence with past conventions or vehemently break with those traditions in favor of innovation. When considering the Restoration in "Genealogies of Shakespeare in Performance," he understands it as a moment of coherence. Using John Downes's *Roscius Anglicanus* as the central focus of his argument, Schoch argues that Downes, by cross-referencing Thomas Betterton's performances with Shakespeare's, establishes three important notions about the Restoration: "theatre is understood as the continuity of an acting tradition; the theatrical past is preserved in the work of contemporary actors; and the past is worth knowing because it sprang from original authorities" (9). The Restoration actress represents both coherence and breakage with past traditions. Like the boy actors, she performs on the public stage and learns female impersonation through imitation and instruction from senior actors. She also, however, recalls the female court performance tradition, which featured real women and prioritized social education and grooming. The actress embodies strains of coherence, but she also illustrates somewhat radical breaks from both traditions. She brings to an end the English public theatre's convention of all-male performance

and she, a woman of middling status, makes female performance publicly accessible where, prior to her, it was primarily practiced in private by aristocratic women. Her public performance, a surrogation of English and European traditions, of public and private practices, promulgates an accessible Britain central to Charles II's reign.

In every century since their emergence, social critics and historians have tried to explain why Charles II authorized professional actresses and how the first actresses learned their trade. One popular argument is that Charles II became accustomed to the convention while he was in exile at the French court where actresses had been performing publicly since the sixteenth century.¹⁴⁷ The banished king's supporters who joined him in exile, notably patentees Thomas Killigrew and William Davenant, also witnessed French theatre and incorporated several European conventions in their theatres in addition to actresses such as moveable scenery and opera. Other scholars, such as Deborah Payne Fiske¹⁴⁸, argue that Charles II made the decision to appease the theatre's Puritan critics (which the king hints at in the patent) while others speculate that the libertine king brought actresses onstage for his own titillation. The prologue to the 1660 *Othello*, which is accepted as the premiere performance of the professional actress, suggests the practical necessity for actresses. During the theatre's forced hiatus, the boy actors aged out. Their beards and height made them comical representations of Desdemona. This hypothesis is problematized, however, by the successful performances of Edward Kynaston, who earned all of his accolades (as reported by Pepys and Downes) for female impersonation on the Restoration stage.

¹⁴⁷ For more information, see Virginia Scott's *Women on the Stage in early modern France*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

¹⁴⁸ Fisk, Deborah Payne. "The Restoration Actress." *A Companion to Restoration Drama*. ed, Susan J. Owen. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001, 69-91.

Feminist scholars, namely Karen Britland, Alison Findlay, Claire McManus, Sophie Tomlinson, and their collaborators, approach the actress by looking to amateur female performance within England for precedence. *Women and Dramatic Production, 1550-1700* (2000), edited by Alison Findlay and Stephanie Hodgson-Wright with Gweno Williams, uncovers amateur female theatrical activity often overlooked by studies focused on the public stage. Findlay et al historicize domestic performances staged by women at their private residences and consider court masques within this context. Pamela Allen Brown and Peter Parolin's edited collection engages in similar work, mapping a recuperative history of female performance "beyond the all-male stage."¹⁴⁹ Their *Women Players in England, 1500-1660* deploys an expansive definition of performance, locating female performance in medieval theatricals, mountebank performances, and commedia as well as in renderings of women in ballads and jestbooks. This work critically intervened in the scholarly narrative of female performance, which overlooked or disregarded amateur evidence.

Britland, McManus, and Tomlinson each contributed book-length projects dedicated to analyzing the theatrical contributions of the Stuart queens consort, Anna of Denmark and Henrietta Maria, as a precursor to the Restoration actress. In *Women on the Renaissance Stage* (2002), Claire McManus demonstrates Anna's innovative participation in and sponsorship of court masques that featured female performers. McManus compares the queen's masque performances with her calculated performances of foreign queenship and femininity in royal ceremonies including her royal entries into Edinburgh and London. Karen Britland's *Drama at the Courts of Queen Henrietta Maria* (2006) offers a comparable analysis of Henrietta Maria's theatrical patronage, arguing that she expressed her French identity and her political perspective

¹⁴⁹ The subtitle of their book.

through court masques and pastorals. Sophie Tomlinson, in *Women on stage in Stuart Drama* (2005), uses the theatrical contributions of Anna of Denmark and Henrietta Maria to support a larger argument about the development of a “poetics of female performance,” reflected in Caroline court and professional theatre, which gave the female body and the theatrical exploration of female subjectivity central focus. McManus, Britland, and Tomlinson articulate the explicit connections between the theatrical work and cultural performances of the foreign queens consort and the eventual emergence of the Restoration actress.

While the court tradition contributed to the construction and practice of the Restoration actress, she also subsumed her professional antecedent, the boy actor. McManus, Britland, and Tomlinson make a convincing case for viewing the queens consort and their ladies as the actress’s theatrical ancestors and I find the female lineage compelling. For the purposes of my analysis, however, I am equally concerned with the boy actors who performed on the court and professional stages. The extant evidence about actress biographies, training, and professional status indicate that the first actresses shared similarities with the boy actors some of who most likely served as their instructors in the Restoration.

The actress, born out of coherence and breakage with two past traditions, appears as part of Charles II’s agenda to use public female performance to reintegrate England into a re-united Britain. As I’ve previously argued, when Cromwell and the regicides executed Charles I, they disbanded an already tenuous British union strained by the king’s (rather impersonal) personal rule. England became a commonwealth and separated itself from the Stuart kingdoms of Ireland and Scotland. Through his Restoration, Charles II reunited the British kingdoms, first brought together by his Stuart grandfather, James I. In creating the profession of the actress, Charles II combined practices of the English public theatre with private female court performance, which

was readily identifiable with Stuart culture and theatrical entertainment on the continent. Despite exposure to professional actresses on the continent and amateur female court performers, England maintained an all-male public theatre until 1662. Once recognized as king, Charles II made female performance publicly accessible to his subjects on all British stages, including theatres in Dublin and Edinburgh. By bringing together two past traditions, the actress represented union and participated in Charles II's British reunification project through public performance.

4.1 FEMALE PERFORMANCE: PRIVATE AND PUBLIC BRITAINS

Two forms of female performance that commented on British identity predate the Restoration actress. In the privacy of the Stuart courts, the monarchs and their queens used female performance to articulate British union for privileged foreign and domestic audiences. The queens consort, Anna of Denmark and Henrietta Maria, exerted their independent royal heritage and authority through female performances that displayed alternatives to the kings' formulations of British union by highlighting Britain's foreignness. The masques sponsored by the kings also British union, but they primarily used female performance to stage marriage as both a metaphor for union and a means of anglicizing their foreign queens as part of an insular Britain. By contrast, public female performance was enacted by the boy actors of the English professional theatre. Where female court performance negotiated British union through a theatrical examination of English, British, and European identities, the boy actor represented a specifically English tradition of female performance. The English theatre continued to uphold the boy actor system against religious criticism and the continent's employment of professional actresses. In

the Restoration, Charles II introduced the actress, an amalgamation of the boy actor and the female court performer, to publicly represent British union within the contexts of the British Isles and larger Europe.

Female performance in the Stuart courts participated in the working through of British union and the contextualization of Britain within larger Europe. The court masques, which featured women and were often overseen and produced by the queens-consort, encapsulated Britain's need to display and strengthen British union especially within the context of Europe, as Britain strove to increase its dominance in relationship to the continent. In his comprehensive analysis of Stuart court masque, Martin Butler argues that "Britishness was the foundational trope for Stuart masquing" (27). What is interesting are the different, gendered ways that the kings and queens consort conceptualized Britain. James I and Charles I used marriage-themed masques to explain Britain, where their "foreign" wives exerted their cultural and political independence through all-female performances that displayed their British and European affiliations.

Under the Stuart kings, the European court masque became a British performance tradition performed for foreign ambassadors. Stephen Orgel locates the origin of masques in the court of Henry VIII, but the masque form evolved significantly from the influences of continental performance. "The masque's links to continental culture are made evident" as Karen Britland states "in its structure, and through its borrowings from French and Italian productions" (208). The work of theatre designer Inigo Jones, who collaborated with Ben Jonson on court masques, was influenced by his time abroad in Italy. The foreign queens-consort also brought artistic traditions from the European courts in which they grew up. Masques, amalgamations of Tudor and European court performance, were often produced for ambassadorial visits. The

masques staged during James I's reign, far more elaborate than England's public theatre offerings, placed Britain on par with the entertainments of the major European courts. Martin Butler argues that, "Partly through [the masques'] very considerable symbolic impact, Whitehall came to look like a centre of power equivalent in prestige to Paris, Vienna, and Madrid" (Butler 2). The Stuarts staged Britain for foreign ambassadors through the European-inspired court masque.

The Stuart kings used marriage in masque to articulate British union. When James I ascended the English throne in 1603, he reigned over the kingdoms of ancient Britain: England, Scotland, and Wales. Throughout his reign, James I worked to unite his kingdoms (England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales), preferring to be known as the king of Great Britain. James I used masques to establish and secure this union. Marriage was often part of the content and context of masque performance. For example, Ben Jonson's *Hymenaei*, written in 1606 to celebrate the marriage of the Earl of Essex and Frances Howard, evoked marriage within the narrative. Jonson articulated James I's reign over Britain as a marriage that Hymen, the god of marriage, defended throughout the course of the masque.¹⁵⁰ Additionally, James I intended to "heal the political rift of the thwarted 1601 Essex rebellion" through the British marriage depicted onstage and the Essex-Howard union it celebrated. (McManus *Renaissance Stage* 41). James I often used masques to celebrate marriages, particularly intermarriages between members of the courts of England and Scotland, which stood to strengthen British union. Martin Butler notes "three of the highest-profile masques in James's first decade [...] celebrated marriages between English and Scottish nobility" (95). These marriages strengthened ties between English and Scottish nobility and produced truly British progeny. Marriage masques reinforced language James I used

¹⁵⁰ For more, see Martin Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture* (115-120).

elsewhere to explain British union. To recall, when he inherited his dual thrones, James I spoke of England and Scotland as his singular wife. The masques of James I used diegetic and actual marriages to rationalize and promote British union.

Like his father, Charles I, who took a far more active role in their production and performance, used masques and marriage to conceptualize British union. Unlike James, however, Charles I used his own marriage to Henrietta Maria in masques to idealize British union and to Anglicize his foreign queen. All of the Stuart queens consort (including as we will see Charles II and James II's queens) were European Catholics and England harbored anxiety about their foreignness and their potential political influence. Attempts were often made to deemphasize their otherness. The names of Anna of Denmark and Henrietta Maria were anglicized to Anne and Mary. Charles I also used masques to this effect. Karen Britland argues "The king's productions gradually renovate his wife's foreignness until, by 1632, she comes to stand for the goddess of England itself" (53). In Aurelian Townshend's *Albion's Triumph* (1632), for example, the king danced the role of Albanactus, the male personification of Scotland. Albanactus married Alba, the representation of England, which referenced his real life wife and queen, Henrietta Maria, who served as the masque's principle spectator. Together, the marriage of Albanactus and Alba reinforced the British union and the king and queen who oversaw it. By marrying her onstage representation, Charles I "naturalise[d] Henrietta Maria, making her a native of Albion and the true partner of Albanactus" (72). By coding Henrietta Maria as the female personification of England, Charles I elided her French identity and represented their marriage as a metaphor for Anglo-Scottish union.

James I and Charles I sponsored masques, which reiterated British union, often through marriage. Though the kings deployed the European masque for foreign ambassadors, their

performances concentrated primarily on presenting a strong British union rather than bridging Britain and the continent. Both their queens, however, staged court masques and entertainments that articulated their European royal heritage. Anna of Denmark used artistic patronage to sustain a court separate from James I in which she displayed European contributions to British union through all-female performances. Henrietta Maria, too, expressed her independent French identity through female performance despite the fact that she and Charles I collaborated far more often and more successfully as masquers and marital partners than James and Anna. The masques of the queens consort represented British union within the larger framework of Europe.

Anna of Denmark performed her royal identity and independence from James I through masques that acknowledged the “othered” identities responsible for British union. Anna of Denmark used masque performance to establish her own court in London. Before James I inherited the dual thrones, Anna of Denmark attempted to set up a separate court in Edinburgh and manipulated the court factions to gain power for her cause: to reclaim guardianship over Henry, James’s son and heir (Barroll 14-35). Sophie Tomlinson argues that, once in London, artistic patronage became Anna’s means of maintaining her own court: “For Anna of Denmark artistic patronage arguably provided a substitute for the political intriguing in which she had engaged in Scotland” (9). Through the masques, Anna established a core of eight noblewomen who formed a loyal circle around her (McManus “Memorialising” 59). As a performer in and a producer of the masques, Anna “worked in isolation from James” on masques which Claire McManus observes “have been read as subversive of his policies” (*Women* 10). Anna also partnered with her son, Prince Henry, in staging masques that countered James I’s politics.¹⁵¹ By

¹⁵¹ For more, see Barroll 117-160; Marshall 122-132.

setting herself apart from James I through masques, Anna of Denmark resisted assimilation into James's Britain and proposed, instead, an alternative Britain comprised of foreigners.

Anna used masques to distinguish herself from James I by both establishing her authority as queen and exhibiting the "foreign" European foundations of British union. In her first masque in 1604, Anna traced her newly acquired English royal authority to Elizabeth I and not James. In Samuel Daniel's *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, she embodied the goddess Pallas, which directly connected her with Elizabeth I and not James I. Martin Butler argues that, rather than represent Juno, wife of the god Jupiter who referenced James I, Anna appeared as Pallas "goddess of wisdom" (133). Claire McManus states that "Anna's personification of the classical deity so often associated with the virginal Elizabeth avoided a more conventional alignment with Juno" (*Renaissance Stage* 109). Jonson's *Hymenaei*, in which Anna was not involved, depicted Anna as Juno and James as Jupiter. To reinforce the connection to Elizabeth, Anna and her ladies wore the queen's clothes in performance (McManus *Renaissance Stage* 107). By playing Pallas, Anna, the "foreign" queen, evoked Elizabeth I, which connected her not only to "the independence of Elizabeth I," as Sophie Tomlinson points out, but also the indisputable Englishness of the recently deceased Tudor queen (37). Anna was not English herself nor did she seem interested in claiming an English identity. What her performance as Pallas demonstrated, however, was her inheritance of English royal authority passed not through her marriage to James I, but rather directly from Elizabeth I, the queen whom she succeeded on the throne.

In her first masque performance, Anna, the foreign queen, aligned herself with the English monarch Elizabeth I rather her husband James I through her embodiment of Pallas. In subsequent masques, Anna gave performances, specifically in Ben Jonson's *The Masque of Blackness*, which foregrounded the foreign roots of British union. Claire McManus offers a

layered analysis of *The Masque of Blackness* that reinforces Anna's status as a foreigner and her inclusion of the foreign in theatrical representations of British union. In Jonson's masque, Anna and her ladies appeared in blackface, most likely at the suggestion of the queen. In the entertainment, the female "blackamoors" traveled to Britannia to seek beauty (coded as whiteness) from the "sun king" and remained as British inhabitants. McManus interprets *Blackness* in terms of Anna's royal entry in Edinburgh in which she was accompanied by "blackened performers" who symbolized Scotland's ancient tie to Scota, Egyptian co-founder of Scotland (*Renaissance Stage* 77). A foreign queen herself, Anna represented that foreignness in her entry, which Scotland incorporated into her Scottish rule. McManus argues that, through the blackface in *The Masque of Blackness*, Anna recalled both the foreign female origins of Scotland and the current foreign influence on Britannia exercised through her queenship and artistic patronage.

By maintaining her foreign identity through *Blackness* and other masque performances, Anna "complicated a sense of the Jacobean court's purely 'English' identity" and James I's insular Britain (*ibid.*)¹⁵² Though the audience for *The Masque of Blackness* was restricted to courtiers, ambassadors from Spain and Venice were in attendance as well as visitors from France. Anna's "blackened" representation of Britain raised concerns in Englishman Dudley Carlton about her "strange" portrayal of court. In a letter to fellow Englishman John Chamberlain, Carlton described the blackened ladies as "a very loathsome sight" and regretted

¹⁵² McManus also argues that *Blackness* reinscribed the female body in the narrative of colonization by giving the colonized an agency they were typically denied. McManus writes that a blackened Anna led "the colonised to the colonisers and complicated the imaginative equation between the female body and territory found in the sexualised images of early modern colonial discourse" (43). Under Charles II, Britannia also plays with the female representation of conquered lands.

that “strangers should see our court so strangely disguised.”¹⁵³ In *Blackness*, England’s queen embodied the stranger and thereby incorporated strangers, both those in the audience and the metaphorical strangers in Britain’s history, into a vision of Britain, which was unrecognizable or unpalatable for certain Englishmen. Anna’s Britain was not necessarily at odds with James’s construction, but it did include foreigners in its representation of British union. Anna used female performance to express her royal independence and represent the foreign participants in British union.

Henrietta Maria, like Anna of Denmark before her, used female performance to maintain her French identity in court productions. Despite Charles I’s attempts to assimilate her through masques, she created performances that introduced the English court to French theatrical culture and changed Stuart theatrical practice. Many of Henrietta Maria’s theatricals were performed in French exclusively by her French ladies. Additionally, Henrietta Maria’s performances gave women spoken text. Under James I, female performers sang, but mostly remained silent while boy actors delivered the text. France had professional actresses, however, and Henrietta Maria innovated female performance in England through her appropriation of French practices: “When she married in 1625 the French princess left a court versed in a long tradition of female theatricals in which women regularly took histrionic speaking roles” (McManus *Women* 9). Henrietta Maria infused English court theatrical practice with French conventions, which exhibited a blend of British and European culture.

Through female performance, Henrietta Maria refused to rescind her French authority and used it to imagine a more cosmopolitan Britain. Martin Butler argues that while Charles I’s masques focused inwardly on Britain, Henrietta Maria claimed her European status to validate

¹⁵³ from Lee, Maurice, ed. *Dudley Carlton to John Chamberlain 1603-1624. Jacobean Letters*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1972, 67-68.

her authority in Britain and beyond: “Henrietta Maria’s Francophile masques foregrounded her status as a princess of France as well as England, and, unlike Charles’s inward-looking festivals, referenced her identity to a wider European context” (Butler 146). Through female performance, she attempted to ease English-French conflict before English and “foreign” court audiences. In the last masque under Charles, *Salmacida Spolia*, for example, Charles I and Henrietta Maria danced together for her mother, the queen of France. The masque “used common European iconography” in its set design to appeal to the cosmopolitan audience (Britland 183). Henrietta Maria’s all-female French pastorals also deployed “images of harmonious union that were put forward at the time of her wedding” (Britland 37). While Charles I used their marriage to represent Anglo-Scottish union, Henrietta Maria envisioned a Britain united through British and European partnership. Henrietta Maria’s continental perspective changed female performance in Charles I’s court and helped situate Britain as a union of two European powers.

Anna of Denmark and Henrietta Maria used female performance to exert their independent, “othered” identities through cosmopolitan representations of Britain that portrayed its foreign influences. Their intervention in the form established masques and court pastorals as opportunities for female performance. By contrast, James I and Charles I staged masques that promoted marriage as a means of union and anglicization. Together, despite their contrasting motivations, the kings and their queen-consorts established female performance as a Stuart tradition used to evaluate, rather than solely champion, British union.

4.1.1 Boy actors: England’s performing women

The actress’s professional predecessor, the boy actor, performed women on the exclusively male English public stage, which earned the theatre praise and criticism. At court, the Stuart kings and

their queens produced performances that conceptualized Britain for private audiences of courtiers and foreign ambassadors. The public stage, however, resisted the continental influence of the actress. Choosing to maintain the boy actor system set England's public theatre apart from that of Europe. While privileged court audiences, both domestic and foreign, witnessed royal ruminations on the European influences on British union, the public attended performances contained within an English theatrical system that used female impersonation to express England's superiority over the continent that allowed "immoral" actresses to perform publicly. Unlike court performance, the English public stage remained a male-dominated institution, which distinguished itself from Europe, and the theatrical practices of the foreign queens consort, specifically through the boy actor.

Boy actors learned their trade from senior actors through a system modeled off trade apprenticeship. Though acting was not considered a trade, many professional actors belonged to trade guilds. They apprenticed boy actors through their trades. David Kathman traces the adult actors who trained boys to trade companies such as the "Drapers, Goldsmiths, and Grocers" (2). The apprentices ranged in age from twelve to twenty one and they played all female roles, with the possible exception of older comic roles such as the Nurse in *Romeo and Juliet*, which may have been performed by male actors¹⁵⁴ (Kathman "How Old?" 220). Senior actors housed and trained them. Through their apprenticeship, the boy actors received specific training in feminine comportment and arts in addition to the social performance of the upper class, which all actors mimicked onstage. The primary means of learning was imitation. Boy actors learned by watching company members in performance. Boy actors studied social manners and decorum from texts such as Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier* written for the genteel class. Despite

¹⁵⁴ Richmond, Hugh M. *Shakespeare's Theatre: A Dictionary of his Stage Context*. New York: Continuum, 2002, 77.

their status, they were instructed to replicate what Joy Leslie Gibson calls the “‘uncontrived simplicity’ and ‘simple and natural gestures’” that Castiglione identified as fitting for the upper-class (45).¹⁵⁵ W. Robertson Davies in *Shakespeare’s Boy Actors* argues that boys also received training in dance, voice, gesture, dress, and make-up (Davies 31-40). According to Joseph Roach, all actors studied John Bulwer’s *Chirologia, or The Natural Language of the Hand* and *Chironomia, or The Art of Manual Rhetoric* to develop gesture systems for performance.¹⁵⁶ Though the boy actors’ training instructed them in female behavior, their study of gesture and learning through imitation also applied to the performance of male roles, which many of them went on to play in their adult lives. Boy actors learned their trade through professional apprenticeships overseen by actors who taught the female impersonators tactics and material they also used in male performance.

In addition to the public stage, England sanctioned female impersonation in the educational system and other professional performance companies. In school, boys performed in theatricals as part of the curriculum and all roles were played by males and indeed this tradition continues today.¹⁵⁷ London also had a tradition of boy companies and choristers that were patronized by the monarchy. Members of boys companies, in some cases, did continue on to careers in the professional theatre: “a number of boys did build on the training provided by the children’s playing companies and continue to develop as players and shares in various companies” (Lamb 122). Though privileged female youth performed in choirs and in school

¹⁵⁵ Castiglione’s term for this practiced mode of performance that gave the appearance of simplicity was *sprezzatura*.

¹⁵⁶ Roach locates evidence of the use of *Chironomia* in Shakespeare’s work. Lady Macbeth’s “washing of her hands” was thought by Bulwer to be a gesture that expressed innocence (*Player’s Passion* 42).

¹⁵⁷ See Roberta Barker’s “Acting Against the Rules: Remembering the Eroticism of the Boy Actress” in *Shakespeare Redressed: Cross-gender Casting in Contemporary Performance*, ed. James Bulman. Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 57-78.

productions as well, they were not permitted to transition to the professional stage. Female impersonation was pervasive in England's performance and educational culture.

The English theatre was both lauded and criticized for its use of boy actors. The threat and the art of the boy-actor laid in his manipulation of the female form and the performance's effect on the audience. Puritan playwright-turned-antitheatricalist Stephen Gosson railed against the theatre in general and boy actors in particular because of its deception, its impurity, and its negative impact on the audience. In his 1582 text, *Plays Confuted in Five Actions*, the third of the five actions articulates the "lie" of performance: "In Stage Playes for a boy to put one the attyre, the gesture, the passions of a woman [...] is by outwarde signes to shewe themselves otherwise than they are, and so within the compass of a lye."¹⁵⁸ In his *Th'Overthrow of Stage Playes*, John Rainoldes too warns against the deception boy-actors enact on the stage by dressing as women. Rainoldes writes "It is no fault for young men to weare womens raiment, but to doe it [...] with a lewde intent of committing whoredome, beguiling, and deceyving" (14-15). Rainoldes further cites the biblical argument against men putting on women's gestures. He cautions male audience members to "beware of beautifull boyes transformed into women" (34). Religious antitheatricalists disapproved of boy actors and the lascivious effects they had on male audiences.¹⁵⁹

While boy actors were condemned by the religious, the boy actor tradition also allowed England to set itself apart from the continent and their "whorish" actresses. Thomas Nashe, in his 1592 *Pierce Penilesse his Supplication to the Divell*, explicates the superiority of the English stage to the theatres on the continent. His criticism rests heavily on Europe's use of actresses,

¹⁵⁸ Stephen Gosson, *Plays Confuted in Five Actions*, *Theatrum redivivum*, vol. 1 (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1972), e5.

¹⁵⁹ For more, see Stephen Orgel's *Impersonations* and Michael Shapiro's *Gender in Play on the Shakespearean Stage*.

specifically in Italy, which bears out later in his invective. He writes: “Our players are not as the players beyond sea, as host of squirting bawdie Comedians, that have whores and common Curtizans to play womens parts, and forbear no immodest speech, or unchaste action that may procure laughter” (27). Nashe continues his comparison, elevating the English theatre beyond the status of the ancients. “But our Sceane is more stately furnish than ever it was in the time of *Roscius*, our representations honorable, and full of gallant resolution, not consisting like theirs of a Pantaloun, a Whore, and a Zanie, but of Emperours, Kings and Princes: whose true Tragedies [...] they do vaunt” (ibid). In England, actresses were synonymous with whores.¹⁶⁰

Together, the boy actor system and the mixed reception of actress performances reveal an English resistance to English actresses. Stephen Orgel in *Impersonations*, the seminal study of boy actors, makes the case that boys played women on the public stage for two reasons: male anxiety about female sexuality and sexual desire for boys. English audiences, which Orgel points out were comprised of men and women, enjoyed watching boy actors play women. Women were never officially barred from the stage and indeed, women seem to have worked the door and backstage, just not onstage. England’s resistance to actresses was, as Orgel phrases it, “a matter of social convention, not statute” (73). Orgel interprets England’s all-male stage as a “uniquely English solution” to the somewhat common “disapproval” of the actress (10). Even European countries that allowed women onstage, such as Spain, associated actresses with whores and found them morally reprobate. To bolster his argument about England’s resistance to actresses,

¹⁶⁰ Not all evidence of pre-Restoration actress performances in England condemns the practice. G.E. Bentley in *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage* contextualizes a dismissive account of the actress to reveal her popularity. Englishman Thomas Brande witnessed a comedic performance by a French company in 1629. Brande claims the actresses were “hissed, hooted, and pippin-pelted from the stage” (25). Bentley finds, however, the French company performed twice publicly after their apparent rejection by Brande and his spectators. Englishman Thomas Coryate saw actresses perform in 1608 on a trip to Venice and found them “as good [...] as ever I saw any masculine Actor” (247). Both of these accounts suggest that actresses were well-received by certain English audiences.

Orgel provides evidence that the actress was associated with Catholicism, which England was at pains to resist under Elizabeth I, James I, and Charles I (11). The boy actor represented an English resistance to adopting the European, Catholic actress on the public stage. The professional actress welcomed by Charles II offered a “British solution” to the Stuart problem of restoring Britain. By executing Charles I, England separated itself from the British union and further distinguished England from the continent by outlawing monarchy. Through her surrogation of the English boy actor and the female courtier, the Restoration actress reincorporated England and monarchy back into Britain by absorbing the divide between public and private performance and creating a unified representation of British union authorized by Charles II that reflected influences from English and European theatrical traditions.

4.2 THE ACTRESS AND PUBLIC FEMALE PERFORMANCE

Within two years of his Restoration, Charles II authorized female performance on the public stages of Britain. The actress incorporated the two traditions that preceded her, the boy actor and the female courtier, through a mix of coherence and innovation. In this section, I will expound the similarities and differences between the actress and her antecedents in female performances as well as her impact on the traditions that created her. The actress’s training experience and societal background resonated with the boy actor. Her public social elevation, however, as an instructor of upper class behavior and a woman of court herself, linked her with past female court performers. Further, she maintained a connection with Charles II, the monarch responsible for her creation, and overtook the court stage, the professional stage, and the public social stage through her own performances and her influence on the performances by women of

court, both theatrical and cultural. Ultimately, the actress contributed to an increased public presence of female performance, which Charles II used to reanimate British union through Britannia, the female personification of the united kingdoms.

As the boy actor's professional successor, the actress came from comparable beginnings. Though much of the biographical information about the first actresses is missing, they were certainly closer in status to the boy actors than the women of court. Elizabeth Barry and Anne Bracegirdle were adopted out of "good" families that fell to ruin. Nell Gwyn worked as a prostitute and an orange seller in the playhouse. These women of average means boarded, like the boy actors, in the homes of theatre managers Thomas Killigrew and William Davenant. Actresses learned their trade through imitation and the study of female social behavior. In terms of the latter, this knowledge was gained through education and observations of actual women of court.

Some actresses received formal education before they became professional performers. Boy actors apprenticed trade guilds at a young age and through it, received an education in that trade. It is therefore unlikely that they spent considerable time in formal education. In the mid-seventeenth century, however, there was an upsurge of interest in female education that provided more opportunities for women, even those not of the aristocracy. Beate Braun in her work on Restoration actresses suggests that some of the early actresses studied "deportment" and "basic drama" in girls' schools in Chelsea (12). Anne Laurence in *Women in England* also describes a curriculum based on the social arts: "schools for the daughters of the gentry were more concerned with polite accomplishments...dancing, playing musical instruments, singing and foreign languages appeared on the curriculum" (170). Anthony Fletcher documents the finishing schools that gained popularity in the seventeenth-century. "Between 1617 and the 1640s"

Fletcher observes “[finishing schools] sprung up around London suburbs and are also recorded in provincial towns like Exeter and Manchester” (369). In these schools, girls learned dancing, reading, and music, in addition to household skills. Mrs. Gosnell, actress and maid to Samuel Pepys, attended Hackney finishing school where she learned skills relevant to both professions. (ibid).

Actresses also learned through observation and imitation. They were formally instructed by senior actors and former boy actors, but they also learned their trade as spectators of the women of court. Mary (Saunderson) Betterton, Elizabeth Barry, and Anne Bracegirdle lived with their theatre managers, giving them access to the company of their wives. William Davenant’s wife reportedly “carried [Elizabeth Barry] wherever she visited” and through this exposure, the actresses studied the real life referents for their dramatic characters (Betterton¹⁶¹ 14). Barry “by frequently conversing with Ladies of the first Rank” with Lady Davenant learned how to be a gentlewoman, becoming “Mistress of [their] Behavior” (ibid). The actresses circulated in the court just as the king and his court frequently attended the public theatre. From this increased access to gentlewomen, actresses learned how to embody them onstage.

Samuel Pepys’s recalls a performance by Mrs. Corey that was so direct an imitation of a lady that she was imprisoned for her mimicry and almost prevented from returning to the stage. According to Pepys, Lady Harvey was “offended at Doll Common’s acting of Sempronia to imitate her” (Pepys 415). David Roberts argues that the actress was paid to deliberately lampoon Harvey by the highly influential Lady Castlemaine (mistress of Charles II): “In January 1669 Lady Castlemaine bribed Elizabeth Corey, an actress in the King’s Company, to play the part of

¹⁶¹ *The History of the English Stage* (1741) is attributed to Thomas Betterton, but authorship more likely belongs to Charles Gildon, Betterton’s biographer (*The Life of Mr. Thomas Betterton*, 1710). Gildon claims to have compiled Betterton’s papers to write *The History*, but he fails to cite the French elocution books he freely plagiarized.

Sempronia in Jonson's *Catiline* in imitation of an enemy at Court, Lady Elizabeth Harvey; it is said that when the line was uttered, 'But what'll you doe with Sempronia?', Lady Castlemaine, wishing on her enemy the fate of her ambassador husband, Sir Daniel, cried out, 'Send her to Constantinople!'" (97). Mrs. Corey was arrested, but Lady Castlemaine appealed to the king to release her. She then "order[ed] [Corey] to act it again worse than ever" (Pepys 415). Corey complied and her performance was met with hisses and flung oranges from Lady Harvey's clique (ibid). Mrs. Corey studied Lady Harvey and recreated her likeness so effectively onstage that she was jailed for it.

Mrs. Corey's performance demonstrates that actresses had access to women of class and that women of class recognized the actress's potential power as a public performer. Mrs. Corey she was able to observe and imitate Lady Harvey so accurately and specifically that it was obvious to the audience. She also must have conversed with Lady Castlemaine, mistress of Charles II and one of (if not the most) powerful women in England, in order for Castlemaine to arrange the ruse. Castlemaine took advantage of Corey's position on the public stage to publicly humiliate Lady Harvey. Though the actresses were of average means, their performance ability and public prominence sometimes earned them upper crust acquaintances.

Though Mrs. Corey's performance is a poor example, the actress was created in order to instruct audiences in proper behavior. To recall, the theatrical patents issued by Charles II speak to the educational initiative of the stage. The initial warrant issued in August 1660 granting Killigrew and Davenant a monopoly over theatrical activity in London also charged them with the recuperation of the stage. Charles II authorized the reinstatement of the theatre with the understanding that "Entertainments...if well managed might serve as moral instructions in human life" (in Thomas 12). This language recalls and reforms the Puritan objections to the

theatre that perpetuated its closure in 1642. The patent, revised and solidified in April 1662, reinforces the purpose and potential of entertainment laid out in the warrant and grants women the permission to perform on the professional stage with the assumption that the moral management of their performances would produce “not only harmless delight, but useful and instructive representations of human life, to such our good subjects as shall resort to the same” (12). Female performers had the potential to educate their audience members in modest behavior. The boy actor tradition, however, did not have a reputation for modesty. The introduction of the actress in the patent follows an approbation of boy actors. The patent mentions the criticism the theatre received for boy actors: “the women’s parts therein have been acted by men in the habit of women, at which some have taken offence” (in Thomas 18). “For the preventing of these abuses for the future” the king states that plays must omit “passages offensive to piety and good manners” and welcome actresses onto the stage (ibid). By putting the actress in opposition to the boy actor, Charles II presents the actress, forged from English and European performance traditions, as a representation of Britain for his subjects. Her performances were officially intended to advise women on proper behavior, but they also taught Charles II’s public what his Britain looked like so they could recognize and claim ownership over it themselves.¹⁶²

Professional actresses affected a change in the way the theatre was received in conduct literature from the period. Richard Braithwaite’s *The English Gentlewoman* (1631) is arguably “the first conduct book directed specifically at the female sex” (Fletcher 380). Braithwaite regards playgoing as “irregular and undecent” (31). Women who frequented the theatre were often poor examples of womanhood who slept their lives away and were ultimately “unprepared” for death. Robert Codrington’s *The second part of Youths behavior* (1664) and subsequently

¹⁶² The patent does not, however, appear to outlaw or ban boy actors from the stage.

Hannah Woolley's *The Gentlewoman's Companion* (1673), however, though they borrow significantly from Braithwaite and second his disapprobation of excessive indulgence in the theatre. However, Codrington and Woolley add to the theatre's censure the possibility of its efficacy. Codrington states in *The second part of Youths behavior* that "by a wise use, and a right application [of the theatre]...we may meet with many excellent Precepts, for Instruction, and sundry great Examples for Caution, and divers notable passages, which...being well applied...will confer no small profit to the judicious Hearers" (28-29). He continues with his defense of the theatre by citing royal support for its merits from England's Edward VI and Elizabeth I:

And it is not unworthy of your Observation to consider, that the reformer of the *English* Church, the most incomparable *Edward* the sixth, did so much approve of Stage-playes, that he appointed one who was a Courtier of a delicate Fancy to be the chief Disposer of the Playes, who by his office was to take care to have them set forth in a sumptuous manner, as it became the presence of the King, before whom they were acted; which Office to this day retains the Name of *The Master of the Revels*. And Queen *Elizabeth* of blessed memory, was pleased to term these Playes, *The harmless Spenders of Time*, and conferred large exhibitions on such as then were most remarkable both for writing and acting; neither did she hold it any derogation to her Royal Person to give often Countenance to their Indeavours, the better to encourage them in their proceedings (29-30).

This same passage appears almost verbatim in Woolley's 1673 text.¹⁶³ By linking the vindication of the actress to the monarchy, the conduct writers proposed the actress as an exemplar for behavior in their current monarch's (Charles II) Britain. The actress remembered commendable performance practices under previous monarchs while also reflecting the benefits of female performance inaugurated by Charles II. She successfully combined Britain's past and present and provided audiences with representations of appropriate behavior to sustain British union. The instructional merits of the theatre for women once again surface in the anonymous *The Ladies Dictionary* published in 1694, covered within the entry for "recreation,"¹⁶⁴ though the monarchical support for the theatre is tempered in comparison to Codrington and Woolley's assessments, which reflects the cooling of the relationship between the theatre and the monarch under William III and Mary II and the growing moral censure of the theatre ultimately expressed in Jeremy Collier's 1698 *Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage*. The potential of the actress's performances to teach audiences about behavior and British union changed the way theatre was regarded in seventeenth-century conduct literature.

¹⁶³ "I am not ignorant that Stage-plays have been much envy'd at, and not without just cause: yet most certain it is, that by a wise use, and a right application of many things we hear and see contain'd therein, we may meet with many excellent precepts for instruction, and sundry great Examples for caution, and such notable passages, which being well applied (as what may not be perverted) will confer no small profit to the cautious and judicious Hearers. *Edward* the Sixth the Reformer of the *English Church*, did so much approve of Plays, that he appointed a Courtier eminent for wit and fancy to be the chief Officer in supervising, ordering, and disposing what should be acted or represented before his Majesty; which Office at this time retains the name of Master of the Revels. Queen *Elizabeth*, that incomparable Virtuous Princess, was pleased to term Plays the harmless Spenders of time, and largely contributed to the maintenance of the Authors and Actors of them" (85).

¹⁶⁴ "Stage Plays, or the Recreation of the Theaters, have been by some condemned, as not fitting for the Entertainment of modest Ladies; but to such, most certain it is, they may prove of great advantage if they wisely use, and rightly apply many things they hear and see contained in Ingenious Plays, and Precepts for Instruction, and sundry great Examples for Caution; and such notable passages, which being well applied, still confer no small addition to the understanding of the Auditors. *Edward* the Sixth, that *English* Planix in Piety and Virtue, tho the weighty affairs of a Kingdom bore upon his Youthful Shoulders, yet he borrowed leisure from his Devotions and State Affairs to see Plays, and Interludes, to refresh his tired Spirits, which such harmless Recreations; and for the better ordering of them, that nothing might appear indecent, he appointed an Officer to Supervise and Dispose to the best advantage, what should be Acted and Represented before him, which place is now supplied by the Master of the Revels. Queen *Elizabeth*, the mirror and wonder of Virgin Majesty, gave her Opinion, That Plays were harmless spenders of Time" (435-436).

Charles II granted actresses' public prominence because of the instructive representations of British union he hoped they would offer his subjects. The actresses also inherited control over female performance and social education at court. Mary Betterton and Elizabeth Barry tutored the Stuart princesses, Mary and Anne, for their roles in court performances. By tutoring the princesses, actresses furthered the educational imperative of court performance established under the Stuart queens consort. Claire McManus observes that masques educated women in decorum, dance, and embroidery, all facets of a courtly, aristocratic education: "Courtiers-male and female-required a courtly education and they were required to display it [...] in the masque" to demonstrate their belonging ("Memorialising" 91-92). Actresses tutored royals in court performance and performed alongside them in court productions, such as John Crowne's 1675 *Calisto*. In the Restoration, actresses, none of who were born peers, inherited the responsibility of educating women in court behavior on private and public stages.

By inheriting the tradition, the actress naturalized and publicized female performance. Actresses inherited the female performance tradition from foreign queens consort, bypassing the Portuguese Catherine of Braganza. All of the first actresses, as far as we know, were of British rather than European extraction. The majority of them, even those on the Dublin stage, were English. The actresses allowed Britain's public to witness female performance by Protestant Englishwomen on its formerly all-male public stages. Though Charles II had a foreign Catholic queen and mistresses, he also kept quite public company with the English Protestant actress, Nell Gwyn. Joseph Roach's "Nell Gwyn and Covent Garden Goddesses" paints Nell Gwyn as a "Cinderella story" for the English people. Gwyn was homegrown and represented Protestant England. She also went from humble beginnings to the royal palace while retaining her "authentic identity." Roach writes "'Nell' underwent a proper royal makeover and still came out

‘Nell’” (71). On one occasion (oft-quoted in the scholarship), crowds assaulted Gwyn as she rode by in her carriage. In response, Gwyn shouted “Pray, good people, be civil, I am the *Protestant* whore” so as not to be confused with Charles II’s French Catholic mistress, Louise de Keroualle, Duchess of Portsmouth (Wilson 240). Gwyn performed the role of the English Protestant in Charles II’s court as she did the English Protestant actress on his public stage. Their Englishness enabled actresses to exemplify Britain because they filtered European practices through England as opposed to the queens consort, and the king’s foreign mistresses, whose origins and interests were predominately interpreted by the English as European. The actress’s Englishness invited English audiences into a nonthreatening British union exhibited by her successful integration of English and European theatrical practice authorized by a British king for the benefit of his subjects.

Like Charles II, the women of court, many of whom were European, allied themselves with actresses to take advantage of their English origins and their public representation of British union. Kate Hamilton argues that, Mary of Modena, Duchess of York, used her relationship to Elizabeth Barry to gain popularity:

Attaching herself to Barry’s rising star allowed the Duchess to demonstrate her support for British performers, as well as capitalize on the popularity of the London theaters.

Mary’s open Catholicism and support of Italian artists at court likely made her unpopular, but Barry’s continued success made the actress a safe choice for endorsement (305)

The Duchess of York capitalized both on Barry’s popular appeal and her British identity. The duchess also reportedly received instruction in English from Elizabeth Barry.¹⁶⁵ Even William III, the Dutch king who replaced James II on the British throne, used actresses to deemphasize

¹⁶⁵ “The Dutchess of *York* was so pleased, that from Mrs. *Barry* she learned to improve her English Language” (Betterton 17).

his foreignness. Sir Godfrey Kneller painted *William III on Horseback* in 1701 for Hampton Court and incorporated Barry and Bracegirdle as the mythological figures, Ceres (Barry) and Flora (Bracegirdle). William's queen, Mary (Stuart) passed away in 1694 and the absence of a Stuart monarch exacerbated the king's "foreignness." Kneller's painting recalls the Glorious Revolution of 1688, when William III became the rightful heir of the British throne (Dolman 24). By including Barry and Bracegirdle in the portrait, Kneller bolstered William's Britishness and his patronage of British culture. Barry and Bracegirdle were the most acclaimed actresses of their time and Bracegirdle, in particular, symbolized the virtue of the Protestant William and Mary.¹⁶⁶ Actresses offered the British public "native" female performance.

Actresses represented British union under Charles II. Certain actresses doubled as royal mistresses, which allowed them social mobility and reinforced Charles II's associations with British union. The actress symbolized British union and Charles II was responsible for bringing women to the public stage. Therefore, Charles II's liaisons with actresses served as public reminders of his authority over and re-establishment of British union. The actress also benefited financially and socially from her role as mistress. Though the scholarship has sometimes elided the power of the actress-mistress, I suggest that she was not just a pawn in the relationship but a player and, in fact, her significant role as a player in the British unification project afforded her visibility and popularity that the men with her coveted. In these sexual partners, the actress-mistress brought notoriety to the men and, in turn, took away social advancement.

There seems to be a shared obsession in history and scholarship with the actress as mistress that may exaggerate the association between the two roles because of the singular focus

¹⁶⁶ For more, see James Peck's "Albion's 'Chaste Lucrece': Chastity, Resistance, and the Glorious Revolution in the career of Anne Bracegirdle." *Theatre Survey* 45:1 (May 2004) and Jennifer Elizabeth Pople's unpublished dissertation *Spectacular Bodies: Nell Gwyn, Elizabeth Barry, and Anne Bracegirdle as Symbols of Contract, Struggle, and Subversion in Restoration England, 1660-1707*.

on actresses who were mistresses. Rosamond Gilder, in her 1931 *Enter the Actress*, noted the disparity in interest between Mary Betterton and her fellow actresses, such as Nell Gwyn, Charles II's most famous actress-mistress. Gilder accounts for history's comparative lack of interest in Betterton as a consequence of her marriage to actor Thomas Betterton. Mary Betterton, from what we know, does not appear to have carried on liaisons and Gilder suggests that as a possible explanation for the paucity of research on her: "Mrs. Betterton is sometimes forgotten among the naughty ladies of King Charles's royal theatres" (xvi). Indeed, almost every significant work on the actress, whether it is advancing a critique of gender oppression or indulging in a romanticized libertine past, addresses and (to some extent) exploits the overlap by focusing on the "naughty ladies." Such works include John Harold Wilson's *All the King's Ladies* (1974), Katherine Maus's "Playhouse Flesh and Blood" (1979), Elizabeth Howe's *The First English Actresses* (1992), Joseph Roach's essay "Celebrity Erotics," Kristen Pullen's *Actresses and Whores* (2005), and Gilli Bush-Bailey's *Treading the Bawds* (2006). These scholars imagine the Restoration playhouse as a dangerous place for the actress in which she could regularly expect to be violated by male audience members.

Though this scholarship is responsible for much of what we know about the Restoration actress and the sexual climate of the playhouse is not to be dismissed, many texts have moments in which the actress is reduced to mistress or prostitute and rarely is the position of mistress contextualized within Restoration culture or afforded any agency. Historian Lawrence Stone provides insight into the position of the mistress in the mid-seventeenth century. He says "Many rich and respectable men, like Pepys, lived for decades with a mistress" (16). Long-term relationships with mistresses were not legal marriage, but "as a result of the legal confusion which prevailed [...] large numbers of persons were living together in situations of varying

uncertainty” (16). Many women were mistresses in the period, not only actresses or even women of a lower social class. Along with actresses, Charles II carried on liaisons with titled women such as Lady Castlemaine (Barbara Palmer) and Louise de Keroualle, Duchess of Portsmouth who either came to the king’s bed already noble (Castlemaine) or earned nobility because of their relationship with the king (Keroualle). Both women had significant claims on the king. Castlemaine was referred to as “the Uncrowned Queen” and Keroualle as “alternative queen” who supposedly participated in a mock marriage ceremony with Charles II (Farquhar 131; Sharpe *Reading Authority* 213).

When considering the actress as mistress, therefore, it is necessary to historicize the meaning of mistress and appreciate the range of women that fall within the category. Many women, from varied social backgrounds, acted as mistresses and benefited from their liaisons. Cynthia Lowenthal and Deborah Payne, rather than viewing the role of actress-mistress in a negative light, suggest that actresses were coveted mistresses because of what they offered their partners in terms of popularity. Lowenthal, in *Performing Identities on the Restoration Stage*, recognizes the potential for the actress’s identity as mistress to provide her “apparent upward mobility-the shift in [her] status and [her] extratheatrical assumption of a new social identity” (138). Payne offers a crucial reminder about the source material for actresses, which forms the basis of scholarship that interprets the role of mistress as unfavorable. She cautions “readings that emphasize the Restoration culture’s construction of the actress-as-object rely for the bulk of their evidence on satires against the stage and prologues and epilogues” (19). Payne further argues that Charles II’s penchant for taking actresses as mistresses made her a status symbol that could grant the man who possessed her status as well. She cites the experience of John Dryden

who “by taking a mistress from the playhouse, imitated Charles II and his inner circle, thus symbolically claiming a noble affiliation denied him by birth” (15).

To Lowenthal and Payne’s arguments, I add that the actress, even without sexual ties to Charles II, functioned as a status symbol because of her public appearance on the stage, which made her recognizable and popular and afforded her access to the women of court and social mobility. For example, the king and Nell Gwyn, his most researched actress-mistress, mutually benefited from their liaison. Gwyn was popular with the English public and Charles II shared in her popularity. As mistress, Gwyn, born of meager means, earned her son (fathered by the king) a noble title and lived off of a royal stipend granted her by Charles II and then James II. Actresses both earned status through their liaisons and brought status to the role of mistress because of their public prominence.

4.3 THE KING OF ACCESSIBILITY

The Restoration actress made female performance public, which served Charles II’s agenda to increase public access during his reign as a means of mitigating the distance Charles I established between the king and the people in order to reinvest his subjects in British union. Studies of Charles II’s style of governance, such as Brian Weiser’s *Charles II and the Politics of Access*, emphasize access as a way the king (seemingly) closed the gap between himself and his public, a gap initiated under Charles I and widened by Cromwell’s Commonwealth. This access encouraged what Joseph Roach in *It*, his study of celebrity culture, calls “public intimacy.” Roach defines public intimacy as “the illusion of availability” or elsewhere “the illusion of proximity” (3; 44). Put another way, through the performance of public intimacy, people felt like

they had access to their monarch, to the women of his court, and to the actresses ushered in by his restoration. I argue that Charles II's political valuation of access created the celebrity climate in which the actresses and women of court performed and gained popularity. The popularity of female performance and the desire for public access to it compounded in Charles II's resurrection of Britannia, the female personification of Britain.

By emphasizing accessibility, Charles II adopted a contrasting approach to his father, whose "politics of distance" cost him his authority and his head. Charles I held a "restrictive access policy" and practiced what Brian Weiser calls a "politics of distance" preferring to appear aloof and apart from his people (18). The king ruled autonomously over his kingdoms, a form of governance ironically termed "personal rule." As part of his personal rule, Charles I disbanded Parliament for the majority of his reign. He succeeded James I in 1625 and dissolved Parliament from 1626 to 1640. Charles I's personal rule was rather impersonal and his decision to mute Parliament encouraged the tension and strain that resulted in civil war and the king's beheading. His "politics of distance" alienated the king from both the English and Scottish parliaments. The Scots found his style culturally distant, reflecting an English rather than a Scottish approach to governance. The Scots required more access to their king than the English: "By English standards James VI had remarkably little privacy at his Scottish court, with access to his person being very open-and though restrictions were placed on access to his bedchamber in 1601, it still remained generous" (Stevenson 133). Consequently, when Charles I visited Scotland for his coronation, the Scots found him distanced and rude; their Scottish king had "'gone native'" (131; 135). When Charles I unilaterally decided to establish episcopacy throughout his kingdoms, the Scottish Parliament exercised their own "politics of distance" and "met without a summons from

the king” leaving Charles I with “no effective authority in Scotland” (Miller 88). Charles I’s “politics of distance” alienated the king from people who governed his kingdoms.

Unlike his father, Charles II encouraged a “politics of access.” Brian Weiser argues that Charles II’s advisors, namely Edward Hyde (father of Charles II’s sister-in-law Anne Hyde) and James Butler (Ireland’s viceroy) discouraged the king from governing like Charles I. Rather, recognizing his “affability,” they urged Charles II to practice a politics of access, which extended “open access” to courtiers and members of government. Weiser locates the politics of access in the architectural design of Whitehall (the king’s palace), frequent in-person meetings with the king, increased monarchical control over localities outside of London, and Charles II’s direct conversation with trade merchants. Through public access, Charles II courted positive relationships with his people.¹⁶⁷

Charles II’s open access, however, also manifested itself in the king’s rather public libertinism, allowing public access to the king’s private(s) moments and increased visibility of Charles II’s mistresses and illegitimate offspring. Charles II’s affairs were public knowledge and throughout his reign, members of government feared the political influence his mistresses exerted on the king. His principle mistresses, Lady Castlemaine and the Duchess of Portsmouth, were regarded as “queens in all but name”¹⁶⁸ for the sway they held with the king. During the Exclusion Crisis, the French Catholic Duchess of Portsmouth was accused of tyrannously misleading Charles II. The anonymous “Articles of high-treason and other high crimes and

¹⁶⁷Charles II did follow his father in one aspect of access, however, through a ceremony that perfectly encapsulates access, the tradition of touching for the king’s evil. The king offered a public invitation into the palace so he could cure scrofula, also known as “the king’s evil,” through a laying on of hands. The practice was a medieval tradition, but was popularized under Charles I (Toynbee 2). The ceremony reinforced the divine aspect of the king, what Tim Harris calls “the god-like mystique of majesty” (57). Charles II revived the ceremony in his reign, following Oliver Cromwell’s failed attempt. Philip Howard notes that “Royalist propaganda alleges that Cromwell tried to perform the miracle, and, but of course, naturally failed” (125). By inviting the people into his palace, Charles II put himself at some risk of infection for the sake of his kingdoms.

¹⁶⁸ Playing dangerously off of the title of Roy Sherwood’s book about Cromwell, *King in all But Name*.

misdemeanours against the Dutchess of Portsmouth,” published in London in 1680, derides the mistress and her deceitful machinations in the king’s court.¹⁶⁹ Rachel Weil notes that this “political pornography” advocated the murder of the mistresses (152).

I argue that this access to Charles II’s mistresses encouraged the celebrity culture of the Restoration. In his attempt to articulate the “it” qualities that transform people into celebrities, Joseph Roach pinpoints Charles II as a “celebrity” monarch. Charles II and the members of his court worked “it” by creating a sense of public intimacy.¹⁷⁰ Roach defines public intimacy as “the illusion of availability” or elsewhere “the illusion of proximity” (3; 44). For example, by touching to cure “the King’s Evil” or rushing into the streets, water bucket in hand, to quell the Great Fire, Charles II seemed accessible to and invested in the people. While public intimacy grants access to particular impressions of the celebrity, however, it also plays on a sense of the remoteness of the figure (17). Public intimacy allowed Samuel Pepys to lust after Lady Castlemaine, but part of her appeal for him was the knowledge that he could never actually have her in his bed. Charles II’s libertinism was also on full display in his court of access, which increased public desire for the women he pursued, creating a shared infatuation between the king and his people that made performing women a strategic conduit for the promulgation of British union.

Charles II made the public theatre part of his politics of access. Both of Charles II’s Stuart predecessors patronized professional theatre companies, but if they desired to attend performances, they typically sponsored private productions by the companies at court. By

¹⁶⁹ For more, please see Rachel Weil’s “Sometimes a Sceptre is only a Sceptre: Pornography and Politics in Restoration England,” in Lynn Hunt, ed. *The Invention of Pornography*: 125-154.

¹⁷⁰ To unpack celebrity, Roach also uses the terminology of “synthetic experience” and the “It-Effect,” both of which are arguably relevant to the Restoration as indeed Roach makes the case for them (3). Roach defines synthetic experience as vicariousness. Roach uses the theatre as an example. By watching actors, audiences share in the experiences of the characters. I am particularly interested in public intimacy and the It-Effect.

contrast, Charles II and his courtiers frequented the public theatre and the king carried on sexual liaisons with several actresses. Deborah Payne in “Patronage and the Dramatic Marketplace” articulates the differences between the patronage of the public theatre under Charles II and his father. She notes that Charles II publicly patronized the professional theatre and a chance sighting of the king and his court became part of the allure of playgoing for audiences. Payne quips “Charles II virtually *usurped* the public space of professional theatre in the cleverest of public relations ploys” (140 emphasis mine). Payne’s use of the word “usurp” calls to mind the Parliamentarians who usurped Charles I’s penchant for theatricality in order to stage his execution. By publicly patronizing the theatre, Charles II reclaimed theatricality and theatrical spaces as extensions of his authority.

The actresses in Charles II’s public theatres encouraged public intimacy with the king’s subjects. As Roach argues, the blending of onstage and offstage personae gave audiences the impression not only that they knew the actresses, but that they could also imagine being sexually intimate with them: “When plays sometimes touted the feature-by-feature attributes of the actresses playing the heroines and when both prologues and epilogues alluded leeringly to their sex lives offstage, the practice of intimacy in public had clearly arrived” (16). Roach, playing off of the idea of the king’s two bodies, suggests that celebrities have two bodies as well: the physical one that dies and the conceptual one that lives on through imagery. Thomas King in his influential article on the actress speaks of her dual bodies in terms of “the body of the character and that of ‘actress’” (80). Actresses were popularly identified by their character names reinforcing the blend of onstage and offstage personae. For example, Pepys referred to Mrs. Corey, who lambasted Lady Harvey in her imitative performance of Sempronia, by her the name of her most famous part, Doll Common in Ben Jonson’s *The Alchemist*. The public nature of the

actress's performances encouraged audiences to blend her identities and feel a sense of intimacy with her.

Another particular way of creating public intimacy in which actresses and women of the court participated was the public distribution of images, a frequent practice of Charles's II court. When discussing modern celebrities, Roach emphasizes the importance of their public image in creating public intimacy: "Their images circulate widely in the absence of their persons [...] but the very tension between their widespread visibility and their actual remoteness creates an unfulfilled need in the hearts of the public" (17). The same was arguably true of imagery in the Restoration. Along with images of the king, images of the women of court became public commodities. Peter Lely's "Windsor Beauties" series, commissioned by the Duchess of York (Anne Hyde), enjoyed popular consumption. The series depicted the women of court, including Charles's mistress Lady Castlemaine and his would-be mistress Frances Stuart (who later modeled Britannia). Samuel Pepys, an ardent (perverse) admirer of Lady Castlemaine, purchased three copies of her portrait in the collection (Roach 76). Many of the paintings in the collection were "role portraits," which depicted the women sitters as mythological or pastoral figures. Roach considers role-portraiture a type of performance and given the increased interest in female representation, I have to agree (69).

By using their likeness to depict powerful female figures, the women of the Restoration performed their power and influence. For example, in her "Windsor Beauties" portrait, Lely painted Lady Castlemaine as Minerva. Minerva, an ancestor of Britannia, represented both militaristic achievement and patronage of the arts. She is depicted with England and Scotland holding the double crowns over the head of baby Charles¹⁷¹ in Rubens's *The Union of the*

¹⁷¹ Charles is depicted receiving the crowns as an infant even though he was born second in line to the throne.

Crowns. Minerva also appears crowning Anne II in Antonio Verrio's painting at Hampton Court. Frances Stuart, the period model for Britannia, also sat for a painting as Minerva. By embodying Minerva, Castlemaine impressed upon the public her power and influence through an image that was widely-distributed and displayed in Whitehall Palace.

Actresses, too, sat for role portraiture in the Restoration that manifested their cultural power. In 1673, Nell Gwyn posed as a pastoral shepherdess in a Lely-inspired portrait by Gerard Valck (Roach "Nell Gwyn" 67). The painting is nearly identical to a portrait of the Duchess of Portsmouth by the same artist (Alexander 140). Gwyn, like Frances Stuart, was also depicted as the mythological goddess Diana. Through portraiture, Gwyn, a low-born woman, was pictorially represented the same fashion as the women of the court. Actresses also appeared in portraits that depicted them in famous roles. Actress Anne Bracegirdle appeared in a portrait in the habit of one of her stage characters. William Vincent painted Bracegirdle as "The Indian Queen," referring to her enactment of the role in either Howard and Dryden's *The Indian Queen* (1664) or Aphra Behn's *The Widow Ranter* (1688). In the portrait, Bracegirdle models "native" dress supposedly attained by Behn in Suriname.¹⁷² Actresses in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries sat more frequently for role portraiture, both of theatrical roles and mythological figures. For example, Sarah Siddons twice depicted Tragedy in portraiture.¹⁷³ Role portraiture affirmed the influence of the actresses' performances while onstage and off. Actress imagery circulated publicly, which painted them in popular stage roles and as courtly women. The popularity of role portraiture combined with the interest in Charles II's performing women coalesced in the Frances Stuart's rendering as Britannia, which the king commissioned to advance his union

¹⁷² The portrait is highly problematic. Bracegirdle is accompanied by two dwarfish, dark-skinned "native" figures in feather headdresses, who dutifully hold an umbrella over her head.

¹⁷³ Sir William Beechey's *Sarah Siddons with the Emblems of Tragedy* (1793) and Sir Joshua Reynolds's *Sarah Siddons as the Tragic Muse* (1784) (Perry et al 108-110).

agenda.

4.4 REPRESENTING BRITANNIA

Charles II's politics of access invited the public into seemingly intimate relationships with the women of his court and the actresses of his theatres. The king capitalized on the popular interest in female performance by reviving the female personification of Britain, Britannia, to symbolize the reestablishment of British union. At the king's request, Frances Stuart, one of the "Windsor Beauties," modeled Britannia on a medal commemorating Britain's naval victory over the Netherlands in 1667. John Roettier was the artist and his rendering of Stuart as Britannia later appeared on British coinage in 1672 for the first time since the Roman Empire. Charles II played on public intimacy by basing Britannia on an actual woman whose reputation for beauty was well-known at court and amongst the public. The image of Frances Stuart as Britannia remained a popular symbol of British union for centuries. In this section, I will analyze Britannia as a product of Charles II's "politics of access" and celebrity and a striking example of the power and popularity of public female performance in the Restoration.

Charles II chose to depict Britannia in the likeness of a recognizable woman to increase popular access and investment in British union through public intimacy. Sonya Wynne in *The Painted Ladies* remarks on the uniqueness of using a known woman to model:

The unusual use of a high-profile woman of the court rather than an unnamed model to personify countries or attributes disrupted the conventions. The generic female figure, who could and did symbolise (sic) almost anything, was replaced in this case by the representation of a particular woman (43).

Frances Stuart, nicknamed “La Belle Stuart,” had countless admirers, including Charles II himself. She held a position of prominence at court as the queen’s maid of honor. She appeared frequently in portraiture before the Britannia casting, which was available to the public for purchase. For example, Stuart sat as the mythological Diana in Peter Lely’s “Windsor Beauties” series. Just as Mary of Modena and William III used the popularity of actresses to improve their public reputations, Charles II excited interest in the revival of Britannia by using the already popular Stuart as model. Numerous courtiers remarked on Stuart’s Britannia role-play, diarist Samuel Pepys, of course, among them. It was also popularly recounted in Elkanah Settle’s dedication to his 1682 *The Heir of Morocco*. In praise of Lady Henrietta Wentworth’s beauty, he said she “might sit for a *Britannia*” as Frances Stuart had. Stuart’s popularity drew attention to the real woman behind the personification. Charles II used Stuart as model to elicit a strong popular connection to her personification of the symbolic Britannia.

Stuart’s Britannia image engendered public intimacy by giving an already popular, individual face to the kingdoms. Stuart’s “high-profile,” however, also invited speculation about the king’s covetous desire of Frances Stuart, which translated into critiques of Charles II’s rule over Britannia. Wynne observes that Stuart’s individualized Britannia carried with it “personal history (whether real or imagined) [that] inspired certain interesting interpretations of the image” (43). It was common knowledge in Charles II’s court of access that he coveted sexual access to Stuart, which she reportedly denied him. Charles II doted on Stuart and it “was generally believed” that during Catherine of Braganza’s stint of illness in 1663, the king planned to make Stuart his new queen (Melville 190). Stuart’s resistance to Charles II was enfolded into the symbolism of Britannia’s victory against Dutch naval advances.

Charles II's failed attempts to conquer Frances Stuart informed critical Restoration analyses of her Britannia image. Edmund Waller's Epigram upon the Golden Medal, published in 1686, infers that Stuart retained her virtue despite Charles II's advances. He likens Stuart to mythology's Danae, who, despite her father's attempts to ward him off, was impregnated by Zeus through a rain shower.¹⁷⁴ Danae was unable to protect herself from Zeus, but in Britannia's case "Thunder it self had fail'd to pass/ Vertue's a stronger Guard than Brass" (231). By hinting at Charles II's attempts through Zeus's thunder, Waller passes a gentle critique otherwise overshadowed by his praise of the king, Britannia, and the quality of their representations.¹⁷⁵ Andrew Marvell's criticism, however, was far less veiled. Marvell, who openly supported Cromwell, takes two significant digs at Charles II in his *Further instructions to a painter*. First, he charges that while Stuart charms the court, she is ultimately unavailable to them due to her recent marriage: "The *Court* in Farthing yet it self does please/And female S---t, there, *Rules the four Seas*./But Fate does still accumulate our Woes,/And *Richmond* here commands." (20). Marvell delivers the harsh reality of public intimacy. Though Britannia belongs to the British people, Frances Stuart is off limits to all (including the king) expecting the Duke of Richmond. Marvell's second attack on Charles II incriminates the king in the desired rape of Britannia. The author narrates a fictitious dream of the king where he is visited by a veiled, naked, tearful Virgin who "with very shame would break" (23). Charles II's reaction to this vision is not one of pity, but of desire. To him, her "Beauty greater seem'd by her distress" and he advanced on her (ibid). She recoiled and vanished and the king realized who she was: "he Divin'd 'twas *England*

¹⁷⁴ Georgia S. Maas, "Perseus and Bellerophon." *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*. Michael Gagarin, ed. Oxford University Press. Online. 2010. 6 Dec 2013.

¹⁷⁵ "OUR Guard upon the Royal side,/ On the Reverse, Our Beauty's pride/Here we discern, the Frown and Smile,/The Force and Glory of Our Isle;/In the rich Medal both so like/Immortals stand, it seems *Antique*./Carv'd by some Master, when the bold/*Greeks* made their *Jove* descend in Gold" (231).

or the *Peace*” (ibid). Marvell depicted Charles II dreaming about raping Frances Stuart and the kingdoms she represented. Jennifer Airey, in *The Politics of Rape*, observes “instead of offering his kingdom sympathy, comfort, and justice [...Charles II] initiates more unwelcome sexual contact” (66). Frances Stuart’s personification of Britannia elicited criticism of Charles II’s libertine rule.

Frances Stuart’s popularity brought public attention and scrutiny to Charles II’s governance of Britain. The individual circumstances of Stuart’s personal history, however, also affected a change in the symbolic meaning of Britannia. By continually resisting the king’s advances, Frances Stuart resisted conquering where Britannia originated as a symbol of conquest. Madge Dresser dates the inception of Britannia to the first century A.D., reporting that “the earliest sculptural representations of Britannia [...] celebrated the Roman conquest of Britain” (Dresser 26). Britannia, then, represented the “subjugation” of ancient Britain to Rome (ibid).

Her reemergence in the Restoration commemorated, instead, two victories over attempted conquest: Britain’s naval victory against the Dutch and Frances Stuart’s successful resistance of Charles II. Seated on a rock, Restoration Britannia holds a spear in her left arm and a shield emblazoned with the overlaid flags of England and Scotland (the cross of St. George and the cross of St. Andrew) in her right. Her body faces forward while her head, turned over her right shoulder, watches a battleship. In her Restoration iteration, Britannia performed the conqueror, not the conquered.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶ It’s important to note that Roettier also drafted an image of the medal that depicted Britannia with a bare breast. In Restoration portraiture, bare breasts were associated with mistresses. According to Alexander in *The Painted Ladies* “Since antiquity the bared breast had come to symbolise a woman’s physical allure [...] and ultimately her availability: consequently, by the Renaissance it had become particularly associated with portraits of mistresses” (100). Elsewhere Macleod argues that bare breast portraits “seem *exclusively* to depict mistresses” (168 emphasis

The individualized representation of Stuart as Britannia changed previous depictions of Britain as a conquered kingdom, but her personal history informed more than the king's sexual appetite for her. By using Frances Stuart, Charles II publicly re-membered and reinforced a British union made possible by the Stuart kings. Of all the women to sit for Britannia, Charles II chose a Stuart, whose own return to London from exile represented the reinstatement of Stuart kingship. Frances Stuart's father, Walter, was a Scottish MP and physician. He fled Scotland in 1649, following the beheading of Charles I, and took up service in Henrietta Maria's French court where he met his wife. Frances Stuart, an exiled Stuart, was reared in France under Henrietta Maria's supervision. In 1663, at the age of sixteen, Henrietta Maria sent Frances Stuart to London to serve as Maid of Honor to the recently enthroned Catherine of Braganza¹⁷⁷ (Melville 139). The return of the Scottish Frances Stuart reinforced Charles II's own return to power.

Before Britannia, Frances Stuart was associated with the exiled royalists through portraiture. In 1664, Frances Stuart sat for a portrait by Jacob Huysmans dressed in a soldier's buff coat, evoking the uniform worn by soldiers during the civil wars. William Dobson painted the future Charles II in a buff coat in 1642 or 1643 when the court removed from London to Oxford. Charles was just twelve years old, but the painting, commissioned by Charles I during the civil wars, was meant to show the military strength of his son and heir. According to the Royal Collection, painting a woman in a buff coat was "very unusual." In this portrait, intended for Charles II, Frances Stuart, herself exiled by the civil wars, appeared in military dress as a

mine). If this representation of Britannia had been promulgated instead, it would have circulated a conquered Britannia and Stuart.

¹⁷⁷ Charles II and Catherine of Braganza married in May 1662.

representative of the supporters of Charles I (known and still remembered by the Stuarts as the Cavaliers).

Through her British and European connections, France Stuart, like the foreign Stuart queens-consort, represented British union at home and within a continental context. Stuart's Britannia wielded a protective shield featuring the united flags of England and Scotland, which constituted Britain. Frances Stuart also had a European profile that situated Britannia as a European power. Stuart's reputation for beauty originated in Louis XIV's court. By making her Britannia, Charles II claimed that beauty, made of Scottish stock and enculturated by France, for Britain, which was poised for international expansion and empire-building. I will first address the global dimensions of Stuart's Britannia and then her internal British significance.

Britannia's association with the navy foregrounded Britain's prominence as a growing world power. Her first appearance under Charles II celebrated the superiority of the British Navy, an association begun in the Interregnum. Richard Flecknoe's 1659 *The Mariage of Oceanus and Brittainia* features Britannia securing global prominence through her marriage to the god of the ocean. His Britannia is less "chaste" than she is crafty. Oceanus has longed for her affections, which she has, up to this point, withheld. She is "Slie Queen of Isles" (2). She only agrees to the marriage union once she realizes that a marriage to Oceanus will earn her global admiration and gifts. Oceanus commands "Come Europe, swarthy Affrica, Rich Asia and America Bring your treasures all away. Tribute to pay Unto Brittainias Throne Come quickly come." (32-33). The navy's global superiority was reflected in Britannia. In a second unfinished medal drafted by John Roettier to commemorate naval victories in 1666, he portrayed Britannia accompanied by the Latin phrase *Quatuor Maria Vindico*, translated "I claim the four seas"

(Haartman 144; MacLeod 98-99).¹⁷⁸ Britannia had a global dimension that articulated Britain's investment in expansion.

Restoration efforts to increase the global presence of the growing British empire manifest in the reintroduction of the female personification of land. In *Colonial Women*, Heidi Hutner identifies the period as a moment of global expansion characterized by "England's development of its first major overseas empire [and] the primary phase of the slave trade" (5). Since the start of their "New World" exploration in the fifteenth century, Europeans used the female form to represent the undiscovered territories. Perhaps the most-discussed example of this practice is Jan van der Straet's 1575 painting portraying Amerigo Vespucci's "discovery" of America in which America is personified as a naked native woman.

Anne McClintock, in *Imperial Leather*, cites van der Straet's rendering as evidence of a cultural obsession with deploying women to conceptualize the unknown. Women were used to both represent the "virgin" territories and to solicit good fortune for the journey. For McClintock, women came to symbolize borders and boundaries, the known and the unknown. She writes:

Female figures were planted like fetishes at the ambiguous points of contact, at the borders and orifices of the contest zone. Sailors bound wooden female figures to their ships' prows and baptized their ships [...] with female names. Cartographers filled the blank seas of their maps with mermaids and sirens. Explorers called unknown lands 'virgin' territory' (24).

Heidi Hutner echoes McClintock's analysis of the use of the female form to represent the unexplored. Situated in the Restoration, Hutner denotes a theatrical convention on the London stage, which dramatized anxiety about "native" female characters and European women at risk of

¹⁷⁸ This medal depicted Britannia with "one breast exposed" (MacLeod 99).

“going native” as a consequence of colonial expansion. In her discussion of seventeenth-century adaptations of *The Tempest*, for example, Hutner views the added native female characters (such as Sycorax) as proof of the fear of the native woman’s threat to the “masculinist national identity” (64). Her survey of stage representations of Pocahontas yields similar results. From her study of period plays, Hutner concludes: “the effort to reconstruct a masculinist national identity depends on controlling the native woman-as-land and the containment of female desire” (63-64). Restoration Britannia, embodied by Charles II’s object of lust, took hold in a moment of colonial and empire expansion.

Britannia, the female personification of Britain, however, represented the strength of the *known* union of the British kingdoms, united in their efforts for colonial expansion. Hutner notes that period playwrights chose to focus on colonialism and empire building to overshadow the internal conflicts threatening Britain’s stability: “Colonial expansion and empire building” were “a means to stabilize and unite the divided nation” (5). Though female personification was used to represent the unknown, it also visualized the known British union through the recognizable semblance of Frances Stuart. The Stuart Britannia symbolized British union (through her shield and Frances Stuart’s ancestry) and naval victories in the pursuit of empire expansion. Because of Stuart’s British identity, we should consider her Britannia against imagery of Elizabeth I rather than van der Straet’s “America.”

Like Britannia, Elizabeth I used imagery to represent herself as both British union and British expansion. In 1592, Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger painted Elizabeth I towering over her growing empire in an image commonly referred to as “The Ditchley Portrait,” named after the residence (Ditchley) of the painting’s owner, Sir Henry Lee.¹⁷⁹ The Ditchley Portrait

¹⁷⁹ <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw02079/Queen-Elizabeth-I-The-Ditchley-portrait>

encapsulates the internal union supporting outward expansion I also identify in Britannia. Louis Montrose describes Elizabeth I's feminized control over her united kingdom as she stands atop a globe¹⁸⁰ fresh off her Armada victory: "This representation of Queen Elizabeth as standing upon her land and sheltering it under her skirts suggests a mystical identification of the inviolate female body of the monarch *with* the unbreached body of her land" (190).¹⁸¹ Through her speeches and imagery, Elizabeth I encouraged associations between her body and the landscape of her ever-expanding empire. Restoration Britannia, too, encompassed this duality and, as I will discuss later, under Anne II, a direct connection to Elizabeth I.



Figure 6. Ditchley Portrait ©National Portrait Gallery, London

¹⁸⁰ The Ditchley Portrait is the subject of extensive scholarly search, but I'm a grateful for D.J. Hopkins's contribution, which points out the global space that foregrounds Elizabeth I in the painting: "Elizabeth is *not* shown on a map. She is standing on a globe. [...] A global perspective of this image would encourage interpretation in terms of international space and the complex network of representational relationships implied by this picture of the queen and, not just one country but, the world" (14).

¹⁸¹ In *Madam Britannia*, Emma Major discusses a painting, *Elizabeth as Europa* (1598) that uses the queen's facial image as a map (42-43).

Restoration Britannia represented Britain's expanding presence on the world stage by "claim[ing] the four seas." In its first usage, however, this phrase bespoke the unification of Britain, which an equally important aspect of Britannia's directive. Cyril Haartman, in *La Belle Stuart*, traces the words back "to the Saxon King, Edgar, who, having conquered seven minor kings, and made the island of Britain into a single kingdom, sailed round it once a year with a thousand ships" (144). Maintaining internal union through an articulation of "Britishness" was part of the Stuart project of thinking through Britain within the context of Europe, first evidenced in Stuart court entertainments. And just as Elizabeth I united her kingdom against foreign enemies, Britannia symbolized a united Britain defined in opposition the global empire she wished to increase.

The Stuart kings used Britannia to represent British union. Emma Major argues in *Madam Britannia* that though "her geographical definition is [...] vague¹⁸²," Britannia "throughout [her history] retains a sense of wholeness that survives division into separate states and transcends the union and disbanding of England, Wales, Scotland, and (sometimes) Ireland" (27). Restoration Britannia, with her English and Scottish shields, represented the dual powers of Charles II's crowns; Ireland (a subjugated kingdom) and Wales (an English principality) were subsumed under England.

Britannia also symbolized British union under James I and Charles I. Two Lord Mayor's pageants, one under James I and the second under Charles I, featured Britannia to honor British union. The purpose of the pageant was to welcome London's mayor into the city in a procession not unlike the monarch's coronation progress. Anthony Munday's 1605 pageant, entitled *The Triumphes of Re-united Britania*, depicts the ancient union of Britain reunited under James I. It

¹⁸² Major is referring to the inconsistency in whether Britannia represents England, England and Scotland, or England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales.

represents Britain's past conquerors that later surround Britannia on the frontispiece of *Poly-Oblion*. The pageant opens with an enthroned Britannia as "a fayre and beautifull Nymph" surrounded by the divided kingdoms of Brutus's ancient Britain¹⁸³: Loegria (England), Cambria (Wales), and Albania (Scotland) (B2). The three kingdoms in the pageant are female personifications "in the like female representations" to Britannia. (ibid). Together, Britannia, Brutus, and the three kingdoms narrate the union and division of ancient Britain. Britannia recalls how she went from Albania to "virgin Queen *Britania*" (B3). The segment ends in praise of James I "the second Brute" who recently reunited Britain (C). Munday's pageant used the female personifications of the British kingdoms to honor James I's reestablishment of Britain.

In 1628, Thomas Dekker returned to the theme of Britannia for the Lord Mayor's pageant. *Brittannia's Honor* celebrates London, the queen of united Britain, and her "daughter," Westminster (A3). In the "fourth presentation" of the pageant, Britannia's Watch-Tower, Britannia addresses and blesses her naval ships, which she "bred [...] in her Wombe" (C2). Britannia speaks from her throne that sits upon an intricate "structure" built out of emblems that retrace the history of united Britain. Pillars that support the structure feature emblems of the Houses of York and Lancaster "once divided, but now Joyned into One Glorious Building, to Support This Royal Kingdom" (C). These pillars surround the square that houses four pyramids "Figures, of the foure Kingdomes Embellished with Escutcheons" (ibid). "In the upper seate of all" Britannia "Majestically attirde (sic)" presides over Britain (ibid). She is accompanied by impersonations of past kings of England, a shipwright, and the mythological figures of

¹⁸³ One of Britain's founding myths is the story of Brutus. Brutus, a relation of Aeneas, founded Britain and named London. His sons, Lochrine, Camber, and Albanact, inherited the united British kingdom and under their rule, they became the separate kingdoms of England, Wales, and Scotland.

Magnanimity, Victory, and Providence. Dekker's pageant uses architecture and actors to materialize the history of united Britain upon which Britannia's throne stands.

Restoration Britannia emerged from a Stuart tradition invoking her to symbolize British union. I find further proof of Britannia's union imagery by comparing representations of Britannia against personifications of the individual kingdoms. Kirsten Stirling finds in *Bella Caledonia*, her study of the female personification of Scotland, "No strong tradition of representing Scotland visually as a woman" before the twentieth century (12). Her statement is based strongly on the argument that "To represent Scotland by Britannia would be unthinkable" because Britannia only represented England (18). While Stirling is correct that the tradition was not as strong in Scotland, she is wrong on two counts. First, Scotland was personified in seventeenth-century imagery. Second, Britannia represented Scotland quite literally through Frances Stuart's Scottish heritage and Britannia's united shield. Scotland and Ireland are personified in the seventeenth century and beyond, particularly in moments dealing directly with British union. When union is changing or disrupted, the individual kingdoms appear either alongside or often in place of united Britannia. When union is strong, united Britannia embodies all three kingdoms.

In Munday's pageant, performed just two years after the unification of the crowns, his purpose is to retell the history of British unification. Therefore, he deploys the three individual kingdoms in addition to Britannia. The same is true of imagery from 1801, the year Ireland officially joined Great Britain. Emma Major in *Madam Britannia* describes the scene depicted on a fan. The three kingdoms are depicted separately anticipating the unification: "The two polite figures of England and Ireland are joined by Scotland under the caption 'The United Sisters.'" England is again represented by Britannia and her lion, Ireland by the harp, while Scotland is

accompanied by her unicorn” (29). Unlike Restoration Britannia’s united shield, Scotland and England stand behind shields that separately represent the crosses of St. Andrew and St. George.



Figure 7. The United Sisters© Trustees of the British Museum

The kingdoms were also personified individually when British union was destroyed. Recall the anonymous *Charles I after his Execution with his Head Stitched On*, which depicted the re-capitated corpse of Charles I seated beside the lamenting female personifications of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The union of the kingdoms relied upon the Stuart monarchy that first reunited Britain through the dual thrones. With the execution of Charles I and the abolishment of the office of king, the Stuart union collapsed. The painting portrays this moment of unraveling through the falling crowns of England, Scotland, and Ireland.



Figure 8. Charles I after his Execution with his Head Stitched On ©Museum of London

The exact date of the painting is unknown, but the Museum of London estimates its creation between 1660 and 1670. If this is accurate, the painting is a Restoration retrospective on the division perpetrated by the murder of Charles I conveyed through the female personification of the individual kingdoms.¹⁸⁴

Similarly, the frontispiece of a Restoration recollection of the trial of Charles I depicts the three kingdoms individually, this time they “share” the scene with Cromwell. *A true copy of the journal of the high court of justice for the tryal of K. Charles I*,¹⁸⁵ published in London in 1684,



Figure 9. A true copy

This image shows Cromwell driving a chariot pulled by the devil. Inside the chariot, the three kingdoms, personified as women, lay haphazardly at his feet, almost tangled up in the reins.

¹⁸⁴ One might also consider this painting, however, within the Scottish tradition of “revenge painting.” A popular convention in the sixteenth century, these portraits pictorially documented the murdered bodies of key figures (notably the Earl of Moray and Lord Darnley) so as to rouse revenge. They were also known as “vendetta portraiture.” I’m grateful to Dr. Krista Kesselring for suggesting this connection to me at the Northeast Conference for British Studies (Storrs, CT; Oct 2013). For more information, please see Marguerite Tassi’s *The Scandal of Images*.

¹⁸⁵ I am grateful to M. Dorothy George’s *English Political Caricature* for the discovery of this document (60).

Cromwell's chariot is running over two bodies, identified as the mythological Lady Justice (blindfolded under the back wheel) and the decapitated Charles I (under the front wheel) in a printed "Explanation" that captions the image. "Three weeping Beauties lye" at Cromwell's feet each representing the "Three nations doom'd to Eternal Slavery!" The kingdoms are identified variously by the names and markers of their kingdoms as "Unhappy Albion" (England), "The Northern Thistle" (Scotland), and "Bleeding Jerney" with her "Tuneless Lyre" (Ireland). The Restoration remembrance of Cromwell's violent disruption of British union is conveyed through the individualized personifications of the kingdoms of Britain.¹⁸⁶

In contrast to the individual personifications of the kingdoms, Britannia represented united Britain, symbolism Charles II capitalized on to minimize internal divisions and present a united, recognizable face to the British public and the rest of the world. Charles II created public intimacy between the public and their united Britain through the image of Frances Stuart as Britannia. Charles II's decision to make female performance public increased the prominence and access not only to the newly installed professional actress, but also to the women of his court.

¹⁸⁶ In *Theatre and Empire*, Tristan Marshall takes issue with the scholarly contention that Britain only ever existed as a fantasy of James I. He argues that British union was realized, if only briefly, before Cromwell undid it: "It will be argued that Great Britain actually came to life for a short period at the beginning of the seventeenth century and that if subsequent developments such as Oliver Cromwell's skewing of relations with the Scots and Irish soured notions of British unity in this tumultuous century, we should be wary of assuming that there never was a moment when Britain was inclusive rather than exclusive, incorporating rather than excoriating" (Marshall 4).

4.5 PERFORMING THE LAST STUART BRITANNIA: ANNE II, BRITAIN, AND THE FEMALE PERFORMANCE TRADITION

During his reign, Charles II introduced public female performance to the theatre, giving his subjects the impression of access to him and his court. Through access, the king excited and sustained public interest in the restored monarchy. He used the popularity of female performance to create an image of Frances Stuart as Britannia, which gave a recognizable, beautiful face to the British union Charles II strove to maintain. The king's tactics contrasted with Charles I's style of governance. The beheaded king preferred a "personal rule" that made him a wedge between the people and their kingdoms instead of a conduit. Charles I's "politics of distance" ultimately resulted in the unraveling of the king and his united kingdoms. Though Charles II approached rule differently from his father, he also bolstered a connection with his Stuart predecessors through an interest in theatrical performance, his patronage of which he publicly demonstrated to his people.

In this section, I argue that Anne II, the last Stuart to rule Britain, learned the political value of female performance during Charles II's reign and utilized it herself later as queen. Anne studied under professional actors and actresses and performed with them in court plays. While her father was in exile in Edinburgh during the Exclusion Crisis, Anne headlined a production of Nathaniel Lee's *Mithridates*, which featured theatre artists from all three British kingdoms. Anne's theatrical performance in Edinburgh reinforced British union while it suffered from factionalism in London. As queen, Anne again performed British union by embodying Britannia through imagery. Through Britannia, Anne represented herself as the successor of both Tudor (Elizabeth I) and Stuart (Charles II) monarchs, reinforcing the union of England and Scotland. Like the Restoration actress, Anne unified two past traditions. The united queen ruled during the

Union of Crowns (1707), which officially incorporated Scotland into Great Britain. This union ironically barred the Stuarts from ever again ruling over the Britain they created. The image of Britannia, however, continued to reign long after the Stuarts who reinvented her.

In the Restoration, the king replaced court performance with the public theatre, but his brother's family sponsored infrequent private performances featuring the royal princesses. These court performances demonstrated the impact of Charles II's "politics of access" on the Stuart performance tradition. Mary and Anne's participation in the masque *Calisto* (1675) betrayed a Restoration lapse in masque performance and a displacement of the royal inheritance of the tradition perpetrated by Charles II's emphasis on public female performance. Anne's Edinburgh *Mithridates* (1681), by contrast, united royal and professional performers in a theatrical articulation of British union reminiscent of the agenda of masque performance under previous Stuart monarchs. Both performances evidence the popularity and influence of female performance under Charles II.

The Stuarts produced, *Calisto*, a court masque, at Whitehall for Mary and Anne, which featured a blended cast of courtiers and professional actors that displayed the illegitimate heirs of the performance tradition. The cast featured Mary and Anne in speaking roles, Mary as the title role and Anne as "Nyphe." Though they were the king's nieces, Mary and Anne represented the king at a remove compared to the performances under James I and Charles I, which highlighted the king's wives and children, and even, in the case of Charles, the king himself. Similarly, staging *Calisto* at Whitehall was exceptional for the period; most of the court theatricals were staged at the residence of James, Duke of York. The representatives of the king in *Calisto* were his illegitimate offspring: James, Duke of Monmouth and The Countess of Sussex (daughter of Lady Castlemaine). Additionally, two of the professional actresses in *Calisto*'s prologue, Mrs.

Davis and Mrs. Knight, were Charles II's mistresses. Their combined presence served as a reminder of Charles II's well-known sexual dalliances, the prominence of his mistresses, and the lack of a legitimate heir to the Stuart throne. In Charles II's libertine court, the princesses' performance companions and tutors represented a "bastardized" female performance tradition rather than a "proper" one. The royal princesses learned not from the queen-consort, but from the actresses (Mary Betterton and Elizabeth Barry specifically) newly entrusted with the instruction of female behavior by the king. *Calisto* featured the public female performer's supplanting of the Stuart female court performance tradition.

With the illegitimate inheritance of the tradition on display, *Calisto* was a failed attempt to restore a lapsed Stuart tradition. John Crowne's language about the entertainment further reveals the disparity between *Calisto* and former masques made greater by the introduction of the professional actress. *Calisto* was most likely staged in the Hall Theatre in Whitehall Palace where Charles I once staged masques after the Banqueting House became the home of Ruben's ceiling paintings (Boswell 22; 25). Crowne's dedication to princess Mary and his note to the reader, however, disavow any parallels between his piece and the masques performed under the previous Stuarts. Both documents attest to Crowne's overwhelming sense of *Calisto*'s mediocrity for which he is overly apologetic. First, Crowne confesses a lack of familiarity with the form no longer produced at court with any frequency. He fears that his *Calisto* won't recreate the beloved Stuart masque tradition. He warns "If you were ever a spectator of this following Entertainment, when it was Represented in its Glory, you will come (if you come at all) with very dull Appetite, to this cold lean Carkass of it" (a). For audiences who witnessed masques under Charles I, Crowne assures them that *Calisto* can't compare. Further, those who have "imagine[d]" the "superlative" quality of masques "so honoured and adorned" by the royalty "will be

disappointed” if they expect *Calisto* to be such an entertainment (ibid). Crowne points out his own unfamiliarity when discussing his difficulty writing the prologue and songs stating “I was wholly a stranger to [them], having never seen any thing of the kind” (a2). Though both Charles II and James II sponsored court performances, they both attended the public theatres more often than their Stuart predecessors¹⁸⁷ and the performances given at court were often plays produced by the professional companies they patronized. Additionally, the female court performance tradition waned, partly because it was replaced or fulfilled by the professional actress and partly because Charles II’s queen appeared to have no interest in continuing the tradition of her queen-consort predecessors. *Calisto* attempted to revive a tradition no longer practiced at court.

Crowne also expresses a casting anxiety that I argue is a consequence of the dual popularity of the actress and Britannia. In the address to the reader, he acknowledges and contextualizes an “error” in his prologue to prevent “nibbling” critics the satisfaction of “catch[ing]” it (a3). Crowne cast Moll Davis in the role of the River Thames and Charles Hart as Europe. Any man with “School-boys learning” knew that, in the classical tradition, a man personified the Thames and a woman embodied Europa. While Crowne smarts at the critique by stating “I know of no Sexes in Lands and Rivers,” he acquiesces with an explanation of the practical reasons for the decision. He explains that following classical rules would result in a displeasing gendered imbalance either in the theatrical representation of the world’s makeup or in the vocal sound:

Thames, Peace and Plenty, being represented by Women, I was necessitated (in spite of the Lady that bestrid the Bull) to make *Europe* as Man, and to call it not *Her* but-*His fair Continent*- Otherwise I must either have spoiled the Figure, and made three parts of the

¹⁸⁷ See Deborah C. Payne’s “Patronage and the Dramatic Marketplace under Charles I and II.” *The Yearbook of English Studies*. 21. *Politics, Patronage and Literature in England 1558-1658* Special Number (1991). 137-152.

World Men, and one a Woman; or worse, by representing ‘em all by Women, have spoiled the Musick (a3).

While Crowne acknowledges that his casting went against an established classical vocabulary for representing the Thames and Europe, his job as playwright lies in “how to represent it best and most beautiful on [...] Stage.”

Crowne’s detailed explanation for the gendered representation of mythological figures must be considered within the context of the actress and Britannia. Though the gendered personification of mythological figures and land dates back to the ancient Greeks¹⁸⁸, the gender of the performer representing the figure was a new concern in Restoration performance. As previously discussed, Britannia and the three kingdoms were personified in Lord Mayor’s pageants under James I and Charles I. In both cases, boys portrayed the roles. The establishment of the professional actress, however, necessitated a change in performance practice. No longer accustomed to the boy actor, Restoration audiences expected a gender corollary between the characters and the performers who embodied them. To create this “most beautiful” symmetry, Crowne chose to re-gender the personifications rather than cross-dress the performers, which speaks to the popular force of the actress. In addition, the public prominence of Britannia, personified by a real and recognizable woman of Charles II’s court, most likely increased the stakes for Crowne to create pleasing theatrical representations of mythical and symbolic figures that evoked public intimacy.

Calisto exhibited the negative effects of Charles II’s politics of access and public female performance on the Stuart court performance tradition. Anne’s interest in performance, however, later allowed her to stage a production that reinforced British union as the masques of her Stuart

¹⁸⁸ Dresser 26.

forbearers once had. Anne's performance of *Mithridates* in 1681 for her father's exiled court in Edinburgh performed British unity and support of James Duke of York against the internal division raging in London over issues of exclusion and supposed popish plots, which highlighted the strains of union. Further, through her performance, a performance that promoted British unity, Anne embodied the spirit of Britannia, which she continued to represent once she inherited the British crown in 1702.

Anne's *Mithridates* showcased the successful shared involvement of Britain's three kingdoms. Anne and her ladies took direction from Joseph Ashbury, manager of Ireland's Smock Alley Players. Ashbury and his company arrived in Edinburgh in July 1681 to perform for the Duke of York at the behest of the Earl of Roscommon. The Earl of Roscommon, an Irishman, served the Duchess of York as her Master of the Horse. He spent time in exile with the Duke and Duchess and wrote a prologue for one of the many entertainments staged at Holyrood House that praised James's military exploits during his first exile in the Interregnum and emphasized his "uncorrupted Blood of kings"¹⁸⁹ (van Lennep "Smock Alley" 22 note 13). Ashbury "coached" Anna in the role of Semandra (ibid 20). She previously received training for a London court production of *Mithridates* from actress Mary Betterton (Cibber 134). *Mithridates* enjoyed popularity among the ladies of Charles II's court, including Frances Stuart and the queen, who attended its premiere in the public theatre.¹⁹⁰ The King's Company revived *Mithridates* in the London public theatre in October 1681, a month before Anne's performance in Edinburgh on 15 November 1681. Anne used a play written for the public theatre to perform British unity in Edinburgh.

¹⁸⁹ *Poetical miscellanies: the fifth part. Containing a collection of Original Poems, With Several New Translations. By the most Eminent Hands.* London, 1704. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. 28 Jan 2014, 43.

¹⁹⁰ *Mithridates*'s playwright Nathaniel Lee mentions their patronage in his dedication to his 1680 play *Theodosius*.

Anne and her ladies performed for a truly British audience, with representation from England, Ireland, and Scotland. The duke and duchess were accompanied by “ther wholl court and retinue,” which we know consisted of actors from the Duke’s Company (Lauder 69). Though theatrical entertainment in Edinburgh experienced a boom during James’s exile, the account book of Sir John Foulis provides evidence of performances staged at Holyrood’s Tennis Court theatre predating James’s arrival, such as the 1672 *Macbeth* discussed in my second case-study. The practitioners and patrons of Edinburgh’s theatre may well have been in attendance for Anne’s *Mithridates*, seated amongst James and the Earl of Roscommon. Anne’s performance was a product of united British efforts.

Anne’s *Mithridates* responded to British strain in Scotland by staging union. The united efforts required to stage *Mithridates* demonstrated the union that was threatening to unravel all over Britain. The Exclusion Crisis and the Popish Plot pitted the individual kingdoms against each other. Arguments between the Commons and the Lords exposed prejudice against Irish Catholics and Scottish Covenanters and threatened to extinguish the Scottish Stuart line. The Irish and the Scots feared religiously-motivated attacks within and from the opposing kingdom. The Scots shared a suspicion of Irish Catholics whilst Ireland contemplated an Ulster assault from Scottish Covenanters. John Ashbury and his company met resistance at the border. The Scots tried to tax “the gold and silver lace” on their costumes (van Lennep 219). The issue was resolved, but it took the intercession of Edinburgh’s Privy Council. Britain was “united,” but it wasn’t without boundaries, boundaries that were extremely felt during exclusion.

The exiled Stuarts witnessed the strained union in Edinburgh. James Duke of York presided over numerous hangings during his tenure to punish treasonous Covenanters. In one particular instance, in March 1681, he sent the Irish Earl of Roscommon to the scaffold to offer

the offenders pardon if they repented and acknowledged Charles II's majesty, which they refused (Lauder 29).¹⁹¹ In Dec 1680, two months after James's arrival, there were pope burnings in Edinburgh outside his door (18). Finally, in May 1682, Edinburgh experienced a violent altercation between citizens and the king's forces over the issue of pressed military service. Sir John Lauder reports that Scotsmen were being forced (or "pressed") to serve the Dutch army. Princess Mary's marriage to William of Orange in 1677 created an alliance between Britain and the Netherlands; this marriage, of course, became the undoing of James II. The people of Edinburgh, however, rose up in resistance against the forced military service and attacked the recruiter. In response, the King's force retaliated causing, what Lauder reports, "more blood[shed] then has been at once these 60 years done in the streets of Edinburgh" (67). Lauder notes that this altercation happened on the anniversary of the 1679 murder of the Anglican James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews by Covenanters.

Against the backdrop of disunity, Anne performed *Mithridates*, a play that denounced the destruction caused by familial betrayal. First produced at Drury Lane in 1678 and again in 1681, *Mithridates* loosely parallels the discord caused in the Stuart royal family over the issue of succession. The competitors for succession were Charles II's brother, James Duke of York, and his illegitimate son, James Duke of Monmouth. The Duke of York was Charles's chosen heir whilst the house of Commons supported the Duke of Monmouth. In *Mithridates*, one might see reverberations between the king Mithridates (Charles II) and his sons Pharnaces and Ziphares (James Dukes of York and Monmouth). In the play, the king, Mithridates, covets his sons' love

¹⁹¹ "Martij 1681. Ther ware 3 persons hanged at the Grassemarkat of Edinburgh, for disouning the King's authority, and adhering to Cargill's covenant, declaration, and excommunication [...] If they would but have acknowledged his Majestie, they would have been pardoned; yea, when they ware upon the scaffold, the Earle of Roscommon by a privy warrand from the Duke of York, came and offered them ther lives, if they would but say, God save the King; but they refused" (29).

interests, whom we might envision as Britannia herself. Initially, he plans to marry Monima, whom his son Pharnaces desires. After laying eyes on Semandra, however, he changes his mind and schemes to steal her away from his other son, Ziphares. Mithridates's faithless advisor, Pelopidas, drives a wedge between the king and Ziphares, encouraging *Mithridates* to fear usurpation. Mithridates's son does turn against him, but not the son he suspected. Pelopidas and Pharnaces join forces with the Romans and Mithridates dies. Semandra, whom Mithridates promises a crown and an empire, only wants the love of Ziphares. Semandra and Ziphares, commit suicide to preserve their love for each other. Pharnaces is thrown off a turret to his death.

Mithridates ruminates on the effects of competing rulers within the royal family on love and the stability of empire. In her production, outfitted by British theatre practitioners and audience members, Anne cast herself as Semandra who epitomized loyalty and love. As the focal point of the production, she emphasized loyalty and love over discord while not overlooking the injustice being perpetrated against her exiled father, the king's true heir.

During her father's exile, Anne Stuart revived the Stuart female performance tradition in a production that displayed the united efforts of the British kingdoms. In this way, Anne embodied the unifying symbolism of Britannia. When she inherited the British throne in 1702, Anne II again cast herself as Britannia, a link that connected her both to her Stuart predecessors and England's premiere female monarch, Elizabeth I. Anne succeeded her brother-in-law William III on the throne. William III ensured British Protestantism, but he was "foreign" and spent the majority of his reign abroad fighting wars. In direct contrast to William III, Anne's Englishness and Britishness were touted by supporters and emphasized in her speeches and portraiture. Establishing Anne's pedigree required crafty remembrance of her Stuart predecessors. While it was advantageous to invoke Charles II, the Stuart who restored the British

monarchy, Anne needed to avoid reference to her father, James II, whose supporters, the Jacobites, continued to advocate for the restoration of the Stuart line.¹⁹²

Anne used Britannia to strategically remember her Stuart lineage. In 1703, she commissioned artist Antonio Verrio to depict her as Britannia on the ceiling of the Queen's Drawing Room at Hampton Court. Verrio captured Anne as Britannia being venerated by the four corners of the globe (Dolman 25-26; Smith 142). The painting recalls Verrio's portrait of Catherine of Braganza as Britannia, commissioned by Charles II for the ceiling of the Queen's Guard Chamber in Windsor Castle (Dolman 26 note 64; Smith 142). Verrio was a court favorite under Charles II and by employing him, Anne reclaimed the Stuart aesthetic and the Stuart association with Britannia. Hannah Smith argues that "Reviving the royal touch undoubtedly allowed Anne to underline her Stuart inheritance in a very effective and positive way" (145).

Anne embodied Britannia in order to reconnect with her Stuart lineage. In the same Verrio painting, however, Anne made another crucial connection through Britannia. The Stuart queen encouraged a comparison between herself and Elizabeth I. Her portrayal of Britannia was accented by the Latin phrase *Semper Eadem* or "always the same," which she took from Elizabeth (Smith 141). As previously discussed, Elizabeth I strongly associated herself with the English land in images from the period. Anne accomplished this association through Britannia. The Stuart queen also evoked Elizabeth I and her English identity in speeches. In her first speech before both houses of Parliament in 1702, Anne II asserted her Englishness by paraphrasing Elizabeth I. Anne declared "I know mine own Heart to be entirely English."¹⁹³ Kevin Sharpe

¹⁹² Anne, a devout Protestant, supported William III and Mary II against her father in their assumption to the throne in 1689.

¹⁹³ Her Majesty's Speech to both Houses. "Matters relating to the accession of Queen Anne: Begins 26/5/1702." *The History and Proceedings of the House of Commons: volume 3: 1695-1706 (1742): 197-203*. British History Online. Web. 09 January 2014. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=37662>

documents that her “speech-and in particular the phrase about the English heart-was widely quoted” by her contemporaries, which he argues made her “the most popular sovereign since the Restoration” (Sharpe *Rebranding* 522). James II died in France in 1701 and his son, James Francis Edward Stuart, was there declared his successor. In her speech, Anne chose to emphasize her English identity rather than her Scottish ties. To do so, she invoked Elizabeth I’s speech at Tilbury on the eve of the Spanish Armada. In the speech, Elizabeth fortified her troops reminding them “I know I have the bodie, but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and Stomach of a King, and a King of *England* too” (*Cabala* 260). By assuring Parliament of her English heart, Anne II wielded the legacy and authority of Elizabeth’s kingly English heart.¹⁹⁴

Anne II performed Britannia by uniting Stuart and Tudor traditions, an image upheld through theatrical entertainments. A former actress in her own right, Anne sponsored more court performances than William III and Mary II, though far less than her Stuart predecessors.¹⁹⁵ Under Anne, the London theatres produced *Mithridates* and the three beheading plays of John Banks that featured Elizabeth (discussed in the first case-study): *The Unhappy Favourite* (fifteen performances), *Virtue Betray’d* (five performances), and *The Albion Queens; or, The Island Queens* (seven performances).¹⁹⁶ *The Unhappy Favourite* was sometimes referred to as *Queen Elizabeth; or, The Earl of Essex* (270). Stage entertainments emphasized Anne’s Britishness and authorized her not only as Britain’s sovereign, but as the world’s as well. In Peter Anthony

¹⁹⁴ There is considerable debate about the validity of the Tilbury speech; competing versions exist, which may or may have been spoken Elizabeth. It was first printed in 1654 in the form of a letter written in 1623. Dr. Sharp, who supposedly witnessed Elizabeth’s speech, reproduced it in a letter to the Duke of Buckingham to warn him about the perils of Prince Charles’s impending marriage to a Spanish Hapsburg princess. Sharp recalled Elizabeth I’s speech to remind England about its war with Spain and to put Elizabeth forward as a symbol of national unity, an “England fused into a single entity through Elizabeth” (Frye 104). Sharp’s version of the Tilbury speech, published during the Interregnum, appealed to the Protestant anti-royalists of the seventeenth century (Frye 113).

¹⁹⁵ See Louis D. Mitchell. “Command Performances during the Reign of Queen Anne.” *Theatre Notebook*. 24:3 (Spring 1970). 111-117.

¹⁹⁶ Information taken from *The London Stage*.

Motteux's *Britain's Happiness*, produced in 1704, Anne was praised by naval officers as "A Queen truly *British*" who will "all Europe [...]save" and be "Long lov'd, like Eliza [Elizabeth I]" (6). Similarly *The British Enchanters*, which premiered in 1706, paid homage to Anne as a "Martial Queen/[...]With Imperial Mien" who was "*Great Britain's Queen*" but also "Guardian of Mankind" (70).¹⁹⁷ Anne II embodied Britannia to unite and remember the Tudor and Stuart legacies within herself.

4.6 "BOOB BRITANNIA!"

During her reign, Anne II "sat for a Britannia" for coinage. In contrast to Frances Stuart's Britannia, Anne's ankles were covered and her Britannia modest. Despite changes in her appearance, Britannia remained on British coinage from 1672 until 2008. When Charles II introduced the public to Britannia, she engendered personal connections between her people and their united kingdom. The effectiveness of her public appeal bears out in the popular responses to Britannia's removal in 2008, which mourned the loss of the figure. In his scathing critique of Britannia's forced departure, Andrew Roberts, of the *Daily Mail*, interpreted the decision as a direct contradiction to Prime Minister Gordon Brown's push to reinvigorate British union. "While the Prime Minister wraps himself in the Union Flag" wrote Roberts "he quietly ditches the very symbol that has represented Britain's past [...] for longer than any other."¹⁹⁸ The "kill[ing] off" of Britannia, for Roberts, undermined the incentive to reestablish British union.

¹⁹⁷ Lansdowne, George Gransville. *The British enchanters; or, no magick like love*. London, 1732. *Literature and Language*. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. 29 Jan 2014.

¹⁹⁸ Roberts, Andrew. "How can the Government destroy a True Brit?" *Daily Mail*. Web. January 2008. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-510954/How-Government-destroy-True-Brit.html> 22 Nov 2013.

Britannia, after all, circulated all of Britain through currency, and thereby “connect[ed]” the British people. *The Telegraph*’s Richard Falkiner echoed Roberts’s sentiments though his tone was bit more callous. He likened Britannia to a cow “put out to grass,” but agreed that getting rid of Britannia certainly wouldn’t boost British union, but rather would cause “all true Brits” to “weep.”¹⁹⁹

Even in 2008, Britannia remained a popular symbol of British union continuing to play off of public intimacy as she did in her emergence during the Restoration. Andrew Roberts lamented the loss of a unifying figure that all Brits fondled in their daily monetary transactions. She represented both British greatness and the “everyday” (Andrews). Though removed from circulation, Britannia has reemerged as a figure of interest in contemporary Britain as the union yet again contemplates reconfiguration. In September 2014, Scotland votes on whether or not to remain part of the British union, prompting pro- and anti-union campaigns throughout Britain. In a moment of British instability, The Royal Mint resurrected Britannia. In July 2013, The Royal Mint, in response to research, which revealed that “one in four adults [could not] recognise Britannia,” reinvested in Britannia sponsoring “human statues posing as Britannia and telling her story to passers-by.” The Mint also released a commemorative Britannia coin in August 2013.

The Royal Mint’s commemorative Britannia attempts to recreate her popular appeal, partly by revealing her left breast. Ruki Sayid of *The Mirror* coined her “Boob Britannia” and describes her “saucy pose” as part of Britannia’s “21st century glamour model makeover.”²⁰⁰ At a moment in which Britain once again struggles to maintain union against Scotland’s push for devolution and Ireland’s continuous attempts to regain Northern Ireland, Britain looks to

¹⁹⁹ Falkiner, Richard. “After 300 years, Britannia rules no more.” *The Telegraph*. Web. April 2008. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1583609/After-300-years-Britannia-rules-no-more.html> 22 Nov 2013.

²⁰⁰ This commemorative coin perfectly epitomizes Joseph Roach’s theorization of “It.”

Britannia, disseminating a union agenda through her image and live embodiment. Once again, Britain is deploying public female performance to encourage public access to British union. This Britannia, however, is unafraid to bare it all before her people.

5.0 CONCLUSION

The anonymous *Charles I after his Execution with his Head Stitched On* established the stakes and scope of this dissertation's three case-studies. First, the portrait's dramatization of Charles I's beheading links the act to the death of monarchy in all three kingdoms, which I argue was actualized through the executions of the king's Irish and Scottish viceroys. Their shared legacy complicated Charles II's use of beheading, an act he deployed to both re-member and lay to rest the executed Stuarts. Second, by reattaching the king's head, the portrait shows the Restoration imperative to make its past and present "fit" together again. Shakespeare adaptations provided one way to reattach Britain, but like the painting's depiction, they still showed the lasting scars of disunion left by the beheading. Lastly, the painting conveys the severing of union through the individuated personifications of the three kingdoms. Charles II authorized female performance in the attempt to reunify the three kingdoms, separated by beheading, as one Britannia. In these case-studies, I examined Charles II's succession as a surrogation that re-incorporated Britain through theatre and performance in Dublin, Edinburgh, and London. I argued that the king's task was to restore Stuart union and I analyzed how actual and theatrical beheadings, Shakespeare adaptations, and the actress re-membered and re-created Britain. Despite efforts to restore union, the Restoration also produced performances that exacerbated the differences and inequities between the British kingdoms in attempts to articulate identity.

Charles I after his Execution with his Head Stitched On reminds us that the restoration of the Stuart monarchy was a British project that required the reestablishment of British union. Focusing on the role of theatre and performance in the king's succession illuminates theatrical activity in all three kingdoms often overlooked in the scholarship. It also situates London's theatres within the context of Britain and reveals the tensions and intersections between the London stage and companies in Dublin and Edinburgh. I have demonstrated that British theatre artists used the stage to interrogate British union and that their theatrical explorations reverberated with cultural performances attempting to reformulate British history and identity. The dual frameworks of new British history and performance studies reveal the current holes in theatre studies scholarship on the Restoration, which privileges London and all but ignores Irish and Scottish theatre. As I hope my dissertation shows, theatre studies needs to concentrate on both uncovering further primary material regarding the Irish and Scottish theatres and the British project as well as synthesizing the cultural archives of both kingdoms with a better understanding of their theatrical activity.

For proof of the immediacy of this project for theatre studies, one need only look at the current state of British union. As I write this conclusion, British union is once again under threat and theatre and performance have their parts to play in its (re)negotiation. In September 2014, Scotland will vote on whether or not to remain part of Great Britain. The project of Great Britain began under James I, the first Stuart to hold the dual thrones of England and Scotland. The fullest expression of the union between the two kingdoms occurred during the rule of the last Stuart. Anne II oversaw The Union of Crowns in 1707 in which Scotland dissolved its separate Parliament and the two officially became Great Britain. Less than a hundred years later in 1801, the three kingdoms became Great Britain and Ireland. The last to officially join, Ireland became

the first to exert its independence, which it gained in 1921 save, to this day, the six counties that remain part of the British union. In 1999, Scotland regained its own parliament and this September, it reconsiders its part in the union all together. British politicians speculate that Scottish independence might result in further collapse of union, with Welsh and renewed Irish pushes for independence.

As Scotland contemplates independence, attempts to reestablish British union recall the Restoration performances of beheading, Shakespeare, and female performance used to refigure Britain. I will start with the heads. In August 2013, the Scottish Youth Theatre revived Liz Lochhead's *Mary Queen of Scots Got Her Head Chopped Off* (1987) for a theatre festival that chose "independence" as its theme. Another beheaded Scot drew focus in June 2010 when Charles I's head appeared on a stamp as part of a commemorative series on monarchs. His head raised the ire of *The Guardian's* Stephen Moss who praised England for decapitating the Scot:

The Stuarts, *imports from Scotland* [...] were a catastrophic collection of monarchs, so why is the Royal Mail [...] commemorating them with a set of stamps? The *English* people, tired of his autocratic style of governance, very sensibly removed Charles I's head from his shoulders in 1649, and it seems perverse to stick it back on a stamp (emphasis mine)²⁰¹

The revival of Lochhead's play and the public reappearance of Charles I's detached head emerge from conversations about Scottish independence that inevitably reveal the national agendas of Britain's united kingdoms.

Shakespeare, England's national poet, also resurfaces. In February 2012, Michael Boyd, then artistic director of the Royal Shakespeare Company, expressed concern that, if the Scots

²⁰¹ Moss, Stephen. "We cut off the head of Charles I-so why are we putting it back on a stamp?" *The Guardian*. 16 June 2010. Web. 10 Feb 2014.

achieve independence, they might “turn their backs” on Shakespeare as the Irish did.²⁰² Shakespeare scholar Willy Maley predicts the opposite, claiming Shakespeare for Scotland: “Shakespeare produced his greatest work under a Scottish patron, James VI and I. He owes a lot to Scotland” (ibid). Indeed, the mouthpiece for the Scottish independence initiative is a cartoon dog named Duggy Dug voiced by “the Shakespearean actor” Brian Cox.²⁰³ The debate over Shakespeare’s national heritage began in the Restoration moment of British union and it continues in this present struggle to articulate Britain.

The struggle to articulate Britain, both through and against Shakespeare, has also called into question the meaning of Englishness. Maley coedited an essay collection published in 2010, *This England, That Shakespeare* responding to concerns that the importance and uniqueness of Shakespeare’s English identity has suffered from historiographical interventions, such as new British history and postcolonialism, which have destabilized the already unstable notion of Englishness and examined Shakespeare’s ubiquity. Historian Linda Colley understands Englishness as “a new concept,” which many are attempting to disentangle from British and European union. Colley’s current work situates Scotland’s current push for independence within a historical analysis of the various unions that have shaped Britain. Her 2014 book, *Acts of Union, Acts of Disunion*, spurred a popular podcast series illuminating British union and disunion. Maley and Colley explore a perceived “English identity crisis,” as articulated by Amelia Hill of *The Observer* back in 2004.²⁰⁴ England is currently reconsidering not only British union, but also Britain’s membership in the European Union, which is under considerable strain

²⁰² Miller, Phil. “Tragedy for Shakespeare, come independence day” *Herald Scotland*. 6 Feb 2012. Web. 7 Sep 2013.

²⁰³ Carrell, Severin. “Brian Cox voices the new nationalist mascot: a cartoon terrier called Duggy Dug.” *The Guardian*. 25 Jun 2013. Web. 7 Sep 2013.

²⁰⁴ Hill, Amelia. “The English identity crisis: who do you think you are?” *The Observer*. 12 Jun 2004. Web. 27 Feb 2014.

due to what I interpret as attempts to hold onto Englishness. Indeed, the competing identities in Britain were on full display at the National Gallery of Scotland in Edinburgh when I visited in summer 2012. An exhibit showed filmed interviews with Scots asking them to name their identities vis-à-vis Scotland, Britain, and Europe. While listening to one man's response, I imagined concentric circles with Scotland in the middle as the principle identity and Britain and Europe progressively further away from the core. If only someone had explicitly asked Shakespeare this question.

The actress also reemerges as a point of interest. As I mentioned in my third case-study, The Royal Mint has instigated a campaign to educate the British people about Britannia. They released a commemorative coin featuring a sexy, contemporary Britannia in 2013 and actors embody Britannia on the streets, telling her story to the British people. It is no coincidence that Britannia, a symbol of British union, reappears in this moment of the union's uncertainty. She is accompanied by other celebrities who pro-unionists hope can encourage Scottish votes against independence. In January 2014, *The Guardian's* Mike Small reported that the UK plans to send Eddie Izzard and other celebrities north to Scotland to bring some humor to the "Better Together" campaign for British union. Both sides of the independence campaign are relying on celebrities to garner support for their cause.

The Restoration was defined by Charles II's attempt to restore the Stuart British union disbanded by Cromwell and his commonwealth. On the eve of another disbandment, Britain, whether deliberately or not, reaches back to the Stuarts' tactics and their British legacy, begun by James I and recapitulated under Charles II. Like their Restoration forbearers, current Britons struggle to understand and articulate British union. Then, they debated the impact of Anglo-Scottish union and now, they attempt to predict the effects of its dissolution. It seems that today's

Britons are not necessarily any closer to an agreed-upon definition of what it means to be British than their ancestors and a reconfiguration of Restoration theatre history reveals that they, too, are resorting to theatre and performance as a means of reformulating British union.

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